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THE TEMPLE OF ARES AT ATHENS

A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

(PLATES A, 1-7)

IT is the intention of this article to present the significant material remains now known of the temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora and to point such conclusions as present themselves.¹ The previous publication by William B. Dinsmoor contains all that need be said on the question of identification of the foundations.² Because the building had been transplanted to the Agora in the first century B.C. and then thoroughly destroyed by the Herulians and later vandals, the site itself has little to offer now in the way of information. The evidence for the reconstruction is largely supplied by a few blocks and many fragments which have been found scattered over the entire area of the ancient Agora and even as far afield as the Theater of Dionysos and the modern Nike Street. It was therefore inevitable that additions and corrections to the first interpretations would be made as more material was uncovered or identified. Indeed, the number of fragments now known is more than three times the number known to Dinsmoor.³ As long as any part of the Agora area remained to be excavated,

¹ I wish to express my appreciation to Homer A. Thompson for the opportunity to study this material, and to John L. Caskey for permission to begin the work as a project in fulfillment of the requirements of membership in the American School of Classical Studies. The Fulbright Program, by extending my junior fellowship a second year specifically for this project, enabled me to make a thorough study of the material at first hand in the years 1951 to 1953. On many occasions, Mr. Gorham P. Stevens and Mr. John Threpsiades expressed their friendly interest through helpful suggestions. I do not believe that there is anyone on the staff of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora who did not assist me in some way in this work, but my especial thanks are due to Alison Frantz and Lucy Talcott who took much of the onus of arranging the mass of newly catalogued material. The photographs are the work of Alison Frantz with the exception of Plate 7, e, which was taken for me by Linda Witherill. The drawings are made from my measurements with the exception of Plate A, which is based almost entirely on measurements and preliminary drawings made by John Travlos and Figures 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, which were drawn by M. R. Jones from his own measurements. Throughout the course of the project, Mr. Travlos supplied instruction and encouragement; without his continued interest, these results would scarcely have been forthcoming.

² *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52 (hereafter Dinsmoor). I would like to acknowledge the great assistance afforded me by this scholarly article not only as a source of information but as a pattern of method. For references to the temple in ancient authors, see further the section on Ares in R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957.

³ The catalogue numbers of pieces assigned to the temple of Ares at the time this study was made in 1953 ran through A 2393 and I 5183. By 1957, additional fragments assigned to the temple ran up to A 2643. Numbers with the prefix A (Architecture) or I (Inscription) are from the Agora Excavations catalogue; those with the prefix EM are from the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

it seemed wise to postpone the restudy of the subject. However, now that the excavations have been carried down everywhere at least to levels preceding the destruction of the temple, there is little likelihood that much significant new evidence will be found.⁴ It is possible, if not probable, that blocks and fragments will continue to be identified from locations well outside the present American excavations, but it seems unwise to wait upon such eventualities when we are already able to present what must surely be the main mass of the material that we may ever expect to recover.

The new fragments and blocks have been assigned to the temple of Ares on a basis of comparison with those pieces found in the immediate vicinity of the foundations. Aside from the style and scale, the resemblance is found in the material, a highly crystalline marble of the Pentelic type, often strongly veined with gray-green chlorite; this mineral is especially obvious on fractured surfaces as the veins form natural lines of cleavage. Workmanship and finish are important criteria, when the piece is well enough preserved to study them. Finally, the mason's letters when they occur are so characteristic that they have often served as the final determining factor.⁵

THE TEMPLE FOUNDATIONS⁶

Little more can or need be added to the account of the temple foundations given in the earlier report.⁷ The reader may be reminded, however, that the foundation platform was set down into bedrock and that it consisted of five courses of large, re-used poros blocks resting on a packing of broken stone about one foot thick (Pl. 2, a). Some of this packing had been examined in the original exploration of the building in the hope that it might yield evidence for the date of the transplanting of the temple. At that time nothing later than the fourth century B.C. was found in the packing. In 1951 a little more of the packing was taken up and from it was recovered a terracotta bowl of a type familiar from other deposits in the Agora and datable, through comparison with them, to the latter part of the first century B.C. or to the early first century after Christ (Pl. 2, d).⁸ This is in keeping with the Augustan date indicated for the rebuilding of the temple by the mason's marks on its marble blocks.

The further exploration of the foundation pit also brought to light beneath

⁴ It is, of course, recognized that part of the ancient Agora lies under the Athens-Piraeus railway and the houses just beyond; the possibility of any excavation in this region is too remote to be worthy of consideration, in spite of the fact that the foundations of the temple lie not far from the railway.

⁵ See below, p. 47 for the discussion of these letters.

⁶ The sections concerning the foundations, altar and terrace have been contributed by H. A. Thompson, who supervised their excavation and conservation.

⁷ Dinsmoor, pp. 5-8.

⁸ P 21280. From under the north edge of the temple foundation. H. 0.121 m.; diam. 0.31 m. Fragmentary but with profile complete. Black glaze, much worn.

the north edge of the temple a Mycenaean chamber tomb (LH II-III), one grave of the Protogeometric period and traces of a second.⁹

In order to preserve the surviving remains of the temple foundations and to facilitate the proper maintenance of the area, the place of the temple platform has been outlined with ancient blocks, filled in with broken stone and surfaced with crushed rock (Pl. 1). On the platform thus restored have been laid out the marble blocks from the superstructure of the building.¹⁰

TEMPLE TERRACES AND ALTAR

Subsequent exploration to the east of the temple has led to the complete clearance of the foundations of an altar which was barely suspected at the time of the original study, and also to the discovery of terraces.¹¹

The temple was bordered by broad low terraces to north and east (Pls. A, 1). No trace of terrace or enclosure wall has been found to south or west where, in any case, the higher levels would have rendered a terrace unnecessary. The width of the north terrace was 7.50 m. at the east end of the temple, 6.75 m. at the west end; the east terrace measured 8.25 m. in width. The middle part of the east terrace, over the width of the temple, was paved with Hymettian marble; this paving was certainly carried eastward across the north end of the altar and possibly also across its south end. Elsewhere the terraces were presumably surfaced with clay.

The best preserved part of the terrace walls is at the northeast corner of the sanctuary. Here the wall is built of large, re-used blocks of hard gray poros similar to many in the foundations of the temple proper. Two courses, each 0.48 m. high, remain in place at this point; a third course would have been required to bring the terrace floor to the appropriate level. In the line of the north terrace wall farther to the west nothing has survived except a few remnants of a packing of field stones employed where the ground proved soft; the westernmost traces fall just short of the Great Drain. Of the eastward projection of the east terrace there remain a couple of fragments of marble from the packing for its pavement and an impression in the earth for a bounding wall along its north edge.

The paving between the temple front and the altar is now attested only by a number of miscellaneous ancient blocks set down in the earth filling as bedding for marble slabs; working chips of Hymettian marble indicate the material of the paving.

⁹ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 93 f., 107; XXIV, 1955, pp. 187-219.

¹⁰ No mortar has been used in this restoration, any part of which can readily be dismantled if necessary. The photograph, Plate 1, was taken July 2, 1953; detailed photographs of the foundations as originally exposed are available in the Agora files.

¹¹ For earlier references to the altar cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 7; XX, 1951, pp. 56-58; XXI, 1952, pp. 94 f.; C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis, 1949, p. 192.

The levels imply a gentle downward slope from south to north, enough to ensure the escape of rain water. At the middle of the east front of the temple are remains of more massive underpinning, clearly for supplementary steps leading up into the temple. One surviving block, of re-used poros, and a pillaged foundation trench show that the overall dimensions of the stair were 1.30 x 4.70 m.

There can be little doubt that the level of the paving dropped between the line of the east terrace wall and the altar. So much is indicated by the fact that the top of the ancient earth filling and the underpinning for paving slabs lie 0.30 to 0.40 m. lower along the west front of the altar than immediately in front of the temple. In the section (Pl. A) this difference is made good by a couple of steps. The pavement across the north end of the altar sloped down eastward, but the gravelled area to the east of the altar rose again gently toward the Panathenaic way. The low level of the altar, which appears so unsatisfactory in the section, is possibly to be explained on the hypothesis that the altar was re-erected before the new level of the temple was finally established.

The drain which issued from the orchestra of the Odeion ran northward between the temple and the altar.¹² Over the length of the altar the course of the drain was shifted westward some 1.50 meters and was thus brought into the line of the east terrace wall of the temple. Both to north and south of the altar the drain consisted of a rectangular terracotta channel.¹³ Beneath the marble paving between altar and temple it was of more substantial construction. Its side walls were here made of poros blocks, bedded in places on a layer of curved tiles of the type used in vaulting; impressions of heavy stone cover slabs remain in the earth along the drain. The channel measured inside *ca.* 0.45 m. wide and *ca.* 0.80 m. high, large enough, that is, to permit the passage of a man for clearing or repairing.

The bend in the course of the Odeion drain clearly implies the previous existence of the altar. It has been argued in earlier studies, however, that the laying out of the Odeion preceded the transplanting of the temple of Ares.¹⁴ We may suppose, therefore, that the line of the drain was originally straight but that it was adjusted at the time when the altar was transplanted.¹⁵

The altar lies at an interval of *ca.* 10 m. from the temple. The axes of the two structures almost exactly coincide. Of the altar foundations there remain in place two courses and an isolated block of a third course. Great damage has been done

¹² *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 78.

¹³ Immediately south of the altar the drain channel has been pillaged. To the north some of the terracotta pipes remain in place; they were covered by a miscellaneous assortment of tiles and marbles, among them several fragments of an archaic marble sima; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 97.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 97.

¹⁵ It is worth noting that curved vaulting tiles identical with those used as bedding for the sidewalls of the drain were similarly employed beneath the north terrace wall of the temple. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the terrace wall is contemporary with the stone-built part of the drain.

by the intrusion of two storage pits of the Byzantine period and a well of Turkish date. The material, as far as preserved, consists of large, re-used blocks of soft creamy poros, similar to many in the foundations of the temple proper. One of these blocks, in the east side of the altar, exhibits on its outer face 16 shallow vertical flutings within a deeply drafted border (Pl. 2, e). The two lowest courses were entirely below ground level. The third course, no doubt the euthynteria, retreated *ca.* 0.30 m. from the edge of the second; the position of its east face was fixed by a scratched line, elsewhere it is given by the dressing of the bed. This course, although of poros in the core, was presumably of marble toward the outside.

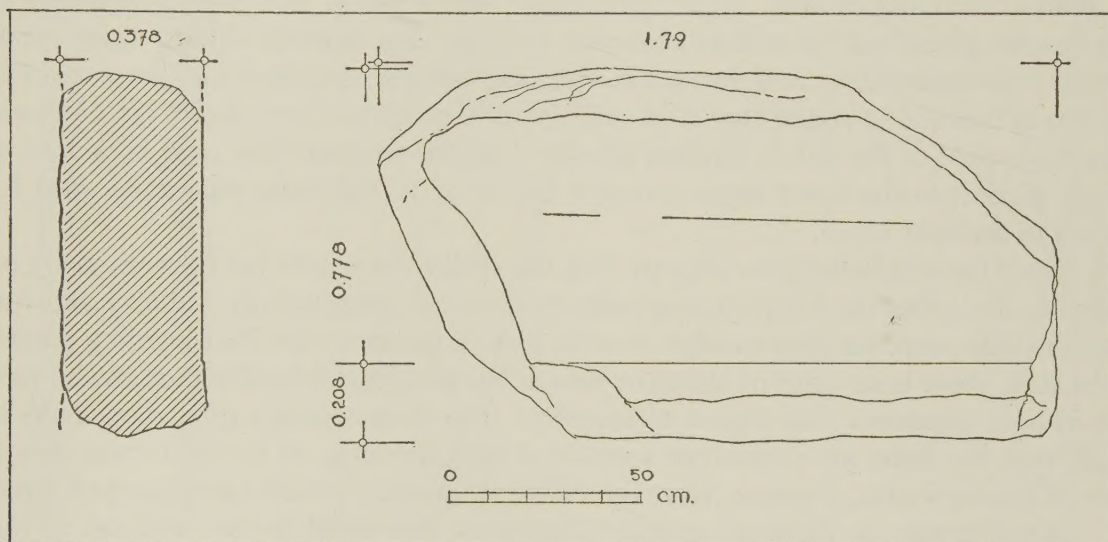


FIG. 1. Altar Orthostate A 1652.

The overall dimensions of the altar as measured on the euthynteria were *ca.* 5.62 x 8.30 m. It will be observed on the plan that its foundation is in two parts: an eastern portion 3.80 m. wide intended no doubt for the podium of the altar and a western part, 2.12 m. wide and 7.00 m. long, for stairs. The width of the western part implies a considerable number of steps, and this in turn means that the podium of the altar rose high. Six steps comparable in tread and riser with those on the great marble altar to the east of the Metroon¹⁶ would bring the top of the podium to the same level as the stylobate of the temple; this relationship may, indeed, have been intended and is a possible alternative explanation for the low setting of the altar.

A battered orthostate of Pentelic marble (A 1652) which was found above the southeast corner of the foundation may derive from the altar proper (Fig. 1, Pl. 2, c). Top, bottom and both ends are broken away; only the smooth dressed front and the

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140-148. Steps about 0.30 m. high and 0.32 m. wide.

rough back are original. The present dimensions, 0.378 x 0.986 x 1.79 m., indicate that in its original form the block was large. A projection of 0.005 m. at the bottom of the dressed face apparently marks the top of the concave curve of a base cyma reversa moulding. At a distance of 0.375 m. from this fascia on the plane surface there is a lightly incised straight line of uncertain purpose.¹⁷

Among the miscellaneous pieces of stone and marble used as underpinning for the pavement between altar and temple are fragments from at least four orthostates of Hymettian marble carved each with a round shield in relief. The best preserved piece (I 6634) is illustrated in Figure 2 and Plate 2, b. The simple cornice is inscribed in shallow lettering 0.04 m. high:]OHNA[.¹⁸ On none of the other fragments is the cornice preserved. It will be observed that the slab is much thicker below than above. The underside is well dressed as a resting surface, the edges as joint surfaces; the top is finished so rough that it is unlikely to have carried any additional member. The front face of the slab is finished all over with the toothed chisel; the back face is rough picked; in the lower right corner a deficiency in the stone was made good by means of an inset patch.

Since there is nothing to suggest that the shield slabs were set between posts or columns, and since the inscription appears to have run continuously, we may suppose that the slabs were set edge to edge so as to form a parapet. On the surviving pieces, to be sure, there is no trace of clamp or dowel, but the greater thickness at the bottom would have assured a fair degree of stability. The circumstances of finding make it likely that the slabs were somehow associated with the altar on its earlier site and a row of shields would, of course, have been an appropriate theme in a sanctuary of Ares.

Mention may be made of several monuments that stood in the environs of the altar, although not all of them were directly associated with the cult.

In the open angle at the southwest corner of the altar are six blocks from the lowest course of a base which overrides, and so must postdate, the foundations of the altar (Pls. A, 1). All the surviving blocks are re-used and, apart from one of conglomerate, all are of hard gray poros. The bedding for the second course, now missing, measures 2.35 x 2.65 m. Nothing of the superstructure has been found.

¹⁷ On and around the altar were found several fragments of sculpture carved in high relief in Pentelic marble; four female torsoes and several heads both male and female (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 94 f., pl. 22). The standing height of the figures may be calculated as between 0.85 and 0.90 m. The style of the sculpture points to a date close to that of the temple and its first-rate quality strengthens the likelihood of the association. Since the scale of the figures seems great for either metopes or inner frieze and since the weathered condition of the surface argues against an attribution to the pedestal of the cult statue, the altar has been suggested as the source of the reliefs. This connection must be regarded as very problematic, however, and the matter requires further intensive study.

¹⁸ One is tempted to restore [A]θηνα[ῖαι]. There is no trace of a central dot in the first preserved letter, but in view of the sketchy nature of the lettering the dot may have been omitted through carelessness.

To the southeast of the southeast corner of the altar are three poros blocks from the lowest course of another large monument (Pls. A, 1). An impression in the earth to the west marks the place of other, now missing, blocks. The overall dimensions

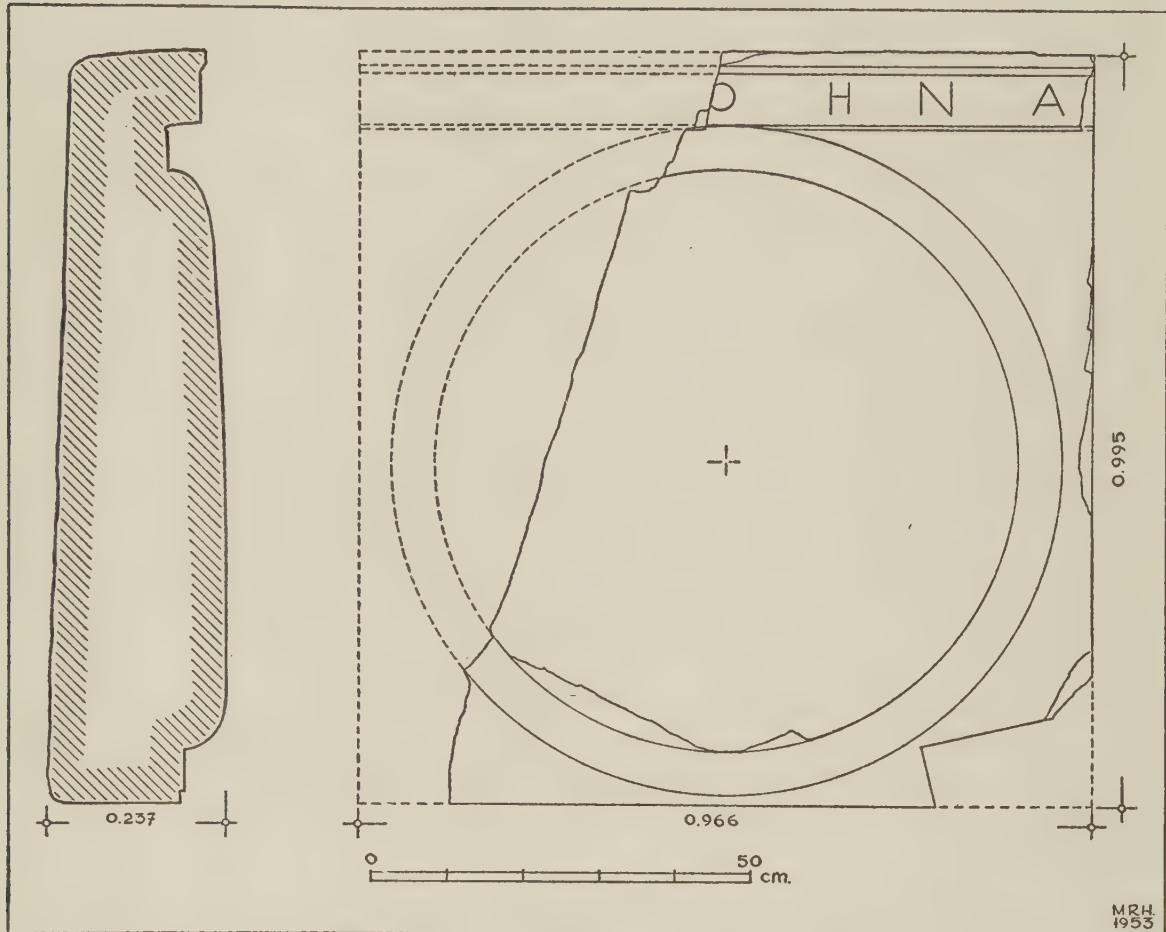


FIG. 2. Shield Block I 6634.

may be calculated as *ca.* 2.10 x 2.40 m. Again, the superstructure has completely vanished.

North of the altar, and close to the stone water channel that bordered the Panathenaic Way, is a small altar of Hymettian marble re-used as a hitching block¹⁹ (Pl. A). In its second use the altar was turned upside down, bedded to its full depth

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 96 f. The block measures 0.56 x 0.78 m. and 0.49 m. deep. Around its original lower edge is a cyma reversa base moulding. The profile of the moulding and the quality of the workmanship would suggest a date in the fourth century B.C. for the making of the altar.

in the earth and fitted with a massive iron ring in its top. Such arrangements are known elsewhere for the fastening of sacrificial animals so that it is tempting to connect this one with the Altar of Ares. The association is made unlikely, however, by several considerations. The block lies outside the clearly defined limits of the sanctuary and agrees in orientation with the water channel rather than with the altar. Its top lies low, moreover, and was probably buried beneath the rising road metal before the transplanting of the Altar of Ares. If, therefore, the hitching block served an altar it must have been one other than that of Ares.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, reference should be made to a still earlier monument that rose outside the northeast corner of the temple terrace (Pls. A, 1). The stepped foundation of this monument was built of hard gray poros and measured *ca.* 2.40 m. square. Parts of the two lowest steps remain at the northwest corner.²⁰ Along the north side of the original foundation are poros bedding blocks for two later monuments which were set close against the first; one of them was secured to the lowest step of the original by means of a clamp. The material, workmanship and low level of the original structure would indicate for it a date in the fifth century B.C. Its purpose is obscure, unless, indeed, as previously suggested,²¹ it carried one of the herms known to have stood in the northern part of the square. However that may be, there can be no question of the importance of the monument inasmuch as its presence clearly dictated a bend in the Panathenaic Way at this point and in the bordering water channel; this in turn was one of the factors that determined the placing of the temple and the altar.

A whole grove of monmuent bases has been brought to light by the more recent exploration to the south, west and north of the temple.²² These appear to have had no relation to the temple except insofar as they attest the prominence of the northwest corner of the square, a consideration which may have contributed to the choice of this area as the new site for the temple.²³

²⁰ The bottom step is 0.44 m. high, 0.18 m. wide, the second 0.30 m. high and 0.32 m. wide. On top of the second step are the weathered traces of a third. A sinking (0.17 x 0.18 m.) in the top of the second step at the northwest corner of the third step is now filled with a packing of poros as though some small monument had once stood here but had later been removed. Compare the stump of a marble post, probably a herm, in the similar base farther to the east, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 102.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²² *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 42-47.

²³ One more monument base, published in the previous discussion of the foundations (Dinsmoor, p. 7), may be specially recalled to the reader. It overlies the temple foundations at their southeast corner, and apparently was set immediately against the south face of the temple euthynteria; the upper course of the foundation has been cut back to make room for the monument. As the foundation pit of the temple is too irregular to permit of exact measurements, this cutting provides the only fixed point in locating the precise position of the temple superstructure; its evidence, taken in conjunction with the calculated width of the temple, showed that the axis of the temple was virtually identical with that of the altar.

KREPIDOMA

If the interpretation of the mason's letters, proposed below, is correct, there are several identifiable blocks from the euthynteria and lowest step course, but not a single example of the second step or stylobate.²⁴ This is an unfortunate but understandable circumstance as the upper blocks would have been the first to be plundered. The lower face of the euthynteria has been left rough; presumably the finished grade line lay against this surface, which was meant to be seen at least in part (Fig. 3, Pl. 3, a).²⁵ The top is flat and polished only in front of the setting line which marks the position of the next course.²⁶ The blocks were doweled to the foundations in the usual manner; the dowel hole is accompanied by a cutting for the prybar with which the block was adjusted. The blocks have a cutting for a double T clamp at either end. The dowel cutting for the block of the next course occurs midway in the length of the euthynteria block in each case, showing that the second step course broke joints at the centers of the blocks below. The pry holes to be associated with these dowel holes occur at the extreme rear edge. The presence of an additional pry hole on A 215 (Fig. 3) is apparently accidental, though the cutting is as carefully made as the one in the usual position. There is a slight smoothing of the surface along the right-hand edge of the block as though to receive the one above it; however, as there is no reason to suppose that any of the successive courses had joints so nearly aligned, this cutting may belong to some subsequent period of use.

The corner blocks of the euthynteria course were almost certainly the first to be laid; it can be determined, from the mason's letters and dowel holes, that at least four blocks were laid inward from the left corner on the front, and five, not including the corner blocks, from the left and right corners on the north side.²⁷

The blocks of the third and lowest step course retain their protective surfaces on both tread and riser (Figs. 3, 4, Pl. 3, b);²⁸ that on the tread 0.325-0.339 m. wide.

²⁴ See below, pp. 47-54, where the mason's letters are discussed in full. There are identified at present six different euthynteria blocks, four of which are nearly complete, and five step blocks, three of which are more than half preserved.

²⁵ The special finishes on the krepidoma blocks are discussed in detail below, p. 46.

²⁶ The setting line occurs from 0.156 to 0.160 m. behind the finished face. The blocks are 0.580-0.618 m. wide, 1.339-1.348 m. long (averaging 1.3435 m.), and 0.303-0.309 m. high. The dowel hole at the end of the block lies 0.143-0.395 m. behind the finished face, the one in the upper surface 0.332-0.440 m. from the face.

²⁷ See below, p. 53. Here and throughout this article "right" and "left" are relative to a point of view outside the temple.

²⁸ See below, p. 46. The blocks are 0.354-0.359 m. high at the back, 0.709-0.766 m. wide; the three which are preserved full length are 1.339, 1.344 and 1.3455 m. long. The projecting surface on the tread adds another 0.013-0.016 m. in height. The setting-line for the second step is 0.399-0.408 m. back from the finished face. The hole for the dowel which held A 248 itself in place is 0.190 m. back of the finished riser, the upper dowel holes 0.495-0.505 m. from the riser.

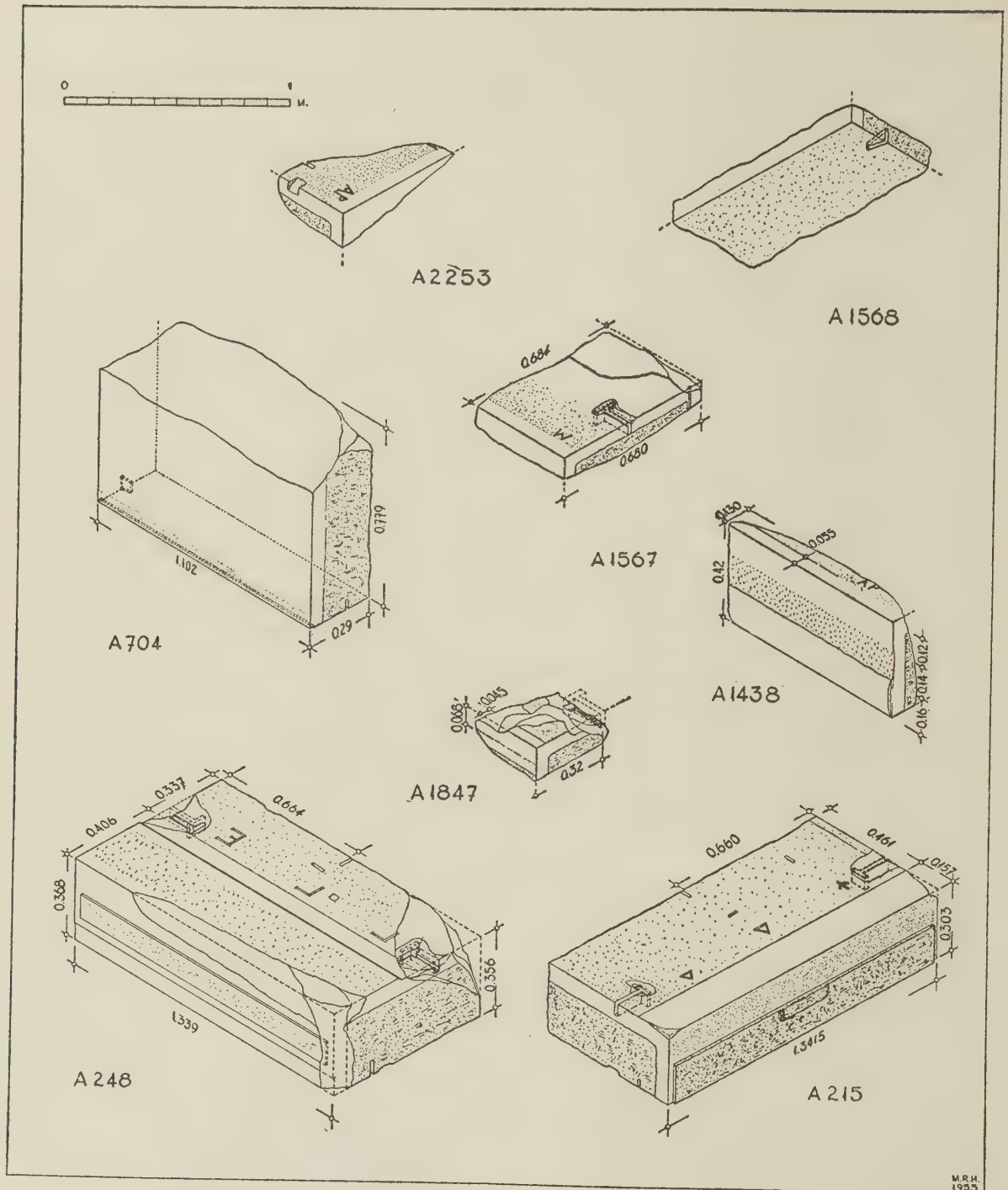


FIG. 3. Wall and Step Blocks.

Behind the setting line for the second step course, the surface is characteristically somewhat rougher. The dowel holes in this surface occur about midway in the block, and are accompanied by one or more pry holes, at least one of which in each case is at the rear edge of the block. Only one block (A 248) is sufficiently well preserved

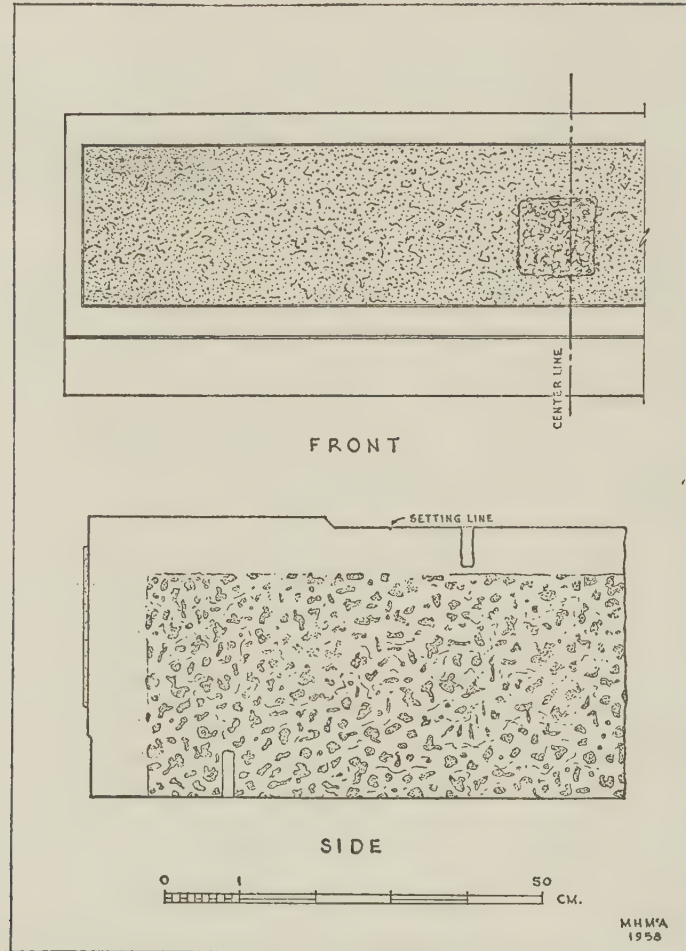


FIG. 4. Restored Typical Step Block.

to show on the end surface, at the lower edge, the cutting for the shifting bar by which it was adjusted to the euthynteria below. The corner blocks were again laid first; the first ten blocks on the front were all laid from the left, while on the north, the left-hand series ran no further than the fourth euthynteria block.

Of the second step course not a single fragment has been identified; presumably it was treated in the same way as the one below, and was again laid from the corners

inward.²⁹ We know even less of the stylobate course. The number of columns restored suggests that there were twenty-three blocks in the side series and eleven on the ends. Further we may suppose that they were set back so that the tread on the second step was equal to that on the third.

COLUMNS OF THE PERISTYLE

The evidence available at this time is clearly insufficient for any but the most theoretical discussion of the appearance of the columns.³⁰ Various fragments demonstrate that the tops and bottoms of the drums were worked in the usual manner: a square cutting was made at the center for the empolion block and surrounded by a narrow zone rough picked and somewhat lower than the main area of the polished joint surface. Figure 5 shows this arrangement on the bottom of a capital fragment, which has in addition the usual beveled relieving surface (hypotrachelion) at the outer edge.³¹ A small fragment of an arris (A 2241) shows that the bottom drum had on its lower surface the customary relieving band 0.02 m. wide.

²⁹ In the third step course, the ninth block on the front, as indicated by the letter I (A 1758), shows that the block above it was also laid from the left corner.

³⁰ There are only four complete drums which have been associated with the temple (Pl. 3, c-e; see also below pp. 51-53). One is now lying south of the Theater of Dionysos; to judge from the late cuttings, it was removed from the Agora for use as a millstone. The second is A 2257, found near the east end of the foundations. The third drum, hereafter referred to as the Hephaisteion drum, was found to be appropriate to that temple in size and workmanship and was incorporated in the reconstruction carried out in 1937 by the Greek Department of Restoration (A. Orlandos, *Ἀρχαῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, II, 1936, pp. 207-216). It is now the bottom drum in the north pronaos column of the Hephaisteion. The tell-tale letters on its upper surface and its original finding place in the northwest part of the Agora indicate that it belongs to the temple of Ares. The fourth drum (A 2643) which Dinsmoor (p. 23, note 52) described as "west of the 'Valerian Wall'" was rediscovered immediately to the south of the Stoa of Attalos when a marble pile was shifted in the summer of 1956. It now lies on the foundations of the temple of Ares with A 2257. I have not seen it myself, but the measurements given in the text were obligingly supplied by reliable sources at the Agora Excavations. The pair of letters on its top as well as its size confirm the identification of the drum, in spite of its battered condition, again partly due to use as a millstone. In addition to the four more or less complete drums, there are seven catalogued fragments and at least as many more identified but uncatalogued. These fragments for the most part are small and do not contribute anything to the argument. Fragments of capitals have been catalogued, and one of an abacus.

Dinsmoor has drawn heavily on the similarity of the temple of Ares to the three "sister" temples, i. e. the Hephaisteion and the temples at Sounion and Rhamnous. Comparisons between the temple of Ares and the Hephaisteion are both natural and easy, as they are so close together not only in location but in size and date, factors which have more than once made it difficult to be sure to which one some fragments should be assigned. The reader is urged to follow Herbert Koch's publication of the Hephaisteion (*Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*, Berlin, 1955; hereafter Koch), especially the illustrations, in studying the findings set forth here.

³¹ This drawing is a restoration made from a fragment (A 1845 b) which, while far from complete, gives all the information indicated.

The arc of each of the twenty flutes was drawn from three centers (Fig. 5, A 1437): at the capital, the radii are apparently based on a unit equal to half the straight line distance between the arris centers; the outer quarters have a radius of one unit, the center quarters of three. The two-thirds point on the principal radius is determined by an arc of two-unit radius drawn from the inside corner of the arris, and the principal center and depth of the flute are found from this point. The fragment A 2009 shown in Figure 5 is from somewhere about the middle of the column. The center part of the flute has flattened out, while the curve outward to the arris has become more pronounced; unfortunately, no fragment of sufficient size has been identified as belonging to a bottom drum, so that only one limit of the progression is known.³²

The evidence for the capitals is scarcely better than that for the shafts. Although there are a good number of fragments which preserve the annulets and even the beginning of the echinus, there is only one which gives the top of the curve (Pl. 4, e). This piece (A 600) is too small to be used in calculating the radius at the top of the echinus and therefore there is no way of determining the height of the capital. It is not even very easy to restore the height on the basis of comparison, because there is considerable variation in proportion from building to building even at the same period. Taking as a basic proportion the relation of the diameter at the necking joint to the height from this joint to the top of the echinus, we find the temple of Ares capitals, when compared with the Hephaisteion, the Parthenon, and the Propylaea, would be variously restored as 0.329, 0.29, and 0.253 m. in height.³³ Presumably, the correct figure would be somewhat lower than 0.329 m. because of the later date, but how much lower is difficult to judge. If the same architect designed both the Hephaisteion and the temple of Ares, as seems likely, a somewhat more conservative profile and higher capital would be expected, unless the architect had been influenced by the progressive tendencies of the Parthenon.³⁴ Figure 6 shows the profile of A 600 in relation to that of A 1845 c according to the proportions of the Hephaisteion; the lower part of the profile has been restored from A 1773.

A plaster cast of A 1845 c was found to fit with surprising accuracy all the

³² For other instances of three-center construction of flutes in fifth century Athenian Doric architecture, see Penrose, *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture*, London, 1888, Chap. VII, pl. 21; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 26, fig. 14. For the probable dimensions of the columns, see below, p. 52.

³³ Figures based on Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 2nd ed. by William Kinnard, 1825, Vol. II, Chap. 1, pl. XI, Chap. 5, pl. XLV; Vol. III, Chap. 1, pl. IX. Unfortunately, a figure for Sounion was not available.

³⁴ Dinsmoor, p. 47.

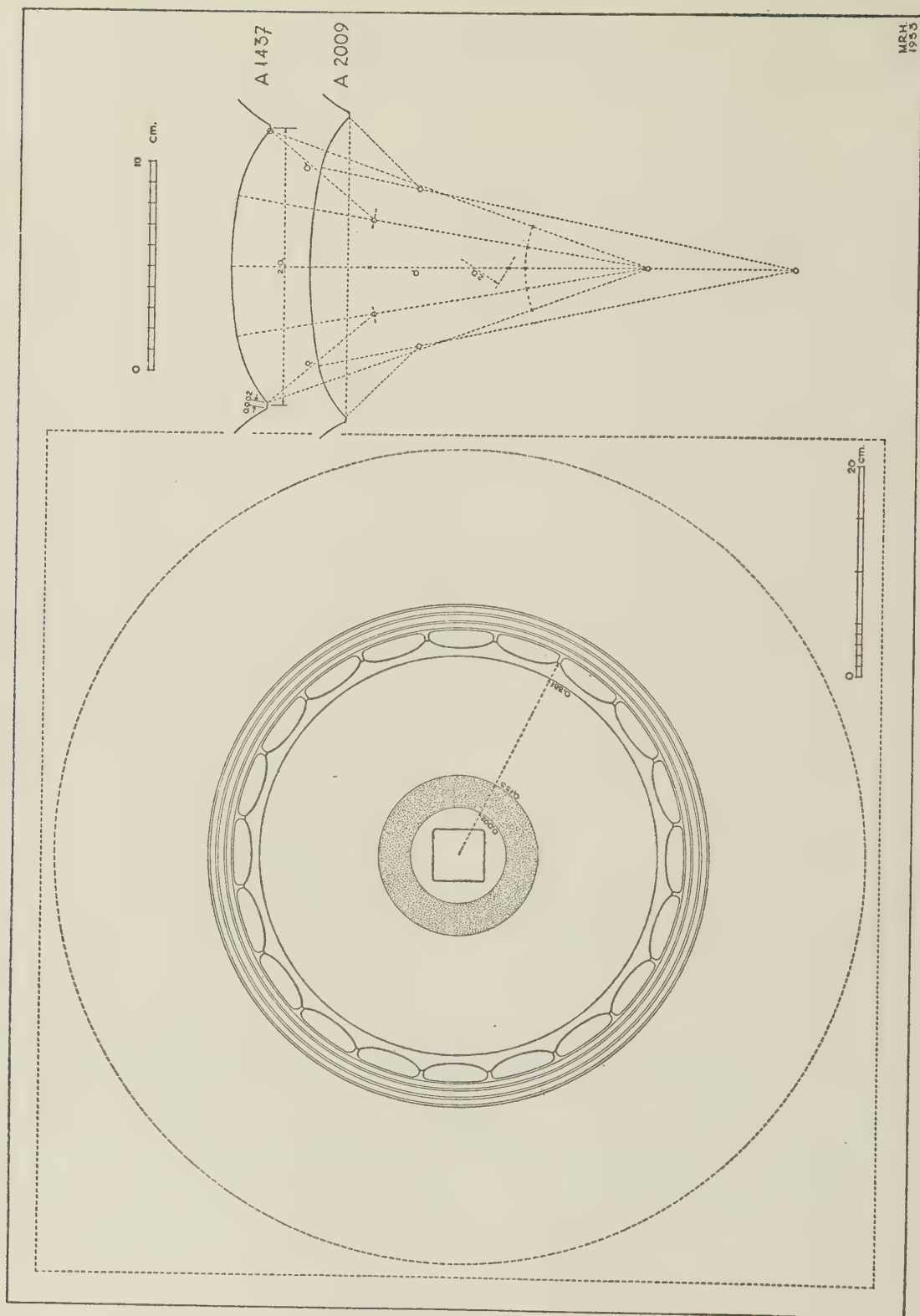


FIG. 5. Restored Plan of Capital and Diagram of Flute Construction.

capital fragments except A 192 (Fig. 6).³⁵ It can be seen at a glance that the annulets of the latter are relatively higher, and measurement shows that they are actually wider as a group as well as of slightly different profile. The similarity is so great

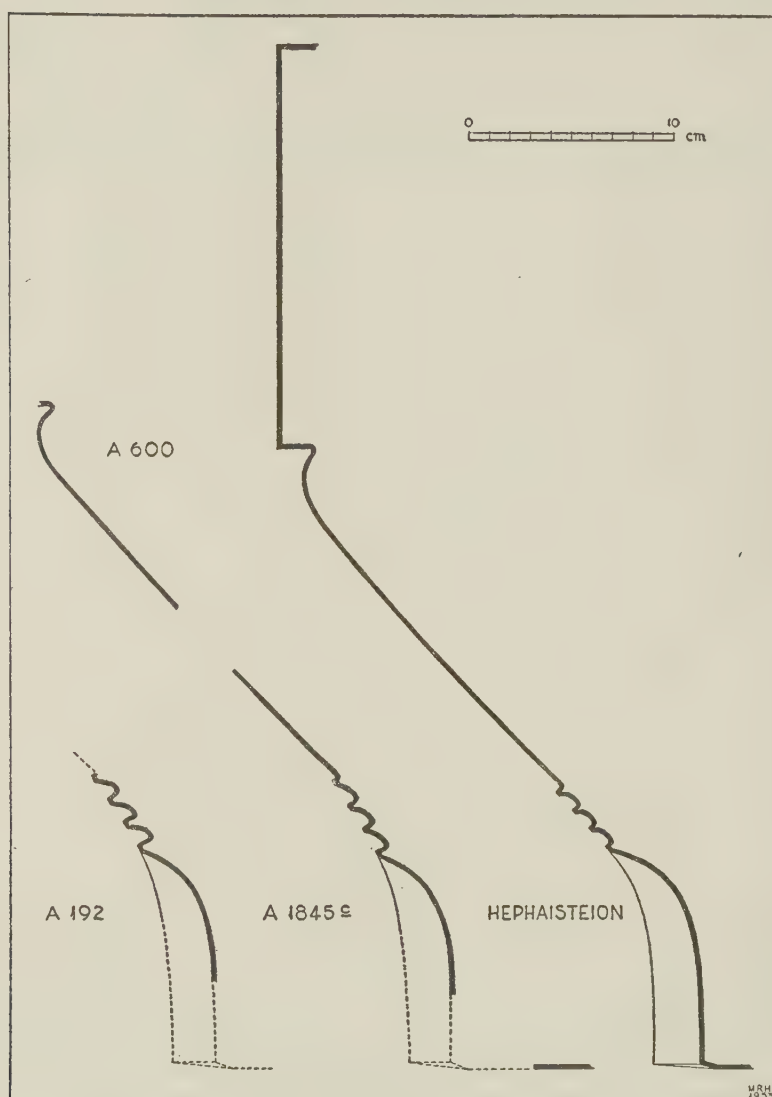


FIG. 6. Profiles of Capitals from the Temple of Ares and the Hephaisteion.

in all other respects that it is almost certain that this fragment belongs to the temple of Ares; perhaps it is part of the capital of the corner column.

³⁵ The lower surface is preserved only toward the center of this piece. The drawing shows the bottom restored from A 1773.

The only remnant of an abacus is the fragment I 2704, on which part of the top surface is preserved with the letter Θ, presumably the first of a pair, and a bit of the finished surface at the side. The identification of the use of the fragment as an abacus is confirmed by the relieving surface along the edge.

EPISTYLE

Four epistyle fragments are known, three of which are illustrated in Figure 7.⁸⁶ A 1792 is the end of a corner block, from the southeast or northwest angle. Part of the

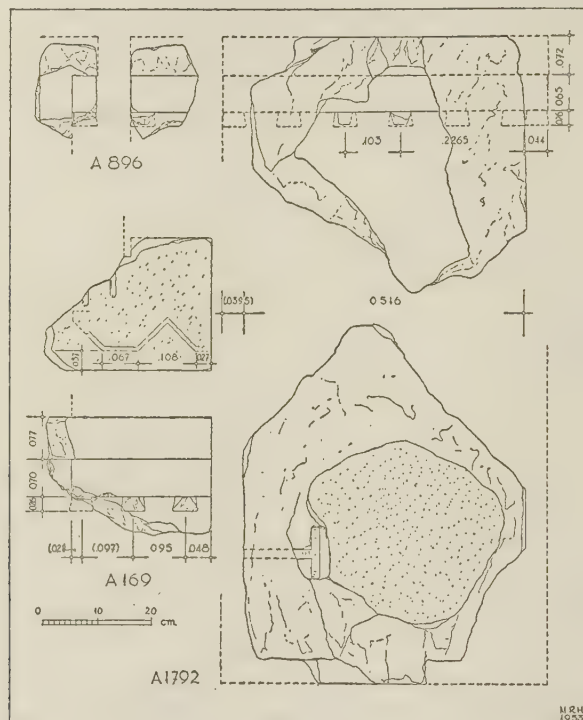


FIG. 7. Epistyle Blocks.

face is preserved on both front and return, tilting inward slightly as it rises. The preservation of part of the joint surface gives the thickness of the outer epistyle just below the regula as 0.516 m. from the front face to the anathyrosis. At the spacing set by the two fragmentary guttae, the regula on the end would have been $5(0.103) + 0.041 = 0.556$ m. wide. The corner triglyph A 64 has been restored as 0.555 m. and the corner mutule on A 238 as 0.554 m. wide, both of which support this theoretical dimension.⁸⁷ Presumably the sixth gutta was cut on the adjoining epistyle block, a

⁸⁶ For a photograph of A 169, see Dinsmoor, p. 11, fig. 6 c.

⁸⁷ See below, pp. 21, 24 and Figs. 10, 12.

device clearly demonstrated on the Parthenon.³⁸ However, as Dinsmoor has pointed out, the fragment A 896 is from the end of an epistyle block, and shows the finished end of the regula just one millimeter back from the joint surface.³⁹ Normally, the joint would occur somewhere about the middle of the regula, as is shown by the fragment A 169.⁴⁰ The special situation found on A 896 could occur only at the corner, specifically the northwest or southeast. The fragment clearly is not a part of A 1792, but must come from the corresponding member at the opposite corner of the temple. It would appear to indicate a different solution of the same problem;

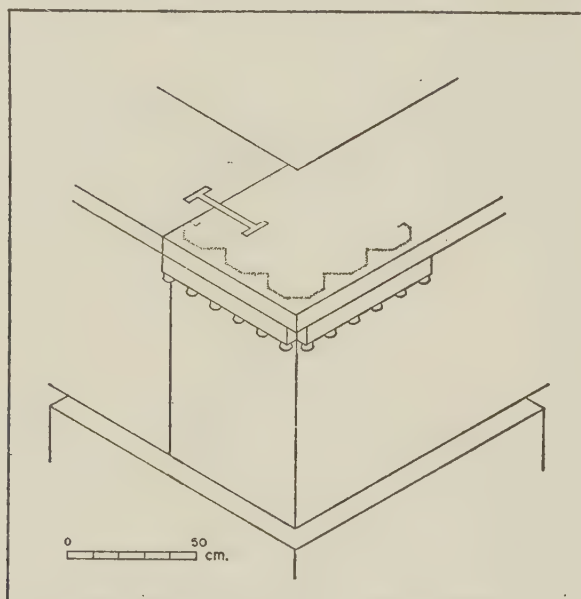


FIG. 8. Regula and Corner Jointing of Epistyle.

this time, the corner block was cut L-shaped, so that all six guttae would then be on the same piece (Fig. 8). This somewhat more expensive system was used at all corners on the Hephaisteion.⁴¹ That the corners were not necessarily treated all in the same way is easily seen in the case of the Parthenon, where, with each corner block L-shaped, the joint comes just after the sixth gutta except at the northeast corner, where the joint is between the third and fourth.⁴²

³⁸ Penrose, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.

³⁹ Dinsmoor, p. 27.

⁴⁰ The taenia and regula on A 169 measure 0.077 and 0.070 m. in height respectively; those on A 896 and A 1792 measure 0.072 and 0.065 m.

⁴¹ Koch, pp. 53, 173, fig. 35.

⁴² Cf. Penrose, *op. cit.*, Chap. II, Sec. 2, pl. 6. This information results from a special check by C. W. J. Eliot. Penrose shows the corners to be different, but indicates the southwest corner as jointed between the fourth and fifth guttae; the others he indicates alike, that at the northeast corner specifically shown with a joint between the fifth and sixth guttae.

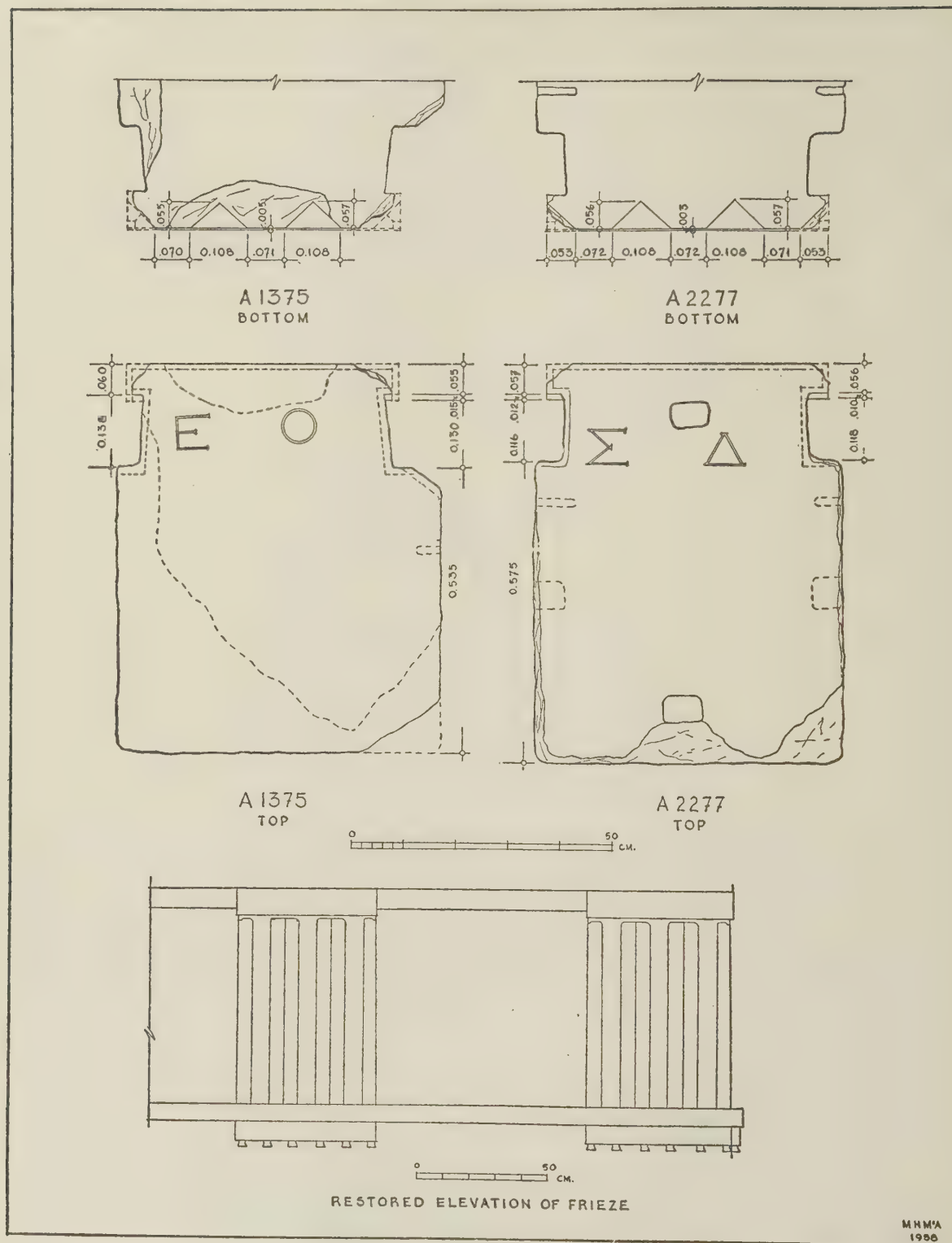


FIG. 9. Triglyphs and Reconstructed Frieze.

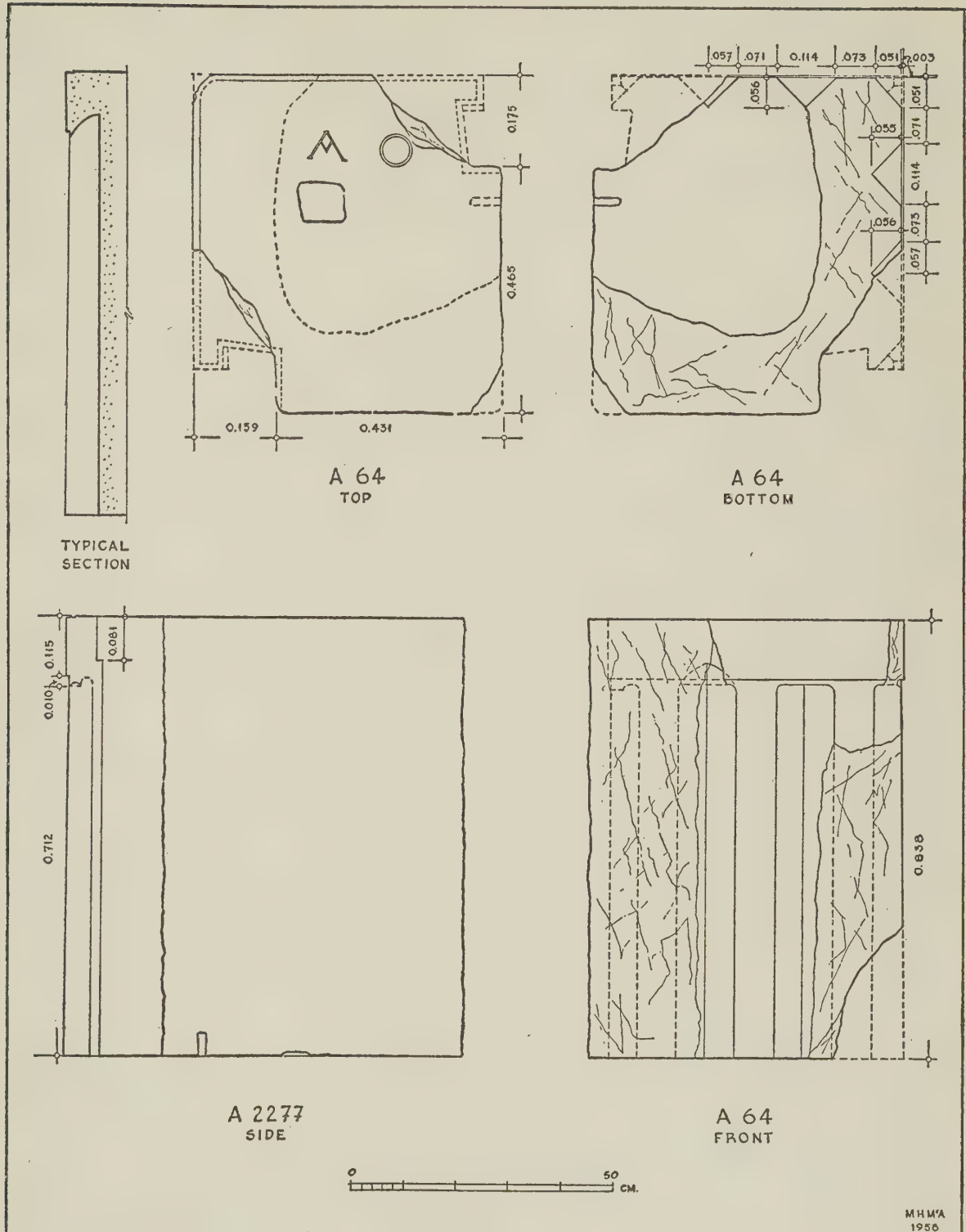


FIG. 10. Triglyphs.

Only one fragment of the epistyle backers is known (A 258), with the crowning taenia and part of the face below it. The taenia is 0.12 m. high, projects 0.02 m. from the face, and slopes outward an additional 0.002 m. as it rises. The face below slopes outward toward the bottom, like that of the epistyle, at a rate of one millimeter in fourteen centimeters. There is a relieving band along the top of the front edge, and part of a dowel hole 0.20 m. back from the fascia. No letters are preserved, nor is there any indication from this, or the epistyle fragments, of the original height of the course.⁴³

FRIEZE

There are three triglyphs almost perfectly preserved, and several fragments besides, but only the complete ones need come into the general discussion.⁴⁴ They are 0.837—0.838 m. high with a fascia of 0.115 m.; the face of each glyph slants outward until at the bottom it is in line with the fascia. The three best preserved blocks are marked $\Sigma\Delta$ (A 2277, Figs. 9, 10, Pl. 4, b), EO (A 1375, Fig. 9), and AO (A 64, Fig. 10), the last being from a corner.⁴⁵ These letters would indicate that the blocks were the eighteenth on the north flank and the first and fifth on the rear.⁴⁶

A 2277 shared the fate of the column drums for it bears cuttings for use in a mill, but by some chance was either never used or used only for a short time as it shows little sign of wear. Lead remains in the two large cuttings in the top front and back, presumably for adaptation to the mill. There are also two dowel and two shift holes, a pair on either side at the bottom. These might be taken as evidence that the triglyphs were set before the metopes, but this is not necessarily the case. The dowel cuttings are well back of the cuttings for the metopes allowing plenty of room for leading even with the metopes in place. An additional bit of evidence in this matter comes from the epistyle fragment A 169 (Fig. 7): on the top there is a clear outline of the superposed triglyph, made by the characteristic small pits found on this marble when water has been allowed to stand on a relatively protected surface, in this instance, under the relieving band at the front edge of the triglyph. Within this outline are two parallel cuttings, not for a letter as Dinsmoor proposed, but for prying the metope into place.⁴⁷ In this case, the metope was clearly set in position

⁴³ See below, pp. 56-58.

⁴⁴ In addition to the three complete triglyphs, five fragments have been identified, none of which can be measured with millimeter accuracy. These are A 747, A 1376, A 1650, A 1852, and A 1867.

⁴⁵ Photographs of A 64 are given by Dinsmoor, p. 2, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 48-51.

⁴⁷ Dinsmoor, p. 27.

against one triglyph before the next triglyph was laid, rather than dropped from above between two doweled triglyphs.

A 1375 is largely broken away around the lower edges; only one dowel cutting remains. There is no dowel cutting in the top for the geison.

The corner triglyph (A 64) has a large dowel cutting in the top; the anchoring of the corner geison block, an enormous one, would be particularly important as the triglyphs do not seem to have been clamped either to the metopes or to the backers.⁴⁸ Dinsmoor supposed this cutting to be Roman in date,⁴⁹ but if this dowel was a late addition, the original system must have been an exceedingly casual one. Similar cuttings occur on the corner geison blocks of the Hephaisteion which conceal any others that might be in the triglyphs beneath them.⁵⁰ Dr. Thompson has examined these dowel holes recently and believes them to be fifth century despite the pour channels. The glyphs of the corner triglyphs average a greater width (0.185 m.) than those of the other two (0.179 m.); the variation in total depth among the three blocks is probably not significant.

Four fragments of metopes have been identified by the letters on the tops.⁵¹ The cap in each case is 0.081 to 0.083 m. high, and projects 0.015 to 0.018 m., agreeing with the cuttings on the known triglyphs (Fig. 11). The average thickness of the slabs is 0.099 m., the caps 0.116 m. A 1815 is sufficiently preserved to show a cutting in the back 0.11 m. from the top, and exactly like a horizontal dowel hole. Its use is uncertain; perhaps it was used for lifting rather than for bracing the block.

None of these fragments, nor the single piece from the bottom of a metope (A 1833), are sufficiently preserved to say whether they were sculptured or not, nor are the letters much help in determining which positions they held, as three of the metope fragments show only the letters which indicate the side of the temple.⁵² The fourth (A 1815) is marked ΓΔ, the letters somewhat closer together than usual, but presumably so grouped because there were only two used; this would be either the second or third metope on the north flank, depending on whether the metope series was separate from that of the triglyphs. So far, no sculpture has been identified as a reasonable candidate for an Ares metope.

⁴⁸ On the Parthenon, the geisa are not always doweled to the triglyphs, but variously to the metopes, metope fillers, and frieze backers as well. However, the triglyphs are all clamped to the metope fillers and frieze backers. See Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen* (*Handbuch der Architektur*, 2nd part, vol. 1), 3rd ed., 1910, fig. 144, p. 171.

⁴⁹ Dinsmoor, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Koch, pl. 42.

⁵¹ A 1790, A 1815, A 2098, A 2099. The measurements used in the text are those which I took in 1953.

⁵² See below, p. 51. A sixth fragment (A 2633), preserving the cap but no letters, was catalogued in 1956, and is said to agree in dimensions.

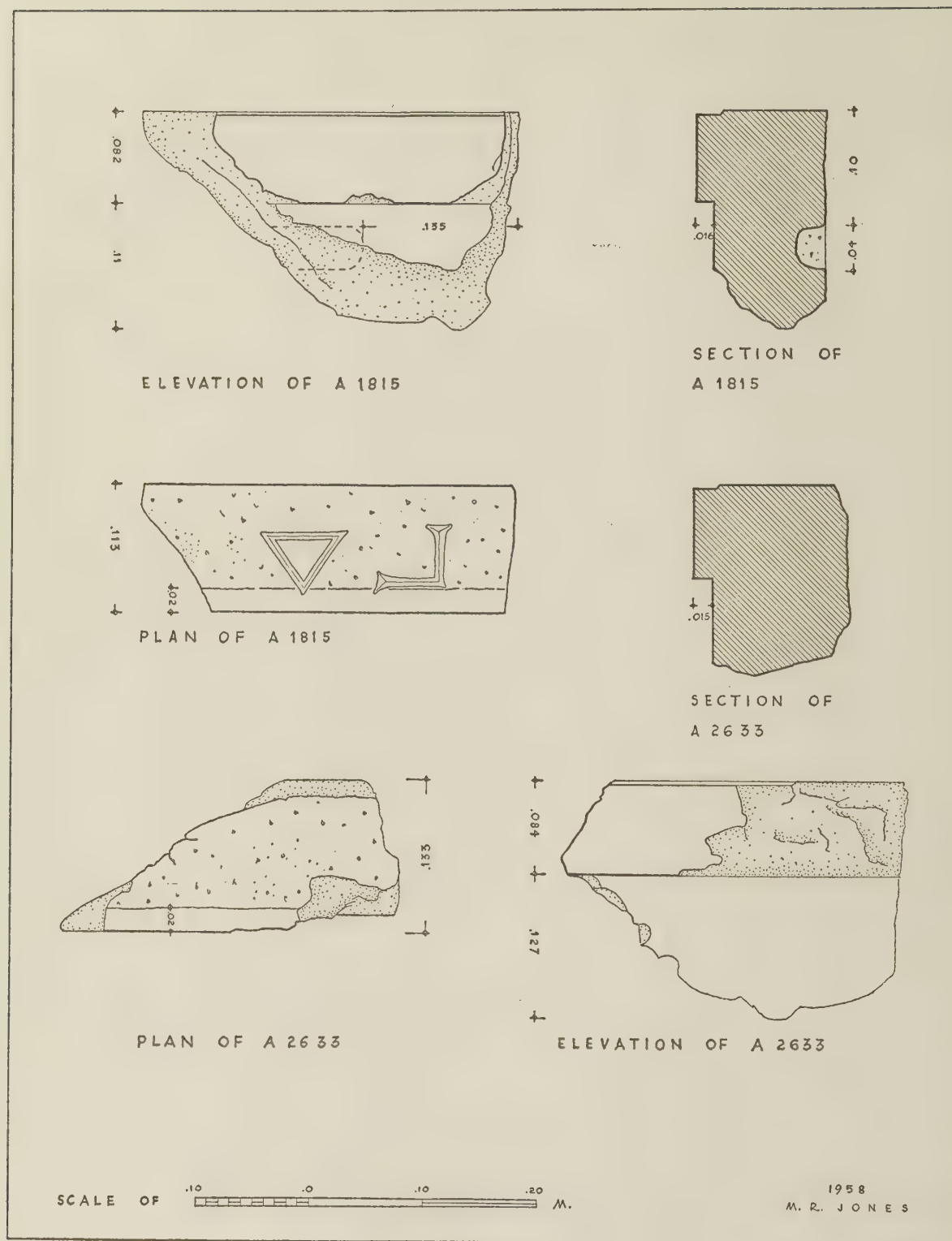


FIG. 11. Metope Fragments.

GEISON

The corner geison block A 238 has now been doweled together and partly restored in concrete; in it are incorporated a number of fragments previously catalogued with separate numbers.⁵³ Dinsmoor has already pointed out many of the interesting features of this block, but they may be reviewed here with profit. The top was cut to receive the end of the raking geison; the slope is given by the sima bed and the inner

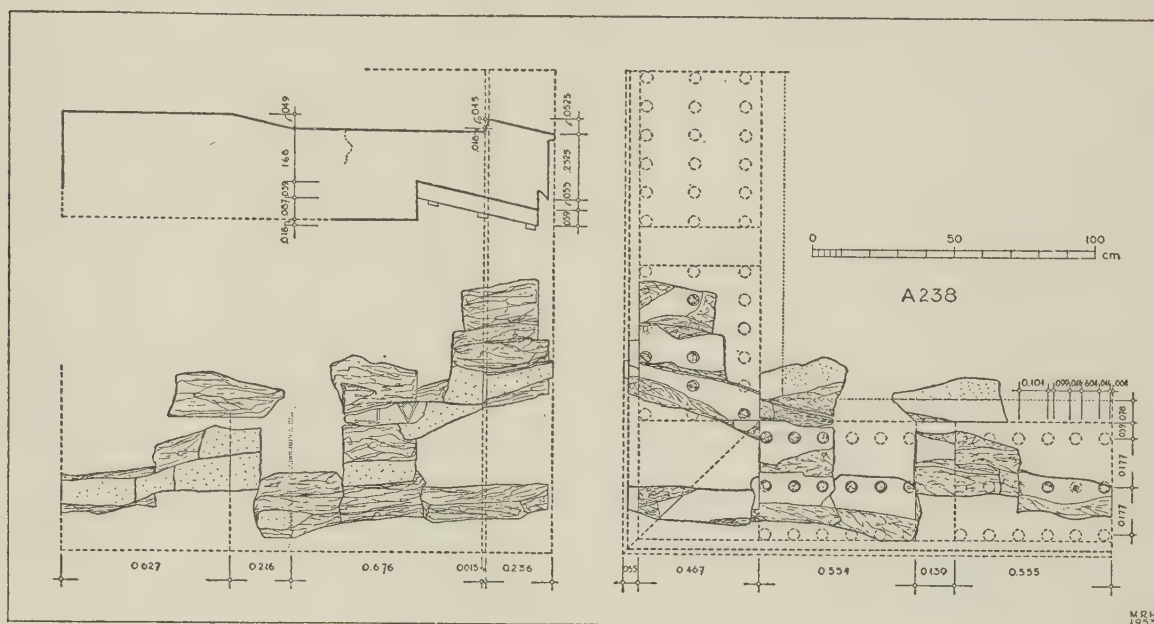


FIG. 12. Corner Geison A 238, Restored.

part of the cutting, both of which were parallel to the soffit of the flank geison at a pitch of nearly 1:4, almost exactly the "standard" pedimental pitch. The bed of the cutting is not horizontal but continues to slope down slightly. Its extent along the flank cannot be determined from the available evidence, but probably occupied most if not all of the length of the block.⁵⁴ The mason's letters AE are off-center, possibly because of the curious cutting immediately adjacent to them; the purpose

⁵³ See Dinsmoor, p. 19, fig. 9. Additional drawings are given here, showing the fragments as they were assembled and reconstructed (Fig. 12, Pl. 4, a). The joining and doweled of the fragments was difficult owing to the fact that even fifth century workmanship was not always impeccable; this is particularly true of the soffits of the mutules where it was not easy for the mason to achieve a plane surface, much to the trial of the mender. In addition to the pieces now incorporated in the reconstructed geison A 238, there are fourteen fragments of the horizontal geison, none of the raking. Six of these fragments are parts of mutules, sometimes too small to preserve more than one gutta.

⁵⁴ On the Hephaesteion, the cutting continues to the joint.

of this hole is not clear as only one side is preserved. It may have been used in lifting the block. The mutules are not identical in width; the one next to the corner is 0.554 m. wide, the other 0.555 m. The 0.139 m. via between is very probably of more than standard width, as Dinsmoor suggests, especially as it is now clear that the corner triglyph was wider than the others; there are as yet no other viae known which are preserved in full width. Two of the guttae were replaced in antiquity, at the time of the original construction or when the temple was moved. In one case the tenon remains although the gutta has been broken cleanly away.⁵⁵

Two large fragments, one from the inner face (A 1812), the other with only the back of the mutule soffit (A 1939), are all the significant remains of the flank geison (Figs. 13, 14).⁵⁶ They do not join and so do not reveal the width of the whole block, but it is still possible to reconstruct the arrangement of the top. The sima bed was presumably cut on a slope exactly like that begun on the corner block. The bed of the roof beam was horizontal and continued to within 0.252 m. of the inner face, at which point it was cut down 0.088 m. to receive the ceiling beam. The width of the bed indicates that this was one of the major beams at the side of the east or west porch.⁵⁷ A small hawkbeak ran along the top of the inner face (Fig. 14).⁵⁸ The inner fragment has a cutting for a T-clamp on the higher of the top surfaces, centered 0.127 m. back from the beam cutting. The clamp in the outer fragment is 0.123 m. in from the fascia below the mutule; next to it toward the interior of the block, at the top of the vertical joint surface, is a horizontal groove that may have been used to manoeuvre the block into position; there is a regular shift cutting below it at the bottom of the block. There is no evidence as to the location of any dowels.

PEDIMENT

The top of the geison along the front of the temple was 0.043 m. higher than on the flank. This added thickness Dinsmoor⁵⁹ has taken to indicate a strengthening of the pediment floor with a view to the support of the sculpture; no further evidence

⁵⁵ It is a continual source of wonder to me that the Athenians could consider dismantling and re-erecting a building the blocks of which would ordinarily have required protective surfaces until they were in their final positions.

⁵⁶ A 1939 is too low to be part of the front horizontal geison, which had a raised pedimental floor, and the sloping top surface indicates the bed of the sima. A 1812 is preserved to a minimum width of 0.80 m., too wide for the epikranitis, and is the same height (0.32 m.) as the fragment from the outside. Note that the inner part of the flank geison in the Hephaisteion is cut in a separate piece, Koch, pl. 46.

⁵⁷ Cf. Koch, pls. 48, 50.

⁵⁸ The height is given by the epikranitis fragments A 1779 and A 1812 a, while the profile of the moulding was taken from A 1868.

⁵⁹ P. 31.

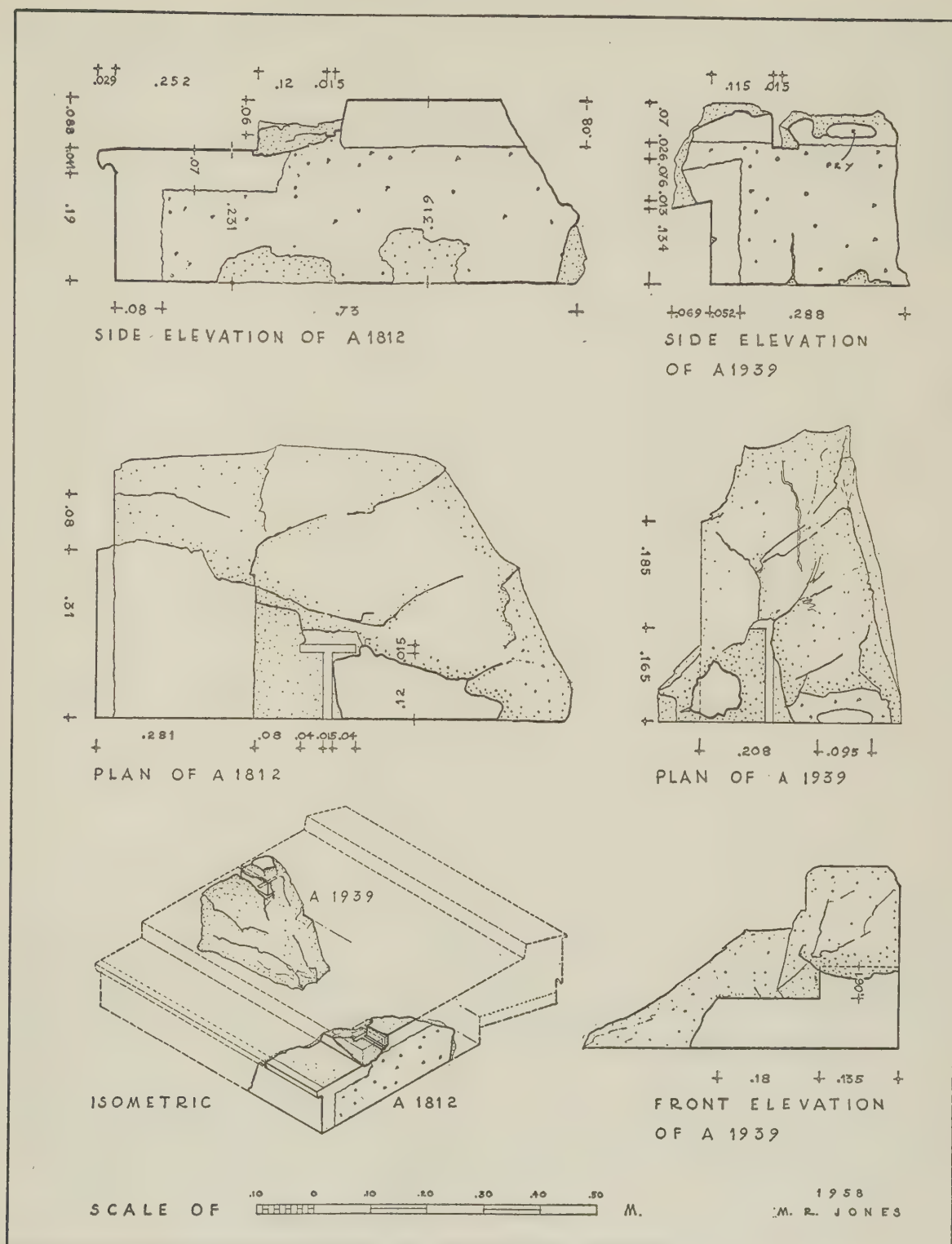


FIG. 13. Flank Geison Block.

has been found for the existence of such decoration. The only additional information regarding the pediment might come from A 260, a part of a tympanum block, presumably from the one next to the angle (Fig. 15).⁶⁰ The face is smooth picked but not polished; the back is only roughly finished and is drilled with two small holes 0.04 and 0.012 m. in depth. Near the bottom is a small patch, a smooth area, representing the maximum projection of the rough face; it was apparently finished off

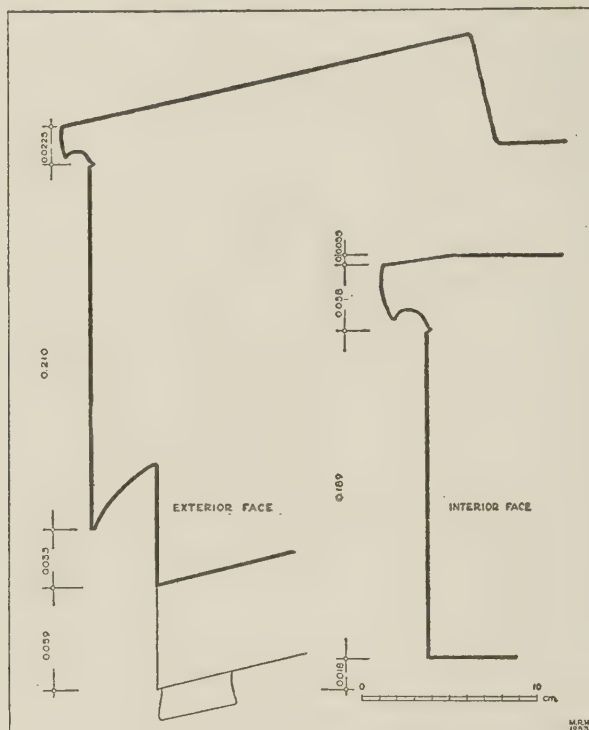


FIG. 14. Geison Profiles.

when the block was fitted into place, and sets the width of the course at 0.313 m. The upper surface is smooth picked in the manner customary in this building.⁶¹ The bottom is also treated in the usual way, with a toothed chisel; the surface at the inner edge has spalled off. The pitch, and therefore the pedimental slope in general, is 1 : 3.95. A small T-clamp cutting is partly preserved in the top, set in a plane parallel

⁶⁰ Very likely the angle piece was cut on the first block of the raking geison, as on the Hephaisteion and elsewhere. A 260 was found near the New Bouleuterion and as it gives no clue to the total size of the pediment, it should not be too definitely associated with the temple of Ares.

⁶¹ See below, p. 45.

to the bottom, that is, horizontal; the clamp presumably tied the marble facing block to a poros backer.

SIMA

The sima has been very fully discussed in the previous publication.⁶² The examples from the Hephaisteion are almost identical with those from the temple of Ares; the former have perhaps a millimeter less in height and in the width of the

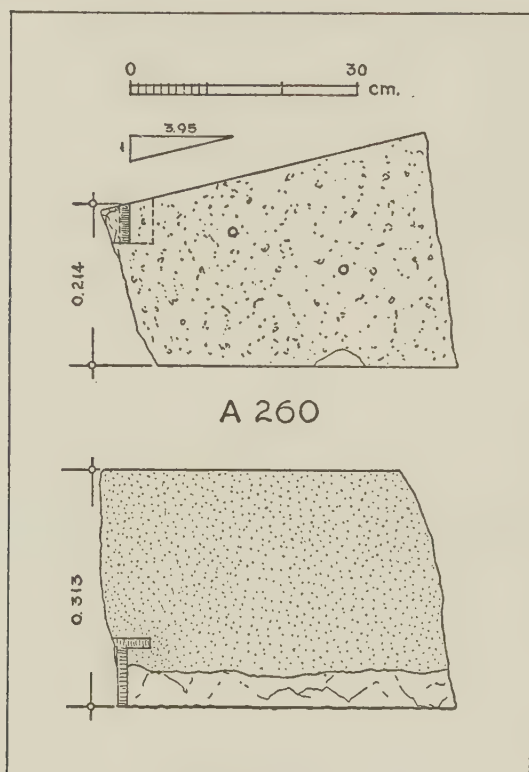


FIG. 15. Tympanum Block.

palmette design unit, although it is difficult to be sure when there are only four or five examples of each for comparison. Since Dinsmoor's writing, one additional lion's head has been discovered (A 1853), the muzzle entirely broken away (Pl. 4, c). The locks seem to be very similar to those of A 700, and the water channel through it has the same smooth finish.⁶³

⁶² Dinsmoor, pp. 32 ff. The reader's attention is called to the error in the legend of fig. 12; it is the raking sima that has a right angle at the lower edge.

⁶³ Dinsmoor, p. 35, fig. 13.

Roof

Three fragments of cover tiles of the Pentelic type of marble, found in the vicinity of the temple foundations, may possibly be associated with the building (Fig. 16).⁶⁴ The low arch of the under side is cut away at the lower end to fit over the next cover tile. A 1871 gives the full width of the tile as 0.212 m. The length is not preserved in any example, nor is there any identified fragment of a pan tile.

For comparison in Figure 16 are shown three from among several fragments of marble roof tiles found in a context of the third century after Christ a few meters to the north of the Hephaisteion (A 2682-A2684); in all probability they derive from that building and may be presumed to have been dislodged as a result of damage done at the time of the Herulian sack in A.D. 267.⁶⁵

A 701, the base for a corner akroterion, is fully discussed and illustrated in the previous publication.⁶⁶ The figure of a young girl, apparently a central akroterion, has been connected with the temple more recently; it was found in excavating for the line of the Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1891 and is now in the National Museum in Athens (No. 1732).⁶⁷

WALLS

The total evidence for the appearance of the toichobate course is found in two fragments, A 1847 and A 1438 (Fig. 3). The first is an outer corner of a block, the front, end and part of the top surfaces preserved, with about half the clamp cutting; the center-line of the T-clamp is 0.32 m. back from the face. Only the upper part of the front surface is finished; a pitted weathering line 0.068 m. down from the top indicates the position of the paving slabs against it. The top is finished with a smooth band along the front edge; a setting line 0.045 m. back marks the position of the orthostate.

The inner part of the toichobate is represented by the other piece. Here the smooth surface of the face extended at least 0.12 m. down from the top. The block was re-used as a doorsill with this side uppermost and is so worn that the relative level of the interior paving is no longer determinable.⁶⁸ The top surface is polished as

⁶⁴ A 1689, A 1855, A 1871, all recovered from marble piles near the temple. The dimensions used in Figure 16 are taken from Mr. Jones' measurements. It may be noted that according to these figures, the Hephaisteion roof tiles are almost exactly the same size as those from the temple of Ares; the latter were possibly the narrower of the two.

⁶⁵ For other fragments of marble roof tiles attributed to the Hephaisteion, cf. Koch, p. 66, figs. 61, 64.

⁶⁶ Dinsmoor, p. 36, fig. 14.

⁶⁷ It has been published in this new connection by P. N. Boulter, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 141-147, pls. 47, 48.

⁶⁸ The block shows the cutting for the bottom pivot of the door and the arcs made by the door itself; these later marks are omitted in the drawing in order to avoid confusion.

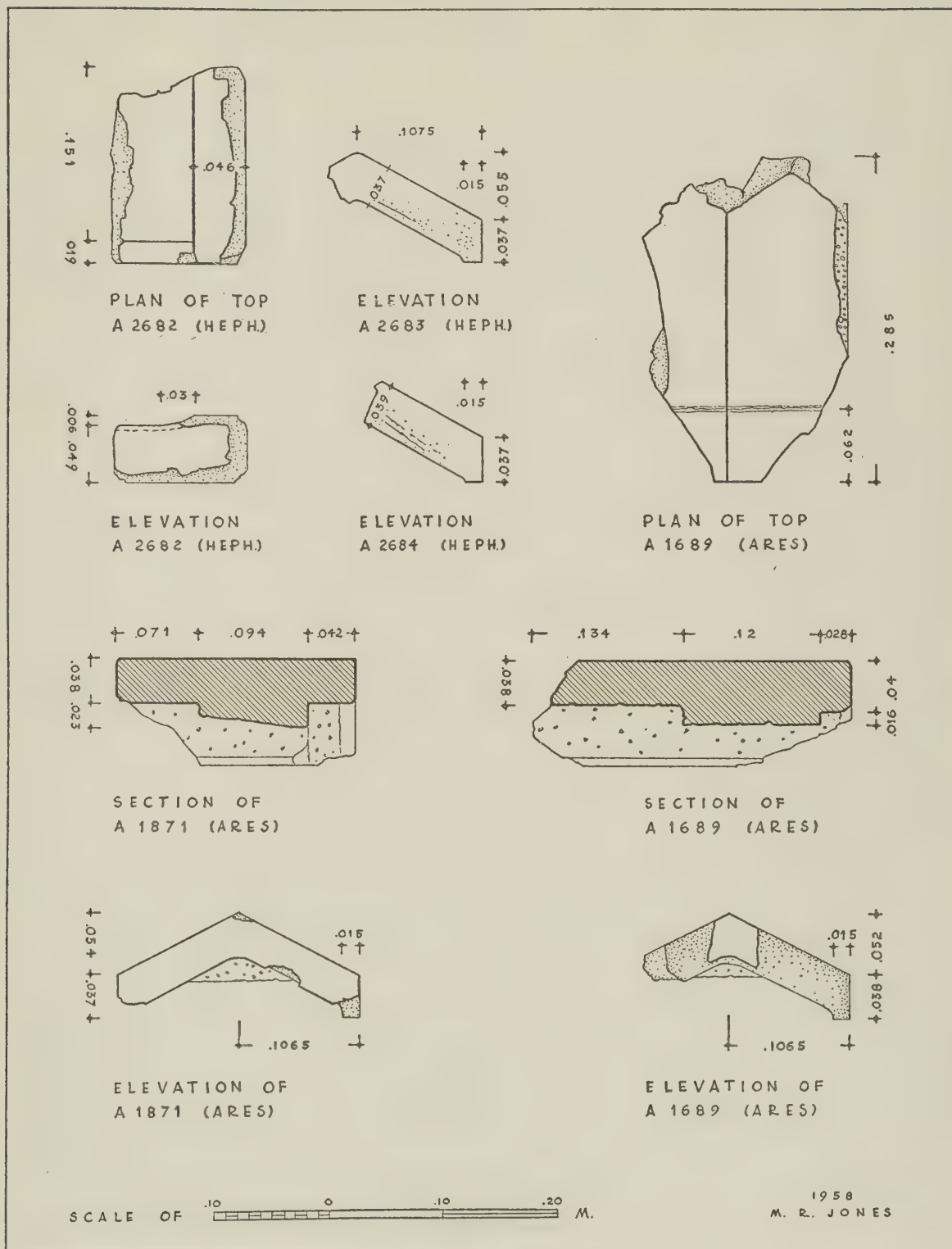


FIG. 16. Roof Tiles.

far back as the partially preserved setting line, 0.055 m. from the edge. On this upper surface, the mason's letters appear unusually close to what was the inner face; presumably the inner orthostates were removed first and the letters were cut while the outer orthostates were still in place.

The outer orthostates, as demonstrated by A 704, were 1.102 m. long and about 0.29 m. thick (Fig. 3).⁶⁹ This is somewhat less than half the thickness of the wall. A one millimeter relieving surface 0.02 m. wide runs along the front of the bottom surface. At one end there was a dowel cutting, in this particular case at the right. At the other end of A 704 is a similar cutting, but it is not parallel to the front face nor is the top of it horizontal. It appears to have been for a *paragomphos* or preliminary dowel.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the height of the orthostate is not fully preserved, but it must have been more than 0.80 m.

Quite a number of plinths are preserved, though no single one is complete.⁷¹ A 1567 (Fig. 3) and A 2114, which measure in width 0.680-0.684 m. and 0.678 m. respectively,⁷² are polished on both faces. The lower surface is tooled smooth and the upper is picked with a polished band at each outer edge. The ends of the blocks are finished with anathyrosis at the top and sides. The blocks were clamped together with T-clamps approximately at the center of the joint. Every example which is sufficiently preserved shows a channel of V-section on one of the vertical anathyrosis bands at each joint, usually at the inside face (Pl. 7, b, c, f).⁷³ In no case is the full

⁶⁹ The weathering pits along the lower edge of the face show that the only known orthostate fragments, A 704 and A 1817, were both from an exposed face of the wall; it is probable, if not certain, that the orthostates did not remain in place long enough after the destruction of the roof to acquire such marks on the inside face.

⁷⁰ An even clearer example is to be found on a wall block, A 1568 (Fig. 3) discussed below, p. 32.

⁷¹ Twenty-eight fragments have been catalogued as wall blocks, but it is possible that a few of these are unidentifiable parts of other members.

⁷² The increase in width toward the middle of A 1567 is unexplained; it is produced entirely by the inner face, which is not at right angles to the vertical joint. It cannot be demonstrated that the difference between the two blocks is due to batter, because the "course" letter is missing in both cases. A comparison with the 0.76 m. thick walls of the Hephaisteion suggests to Dr. Thompson that thinner walls were used in the temple of Ares, possibly because interior columns were part of the original scheme.

⁷³ Average width of channel 0.011 m.; average distance from face 0.046 m. Similar cuttings appear on the wall blocks from the Hephaisteion; see *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 101-104, where their probable function has been explained as channels for lead "weatherstripping." It is clear from the presence of mason's letters on several of the blocks now under discussion that the examples cited here belong to the temple of Ares. It is also clear from the position of these letters, which must have been invariably near the outer face, that the channels were generally next to the inner face. The exceptions are A 1749, the channel of which is extremely rough as though it were a mistake and never finished, EM 3056 and A 2114. A 1749 is marked Δ , the other two AP. It is possible that all three were mistakes, but some such irregularities have been noted by Dinsmoor in the

height of the block preserved, but the length may be taken from the orthostate A 704 which measures 1.102 m.⁷⁴ This, however, does not agree with A 1874, a fragment from the upper part of a wall block, preserving part of the top, face and both ends (Pl. 7, f). The length is only 0.91 m., the top is tooled all over in a rougher fashion than usual, without a smooth band at the edge, and the face is finished with a picked surface. This treatment is particularly obvious in the middle and at the right end, but the limits are not clear; at each end there is a vertical channel on the anathyrosis band adjacent to this face. There are no cuttings to give additional information. It is tempting to assign this inconvenient block to the Hephaisteion; the interior faces of most of the wall blocks there are treated in a similar fashion.⁷⁵ However, the Hephaisteion plinths which are in place measure according to their particular locations 0.24, 0.848 and 1.25 m. in length. It is not even possible to fit this piece into the missing pronaos and opisthodomos walls. If the block does belong to the temple of Ares, it may be a partial replacement of some broken plinthos; any positive conclusions in regard to a position in the temple require more exact information on the lengths of the walls than we now possess.⁷⁶

There is a special cutting worthy of mention on A 2253, a fragment from an outside upper corner of a wall block (Fig. 3). Just in front of the half-preserved clamp-cutting is a neatly made notch, allowing a shifting bar to be used on the adjacent block. The fact that these cuttings are not common suggests that the usual method was to apply the bar to the bottom of the block, and would be abandoned only when it became impractical, as in the case of the last member of a course, which would have been inserted from above. If this cutting was made by the original builders, as it would appear, and the shift hole opposite could have been located by probing, it may have served to show their successors which of the blocks in the course was the last-laid, undoweled one, and made it easier to "unravel" the row of invisibly doweled plinths.⁷⁷ However, there is no assurance that such cuttings were limited

Hephaisteion. There the channels normally occur next to the inner face; the exceptions are found in the eighth course of the opisthodomos crosswall, and the sixth and eighth courses of the pronaos crosswall where they abut the north flank wall. No explanation has been offered for this variation.

⁷⁴ An approximate length may be calculated from the position of the dowel cutting on top of three of the blocks, assuming that the joints broke evenly at the centers of the plinths of the course below. (The adjacent pry hole is not preserved in any of the examples, so that the alternate measurements including the five centimeter length of the dowel hole are also given.) A 263: 0.477-0.527 m., A 1428: 0.537-0.587 m., A 1982: 0.475-0.525 m. from the joint to the center of the block, resulting in the total lengths of 0.954-1.054, 1.074-1.174, and 0.950-1.050 m. respectively. Taking the maximum of the first and last and the minimum of the second, we arrive at an average length of 1.059 m., within five centimeters of the length given by the orthostate.

⁷⁵ *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 94 ff.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 63.

⁷⁷ The re-cut clamp-cuttings on the step blocks show that the work of the later period is often difficult if not impossible to distinguish from the earlier.

to "key blocks." The cutting already described on the end of the flank geison block A 1939 is similar.⁷⁸

A more unusual cutting is found on the lower surfaces of A 1568 and A 704 (Fig. 3). What would appear at first glance to be an ordinary dowel hole is seen on closer examination to be set at a slight angle, the top sloping downward as it goes in. These are almost certainly cuttings for *paragomphoi*, a term applied by Orlandos to

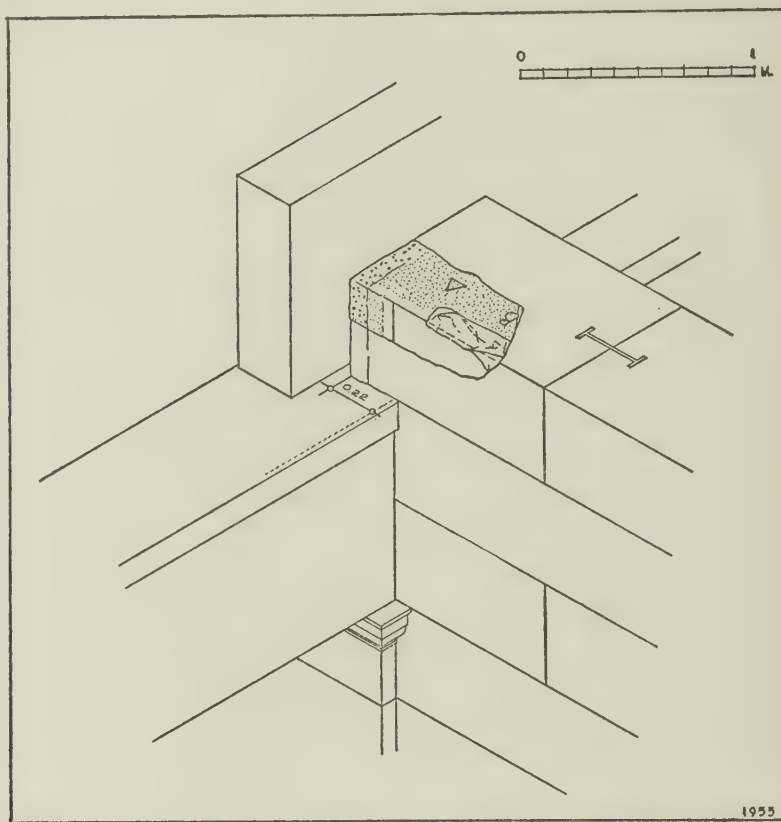


FIG. 17. Restoration of Block I 5183 above the Northeast Anta.

the wedge-shaped preliminary dowels used on wall blocks of the Parthenon.⁷⁹ The cuttings on these fragments from the temple of Ares were made presumably to allow for dowels of this kind which held the preceding blocks tightly in position.

The end of wall block I 5183 was left unfinished because it was set into some part of the superstructure (Fig. 17). Only two letters are preserved, but these are somewhat closer together than is customary, suggesting that the block was a short one. The middle letter **B** tells us that we are dealing with the second course from the top; the Δ indicates the north side of the building. The only possible position for such a block is at the northeast corner above the anta; the unfinished end would be covered

by the backers of the frieze (Fig. 17). This means that the frieze must have been carried across the peristyle at the east end. The same arrangement was used on the "companion" temples at Rhamnous and Sounion, and an exactly similar block exists in the Hephaisteion (Pl. 5, b).⁸⁰ The absence of any clamp in I 5183 is due to its position against the lower half of the two-course frieze. That it was not even clamped to the frieze backer beside it may be explained by the narrowness of the backer, which must have measured close to the 0.22 m. indicated by the joint surface on I 5183. The block in the Hephaisteion which corresponds to the member immediately below the one under discussion has been cracked by the clamp which fastened it to the epistyle, but there is no sign of any such stress in the course above.

The fragment A 2251 would be taken at once for a wall block were it not that the letters AΘ are only 0.08 m. apart.⁸¹ The Θ, however, supports the identification because nowhere else would there be six or more courses. The explanation may be that as this is the first in the row (A) it is the half-length block in the cross wall where it meets the long wall. This position is suggested rather than one in the long walls because there are no short blocks in the long walls of the Hephaisteion; the blocks at the end are cut in one with the antae.⁸²

A wall block fragment A 2635 may be assigned as one of those which received the crosswall blocks (Fig. 18, Pl. 7, a). A smooth interior face is preserved for a distance of 0.445 m. from the joint, which is complete with anathyrosis and part of a T-clamp cutting. The remainder of the inner surface shows a very slightly recessed anathyrosis, somewhat roughly cut and against which the crosswall block would have been set; the block is broken at the cutting for the clamp to the crosswall. A pry hole on the top surface indicates that the next course was jointed in line with the inner face of the crosswall.

A comparison with the Hephaisteion reveals that there the crosswall blocks were recessed in every other course, the alternate ones having neatly smoothed anathyrosis bands flush with the finished wall; the recesses are deep enough so that a roughly tooled surface was adequate.⁸³ In the case of the fragment now assigned to the temple

⁷⁸ See above, p. 24.

⁷⁹ I am indebted to Mr. John Travlos for identifying these cuttings and calling my attention to the article by Orlandos, *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 175-178, where other examples of the fifth and even sixth centuries are cited. No explanation is offered for the failure to remove the preliminary dowels after the final ones were leaded in place, although their presence made it necessary to cut away the adjacent block to fit over the *paragomphos*.

⁸⁰ Note that the exposed part of this block is only about two-thirds of the normal length.

⁸¹ For a photograph, see Dinsmoor, p. 38, fig. 15.

⁸² See Koch, pl. 46. The length of the walls was probably not very different in the two buildings, although there is nothing to prove it. See below, p. 63. The shortest exposed lengths (0.24 m.) of the wall blocks in the exterior walls in the Hephaisteion occur next to the east antae.

⁸³ See Koch, pl. 12 b.

of Ares, it would seem that even the courses with anathyrosis made use of a slight recess, possibly to permit the interior face to be polished back somewhat after erection. There is even a suggestion of a ridge at the edge of this face that bears out the idea

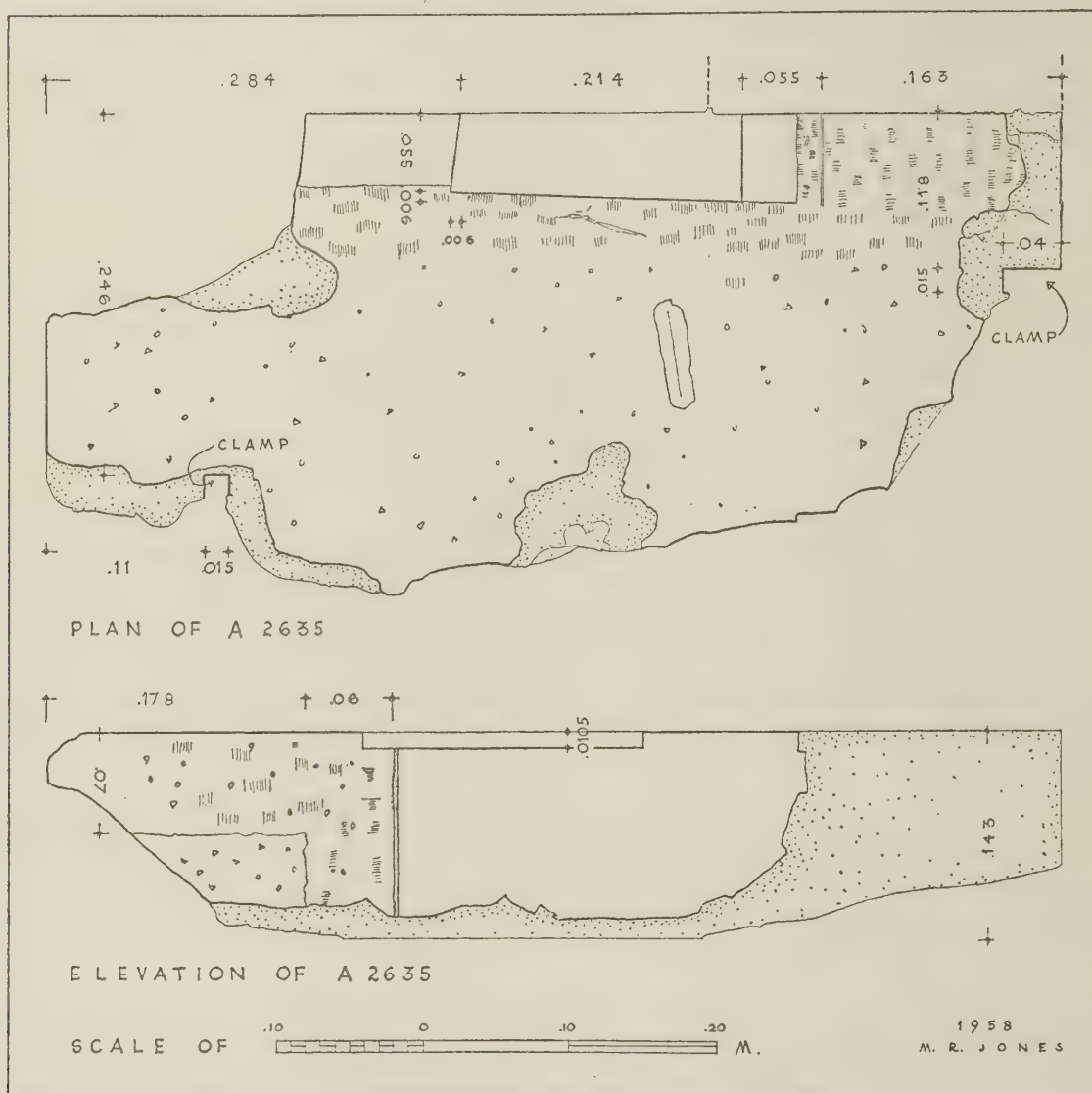


FIG. 18. Crosswall Block.

of such final touches. That the crosswall course above A 2635 rested on it and was more deeply recessed is suggested by the presence of the smooth horizontal joint band on the top of this fragment; the band continues for some centimeters beyond the end of the polished face as though to match the corresponding band which must have

been cut on the crosswall block. The scratched line on the top surface at this point does not appear to be a setting line, but may have been marked across the joint to assist in accurate re-assembly. A very neatly cut and polished recess for a patch at the front edge may have been necessitated by prying the courses apart in the dismantling process, but the workmanship is so similar to that of the horizontal joint surface that it was more probably made to repair a mishap during the original construction.

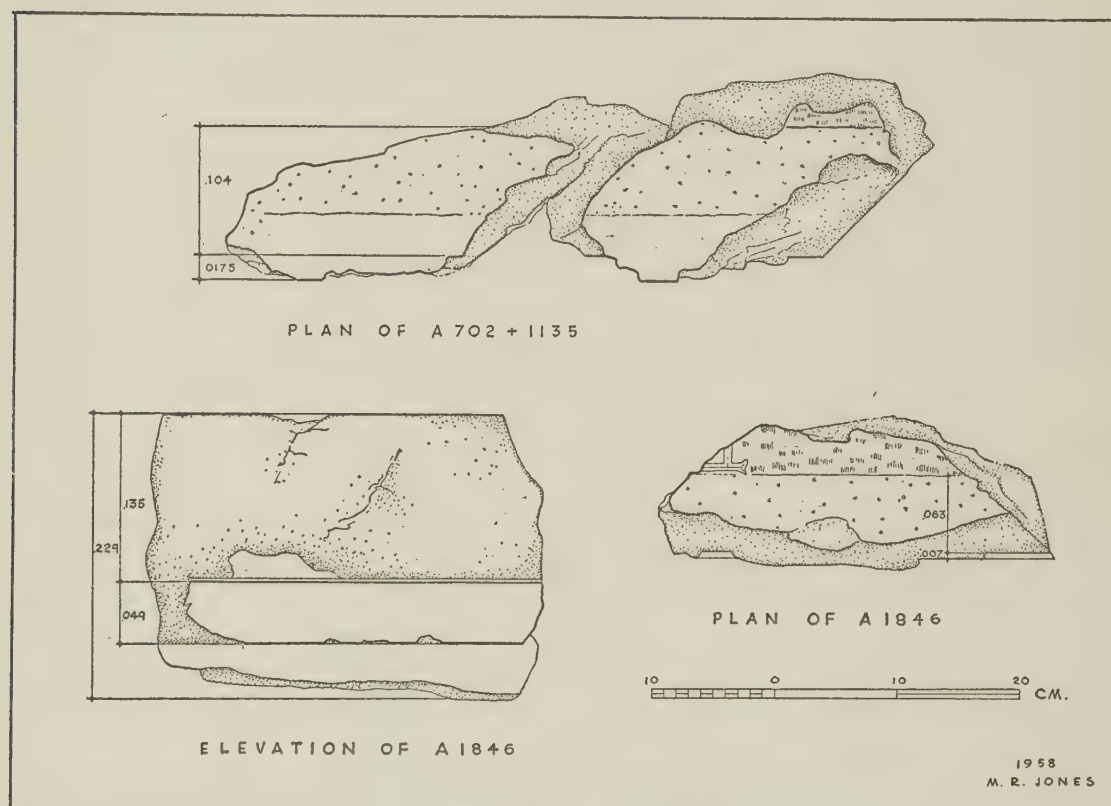


FIG. 19. Epikranitis Fragments.

It is, of course, disappointing that the outer part bearing the letters is not preserved, but as it is the inner part which allows the position of the block to be determined, the letters would be of much less interest by themselves. Assignment to the temple of Ares depends on the assumption that the T-clamp in the long wall was not centered, as its position on a line 0.301 m. from the inner face is about four centimeters short of what we might expect. Such an off-center position would be structurally sound in countering the effect of the tie to the crosswall. The smooth inner face shown on this fragment may indicate only the treatment of the pronaos or

opisthodomos walls, rather than that of the interior. The centerline of the clamp to the crosswall is about 0.245 m. from the edge of the finished inner face.

ANTA CAPITALS

A 702, proposed by Dinsmoor as an anta capital, was found to join A 1135,

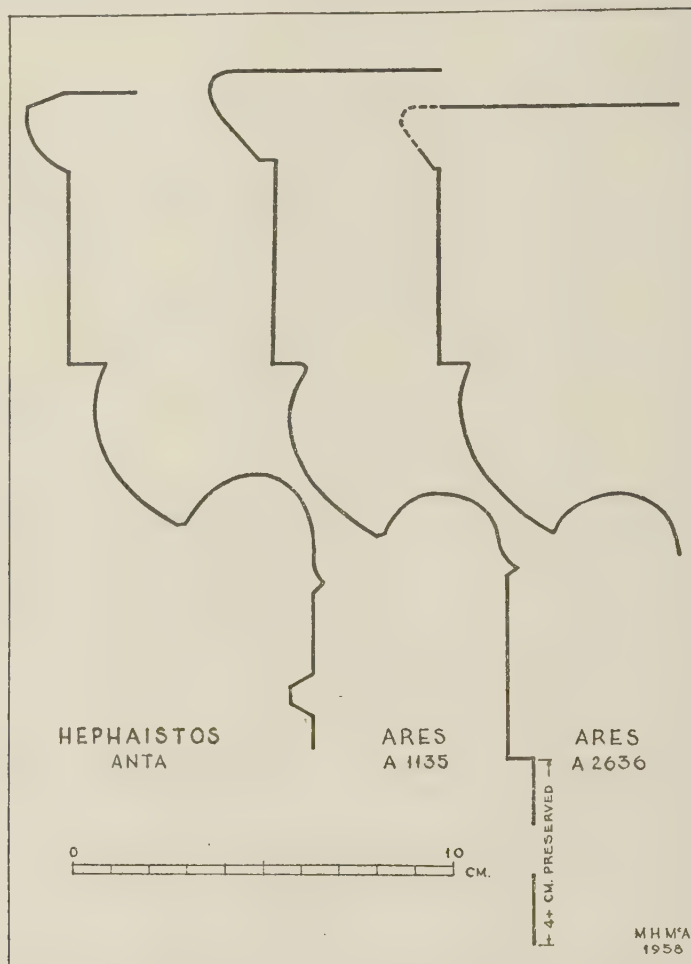


FIG. 20. Anta Capital Profiles.

resulting in a moulding length of 0.48 m. (Fig. 19).⁸⁴ This new addition has an end-joint mitered at forty-five degrees, adding another 0.09 m. to the overall length of the fragment. The miter is for an interior corner (Pl. 4, d).

⁸⁴ Dinsmoor, p. 39. There are four fragments of this moulded course: A 601, A 702, A 1135, and A 1846, the second and third now being joined. The mouldings of the first are preserved for a distance of 0.225 m. from a right-angle joint surface. On the top of A 1846, there is the upper left-hand corner of a letter, probably Π.

Another moulded course, represented by A 2636, was assigned to the temple of Ares in 1956 (Fig. 20).⁸⁵ There are remains of an ovolo, a fascia and the upper part of a hawksbeak; near the left edge of the fragment, the undercut portion of the hawksbeak shows the mitered return for the outside corner. The scale is very slightly under that of the A 1135 series. Here in this second moulding we have a substitute candidate for the anta capital.

The A 1135 series is troublesome to assign. The mitered joint proves that the moulding comes from an interior but it seems too elaborate for the cella itself. A possible position is the epistyle course inside the east porch. In the Hephaisteion a somewhat simpler moulding of quite different profile here runs under the frieze and continues around on the backers of the exterior epistyle. Another location would be at the top of the frieze. However, this would drastically reduce the height available for sculpture, and would definitely preclude the assignment to the frieze of the figures found by the temple altar.⁸⁶ A less probable suggestion is the course immediately below the ceiling in the pronaos, but the elaboration of this course is usually confined to a small hawksbeak. The extraordinary similarity of the profiles and the generally large scale of the two mouldings point to their assignment to the same building, even though I have been unable to discover a parallel case.

EPIKRANITIS

The regular exterior epikranitis, represented by A 1779, A 1788, A 1868, and A 2256, is extremely close to that of the Hephaisteion, except that it is 0.232 m. in height rather than 0.207 m.⁸⁷ Fragments which preserve only the hawksbeak moulding are hard to assign, as a good deal of the course is missing or damaged on the north side of the Hephaisteion. Above the columns, in both buildings, the inner face of the geison, a separate block in the Hephaisteion, is cut to match the course at the top of the wall. The Hephaisteion epikranitis still shows traces of a painted fret pattern on the face of the blocks under the crowning hawksbeak;⁸⁸ some of the blue color is well preserved on a fragment in the Agora collection (A 2334). The same treatment, which is also found on the Parthenon, was probably used on the temple of Ares.

⁸⁵ The profile of the Hephaisteion anta capital shown in Figure 20 is taken from Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pl. LVII. The profile of A 1135 was taken from a plaster cast, while that of A 2636 was made from a drawing by M. R. Jones. The great similarity of the three will be more apparent when compared with other contemporary hawksbeaks; cf. Shoe, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ See above, p. 6, note 17.

⁸⁷ For profile, see Fig. 14. The height is confirmed by the fragment of the inner part of a flank geison, A 1812. A 1788 has part of a Θ preserved on the top surface.

⁸⁸ Published by Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Chap. I, pl. X. Cf. Koch, figs. 81, 82.

CEILING

A large section of marble beam (A 2388) is still cemented in place as part of the Late Roman Fortification, formerly called the Valerian Wall; another (A 2389) lies beside it (Pl. 5, d).⁸⁹ They were used in the tower near the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos. Immediately north of this tower in the western face of the

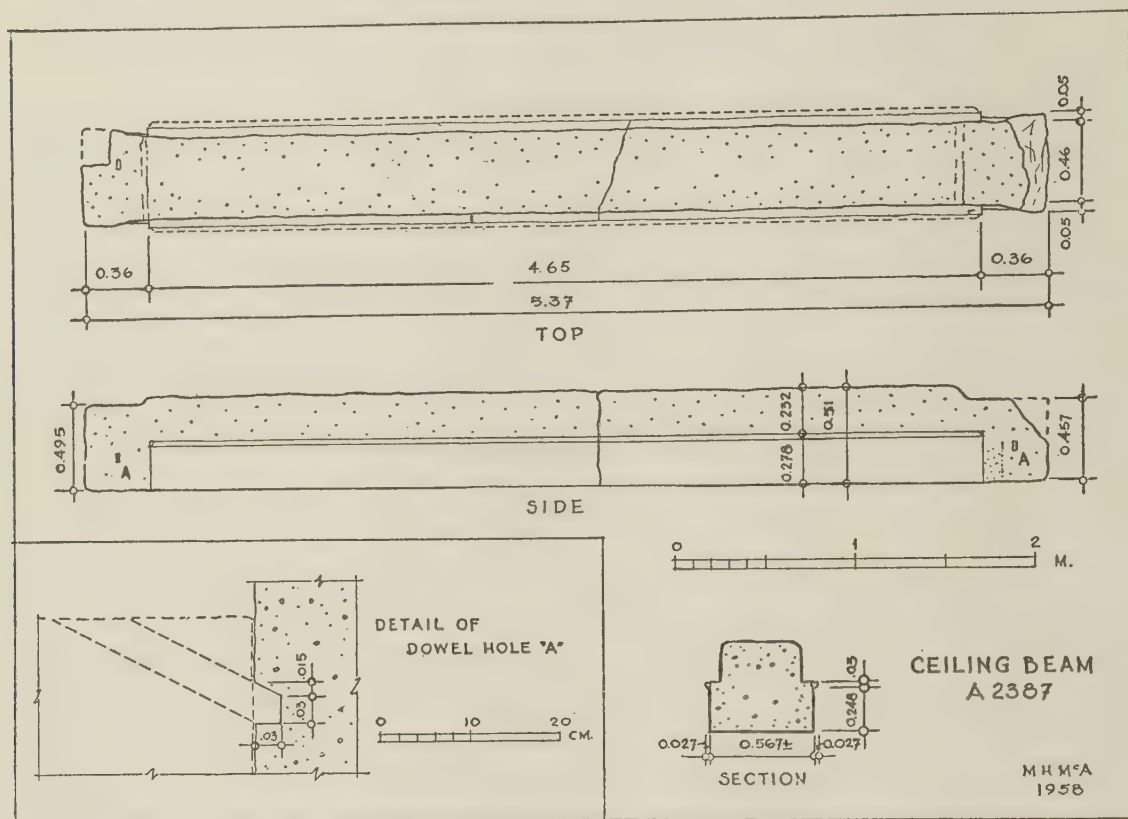


FIG. 21. Ceiling Beam.

wall itself, there is a complete beam (A 2387) laid on its side with its soffit exposed; it is now broken at about the mid point and a crack of a centimeter or so separates the two halves (Fig. 21). Allowing for this slight gap, the length between the cuttings for the interbeam blocks is 4.65 m. within a few millimeters. The beams are all three 0.278 m. high with a central rib which rises an additional 0.19-0.215 m. The crowning

⁸⁹ Dinsmoor, pp. 39-40. These beams appear in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, fig. 20. A 2387 shows in the nearer section of the wall to the right of the two workmen; the soffit appears in the fourth course from the top. The other two pieces lie more to the south, at right angles to each other at the right side of the picture.

ovolo, 0.045 m. high, is protected by a relieving surface (Fig. 22). The widths of the beams vary: A 2387 measures 0.567 m. across the soffit, A 2388, 0.563 m. and A 2389 only 0.544 m.⁹⁰ This range is not surprising when the beams of the Hephaisteion east porch are studied in comparison: there the widths run from 0.541 to 0.568 m. and the intervals between them from 0.836 to 0.880 m., though here some allowance must be made for the spreading of the joints throughout the upper part of the temple.⁹¹ The dimensions of the Hephaisteion beams fall roughly into two groups, averaging 0.544 and 0.565 m. in width, and are apparently symmetrically arranged; if there is some subtle purpose in this scheme, it is not apparent to this author. In any case, the beams from the Late Roman Fortification seem to represent two categories also, 0.565 and 0.544 m. in width, an astonishing coincidence. These cannot belong to the Hephaisteion, or at least the complete one cannot, as it is too long even for the east porch where the beams are of course fully preserved.⁹² The only other major candidate for the temple of Ares is the fragment A 705, already rejected by Dinsmoor as too large (it is 0.334 m. high) and of inferior workmanship, although it was found very near the foundations.⁹³

The butt end of these beams, where preserved, is unfinished and continues about 0.36 m. beyond the mitred end of the moulding. The complete beam A 2387 shows that the two ends were not alike: at one end the top has been cut down over the last 0.45 m. as though to receive an upper course, the total height here measuring 0.457 m.; on the coffer bed immediately adjacent there is the top of a letter, either Π, Γ, or Ε, but there are no cuttings for dowels or clamps. Beyond the end of the moulding and the "anathyrosis" for the interbeam block, the beam widens until at the end it is equal to the finished beam without the two projecting mouldings. The other end has been cut down to a height of 0.495 m. for the last 0.36 m.; the "notch" cutting away half the end was presumably made to fit the Late Roman Fortification. On either side, there is a vertical cutting (Fig. 21, A) set about 0.18 m. back from the end of the moulding; these cuttings are three centimeters deep and one wide, but the top slopes at a forty-five degree angle from a height of four and a half centimeters at the face to three at the back. A smoother finish which appears at one side of the rough end shows that the adjoining interbeam block was only 0.10 m. or so in width

⁹⁰ These dimensions may vary a millimeter or so in the length of the beam.

⁹¹ Proceeding from south to north, these soffit widths are 0.374, 0.541, 0.566, 0.562, 0.546, 0.563, 0.568, 0.544, and 0.374 m., the two end beams naturally being narrower. The dimensions recently published by Koch, pl. 48, do not agree with these which were taken in the east peristyle in 1952. As there has been no opportunity to check the measurements again, I have retained my own figures. Were Koch's measurements to be used for the end beam soffit in the restored drawing (Fig. 23 and below p. 62), the second row of coffer slabs would come more nearly over the anta as in the Hephaisteion.

⁹² Whether it fits the temple of Ares depends on the dimensions derived below, p. 60.

⁹³ Dinsmoor, p. 40, note 82.

and can have had nothing to do with these cuttings. It is possible that they received wedges, as their unusual form would indicate, which, with the aid of rough filler blocks, held the beams at fixed intervals (Fig. 21).^{93a} The interbeams could then be dropped in place, without any need for clamps.

These cuttings also occur on the butt end of A 2389; traces of a letter on the adjacent coffer bed may be taken as part of an H, N, or Z. There are no dowel holes on either A 2388 or A 2389. The absence of letters elsewhere on these three beams may very well be due to poor preservation; a great deal of the moulding was knocked off, either accidentally, or, in the case of A 2387, to permit the block to be set on its side. If there was only a single letter on each, it must have referred to the position of the beam itself, rather than to that of the coffer slabs. The final dressing of the bed for the coffers should indicate something about the length of these slabs, but the only complete interval apparent is one of 1.81 m. from the end of the moulding on A 2387, slightly less than the length of two slabs, each two coffers long.⁹⁴

Eight other fragments of beams have been catalogued among the pieces taken from the Late Roman Fortification. Some of these retain "shadows" of the egg and dart originally painted on the ovolo.

The interbeam blocks in the same group have been described carefully by Dinsmoor, including those which were "cut down" from major beams, A 2130 and A 2133.⁹⁵ They may be sorted by width into four groups, averaging 0.1805, 0.160, 0.143, and 0.107 m.⁹⁶ The rough backs, especially in this last group, are not necessarily vertical, but may slope either in or out. The height where preserved averages 0.278 m., matching that of the major beams. Four of the fragments have dowel holes, 0.061-0.133 m. behind the nose of the ovolo and parallel to it; they are placed 0.045-0.15 m. from the end of the beam, which continues about two and a half centimeters beyond the bevel of the moulding.⁹⁷ The letters N or Z, B and 'B are found on three of them (A 2121, Pl. 5, e; A 1379 a; A 2123, Pl. 7, d) between the dowel hole and the end of the block, and similar marks presumably occurred on the others, the ends of which are not preserved. These letters are like the ones on the major beams; they are not strikingly like the mason's marks found on the other blocks of the temple of Ares, but are rather more casual. The reader is reminded that the coffer slabs and coffer lids of the Hephaisteion were lettered in the original construction. The letters on our

^{93a} See above p. 32 for discussion of *paragomphoi*.

⁹⁴ See below, p. 43.

⁹⁵ Dinsmoor, p. 40, points out that these raised beams cannot have belonged to the Hephaisteion, increasing the probability that the whole group belonged to the temple of Ares.

⁹⁶ There are two, four, two and three examples in each of these groups respectively.

⁹⁷ A 2131, A 2120, A 2121, A 1379 a. The holes are 0.040-0.045 m. long and about 0.015 m. wide. In the Hephaisteion, the dowel holes are at right angles to the line of the beam (Pl. 5, a).

blocks, while less carefully made, may likewise date from the first erection of the building, in which case they would have obviated any subsequent lettering.⁹⁸

No trace of the peristyle beams has been identified; the fragments which are too small to be definitely assigned were found with the other pieces, and in all probability are from the same part of the building.

More than eighty fragments from the coffered ceiling slabs have been catalogued, all from the fill of the Late Roman Fortification.⁹⁹ The dimensions of the separate elements vary a millimeter or so, but the total dimensions keep very close to an average. The greatest disparity is to be seen in the ovolo which borders the vault of the coffer, both in its width and its profile (Fig. 22). This moulding is in such an awkward position to carve that the whole vault of the Hephaisteion coffers was cut as a separate lid (Pl. 5, a). Consequently, it is not necessary to suppose that all but the finest of these fragments are late replacements; they may have been made by less skilful workmen for a lenient foreman. There are, however, a few fragments (A 2181 a, b, and c) which are so coarse in line and rough in finish that they must be late repairs if they belong with the others, as their scale and location in the Late Roman Fortification suggest (Pl. 6, b).

The upper surface of the slabs was left rough, but channels were cut on the line of the cross rib and above the central rib, from the crossing to the joint with the next slab; although these channels are only some four centimeters deep, they would have reduced the weight considerably. The thickness of the coffer vaults is not uniform, but varies from 0.012 to 0.017 m., the measurement being taken at the center.

There is another group of slabs which has been associated on the storage shelves

⁹⁸ The system used cannot be determined from so few examples, nor will reference to the Hephaisteion clarify it, as there are no letters on those beams, as far as I know. The letters on the Hephaisteion coffers are somewhat neater than those on the Ares ceiling beams, but are still far from having the precision of the later letters on the other blocks from the temple of Ares. The uncertain date of the letters on the beams destroys the value of the 'B in the discussion of the marking of extra blocks in the later period.

⁹⁹ These fragments have been described by Dinsmoor. From a careful study of all of them, it seems that the average width of the central rib is 0.1970 m. rather than 0.195 m. and the spacing is 0.458 m. on centers, as preserved on A 2137 a, but here we are splitting millimeters (Pl. 6, c, erroneously labeled b). This piece demonstrates that the slabs were two coffers long at least; A 2137 b which is a central rib preserves the joint surface, one full side of the astragal frame for one coffer, and the corner of the next, showing that the slabs were at least two coffers wide. They were probably two by two or even two by three, if an odd number were required. The setting mark, which would have been aligned with the ovolo of the beams, is preserved in three cases at a distance of 0.015, 0.016 and 0.0165 m. outside the sunken astragal, giving a distance between the ovolos as seen from below of 0.9146 m. for a slab two coffers wide, and a beam spacing of 1.549-1.572 m., depending on which of the soffit widths is in question. A two-coffer slab would be 0.916 m. long with an additional ten centimeters or so at the end. The probable spacing is discussed below in connection with the calculated dimensions of the temple, p. 62.

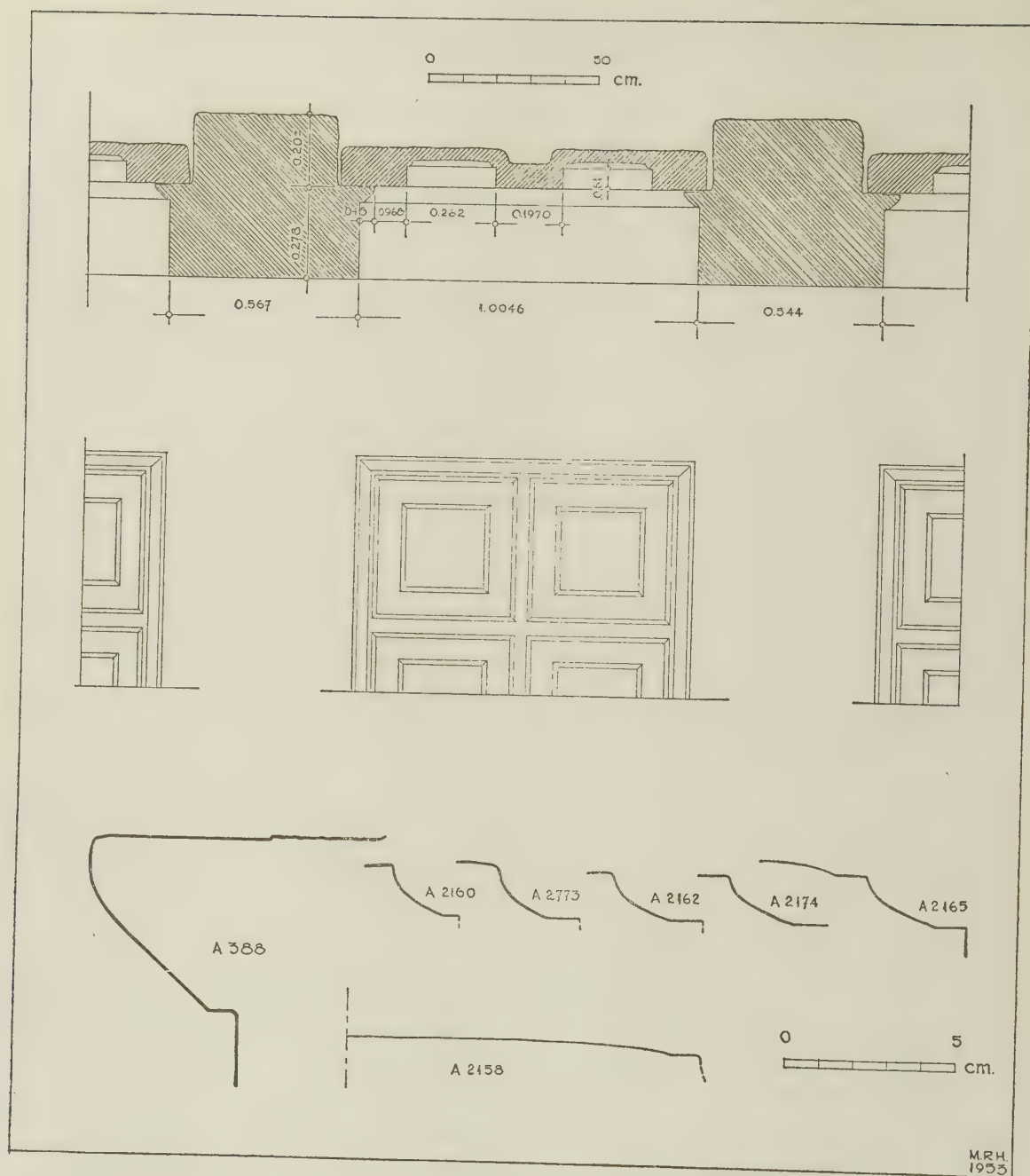


FIG. 22. Ceiling Details.

with those just described.¹⁰⁰ However, these are of such poor workmanship that it is difficult to believe that they could have been made even as Augustan replacements. The astragals are wide (0.021 m.) and so are the ovolos (0.047 m.), but the coffers are only 0.2215 and 0.224 m. across in the two cases where the width is preserved. With the exception of A 1750 where the coffers are "framed" in the manner of the fragments from the Late Roman Fortification, there is only a single astragal on the rib; this is the system used on the Hephaisteion blocks, but here the outer astragal continues straight across the rib astragal, instead of being "mitered" at the meeting point.¹⁰¹ Taking 0.021 m. for the astragal, 0.081 m. for the band between the astragal and the coffer, and 0.223 m. for the coffer itself, a slab two coffers wide would measure 0.833 m. between the outer edges of the astragals, while the pieces already assigned to the temple of Ares average 0.8835 m. over the corresponding distance. It is possible that these clumsy fragments were replacements in the west porch of the temple, but it is preferable to suppose that they belong with A 705 which Dinsmoor has assigned to an "unknown building of later date."

A far more plausible candidate for the Roman repair work may be found in A 1813, which is of the same scheme but of far better craftsmanship.¹⁰² Here the coffer is only 0.205 m. across with an ovolo 0.055 m. wide; the dimension between the outer lines of the astragals on a slab two coffers wide would be 0.853 m.¹⁰³ There is a similar fragment lying in the cella of the Hephaisteion which would measure about 0.812 m. over the corresponding distance. It is to be noted that this type of slab with a comparatively small coffer and wide ovolo moulding is the one regularly found on the Hephaisteion; these blocks are perhaps to be associated with that building rather than with the temple of Ares.

COLOR AND ORNAMENT

A number of the fragments have traces of the original applied color, either where the dye has penetrated the marble, or more rarely where the paint itself is preserved. In some instances the color cannot be determined at all, but it is still possible to make out the decorative pattern. The paint sometimes leaves a "shadow" on the marble giving the design in silhouette; at other times, especially on the sima, one color has proved more weather-resistant than another, and the variation in the surface of the

¹⁰⁰ These are A 1750, A 1751, A 1849, A 2117, A 2187, A 2189, A 2190; with the exception of A 2187 which was found on the slopes of the Areopagus, and A 2117 of unknown provenience, they were all found in the vicinity of the temple of Ares foundations, most of them at the west end.

¹⁰¹ For the Hephaisteion coffers, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, p. 111, fig. 42.

¹⁰² This was also found to the west of the foundations of the temple of Ares.

¹⁰³ Depending on their position, the Hephaisteion coffers measure 0.805-0.857 m. between the outer lines of the astragals. See also G. P. Stevens, "Ceiling of the Theseum," *A.J.A.*, XV, 1911, pp. 18-23.

marble reveals the original scheme. Thus it is possible to make out the lotus and palmette on the sima, the egg and dart on the ovolo of the ceiling beams, and the elaborate decorations of the coffers.¹⁰⁴ Dinsmoor has described these in such detail that it is unnecessary to do more than add a few notes here.

The epikranitis as preserved has no trace of paint or pattern, but was almost certainly similar to the one in the Hephaisteion, as has been mentioned above (p. 37). Neither is there any trace on the moulded course of the A 702 + A 1135 series. The more protected undersurface of the geison is the only part of the exterior order to retain any color. The fascia below the mutules appears to have been red, as was the via, and the face, side and soffit of the mutules blue, probably with white or gilt guttae. The vertical space between the mutules was clearly a different color from the red fascia below it, but its own color is not preserved.

By far the greatest amount of actual paint is to be found on the coffer fragments; they must have been thrown into the fill of the Late Roman Fortification very shortly after the destruction of the temple, so that they were never exposed to the weather (Pl. 6). The rays on the blue vault of the coffers, spreading out from a red ring, were probably left without color like the central spot, or may have been painted with a thin yellow wash with which the lioness is drawn on the "lintel" from the Agora excavations.¹⁰⁵ Three stripes border the blue: a red one on the edge of the vault, and a blue and a green one on the flat band just above the ovolo. In places, the red was apparently applied over the blue and appears purplish. The egg and dart pattern on the ovolo has a green background with red darts and blue eggs, outlined in gray bands which may have been yellow wash. On one fragment, there was a minute piece of black pigment on the band around the dart. The bead and reel below the ovolo now appears gray on a red ground. The astragals on the ribs are decorated with similar grayish beads and reels on a blue ground, and bordered by an inner red and outer green stripe on both sides; the red occasionally appears purplish, either from contact with the blue or from the darkening of age. The extreme edge of the panel as it appeared from below was certainly red, but it is not clear whether the surface of the ribs was painted. A part of a coffer from the Hephaisteion (A 2183, Pl. 5, c), similarly decorated, appears dark gray between the coffer and the sunken astragal; this broad expanse could hardly have been gilded, and supports the theory that whatever now appears gray was black or a neutral yellow in color. In almost every case, the design would be served best by a light tone on these areas.¹⁰⁶ There is no

¹⁰⁴ Dinsmoor, pp. 32-34, figs. 11, 12; p. 40; pp. 41-42. For Hephaisteion parallels, see Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, III, Chap. I, pls. X, XI, XII.

¹⁰⁵ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 221, fig. 17; XXIII, 1954, p. 172, frontispiece (color).

¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that there are traces of cement on this Hephaisteion fragment, cement of the kind used in the Late Roman Fortification, showing that the temple shared the damage, at least to a small extent, which was so generally suffered by the buildings of the ancient

evidence for the use of gold on such an extensive scale, but certain parts of the pattern may have been picked out with it.

Though sometimes covered by a dark crust, the colors remain extremely fresh and vivid underneath. They are very near to primary shades: a bright ultramarine blue, vermillion, and an astonishing pure emerald green. Unlike the other parts of the temple, the ceiling retains most color in the blue areas, in some cases suggesting a second coat somewhat clumsily added, perhaps at the time the building was re-erected. The paint is powdery in appearance (Pl. 6, d) and flakes off only too easily. There is a striking contrast to the paint samples from the Hephaisteion on the ceiling fragment A 2183 (Pl. 5, c) and epikranitis A 2334; here the paint has a smooth, hard surface, the blue standing out in relief now that the other pigments have generally disappeared.¹⁰⁷ The difference is presumably due to the use of a different substance as a base for the paint.

SURFACE FINISHES

Without in any way departing from the expected, the finishes man-made and otherwise on the various blocks are so individually characteristic that they serve to support the identification of many of the fragments as belonging to the same structure. Even more important is the assistance they provide in determining just where the fragment was used.

The vertical joint surfaces are treated with standard anathyrosis: a smooth but unpolished band six to eight centimeters wide borders the sides and top, while the rest of the area is left rough, but not much recessed (Pl. 7, b, f). Occasionally, a smooth patch on the rough area shows that the high spots projected too far and had to be polished down when the block was laid. The top surface has a smooth band at the face, while the rest is very lightly picked (Pl. 7, a). The upper side of the ceiling members was left rough as they carried nothing; the tops of the geisa show heavy pitting, which indicates the retention of rainwater, kept from the drying sun by the roof. The sloping surface which carried the sima is surprisingly rough, although the bottom of the latter is smooth.

The under surfaces were regularly finished nearly smooth with the long parallel strokes of a toothed chisel. Normally, there is no smooth band on the bottom surface, unless the block projects as do the geisa. In some parts of the building, a narrow depressed relieving strip replaces the smooth band on either upper or lower surface. Any part of a block which is concealed, and does not make close contact with its neighbor, is usually very rough (Pls. 4, b, 5, d). The joint surfaces of the column

Agora. See *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 268, where Thompson contended that the Hephaisteion was badly damaged in A.D. 267, its ceiling and roof burned and at least part of the sculpture thrown down.

¹⁰⁷ The rounder and narrower astragal also is characteristic of the Hephaisteion pieces.

drums have been described already; the bottom drum had a relieving surface at the lower edge and the abacus one at the upper.

In addition to these standard finishes, there are some on the exposed surfaces which are apparently ornamental. The most obvious instances are the protective surfaces on the krepidoma which seem to have been left intentionally. The euthynteria has a rough projection over the lower half of the riser, often with clear traces of the boss at the center (Fig. 3, Pl. 3, a); the upper part is treated as a picked panel within a narrow border. This scheme is derived from the practice of setting the euthynteria course half above and half below grade. The finished band at the vertical joint facilitated the exact setting of the blocks. At Sounion, it may be noted, the architect tried a different arrangement, removing the protective surface completely and marking its position with a picked panel, suggesting that the entire height of the course was expected to show above grade (Pl. 7, e). The Hephaisteion euthynteria blocks were finished off smoothly in the upper half of their faces and those at Rhamnous were never finished at all, but, like other parts of the temple, retain their "construction" surfaces.¹⁰⁸

The rough surface remains on the riser of the bottom step as a heavily picked panel, sometimes with a central boss projecting 0.003-0.006 m. from the finished surface which appears as a narrow border on bottom and sides and as a slightly wider fascia above (Fig. 4). The lower edge of the finished surface is beveled back another seven or eight millimeters to a continuous fascia, which runs across the face of the block from joint to joint (Figs. 3, 4, Pl. 3, b). The tread, unlike the euthynteria which was perhaps considered too narrow for such a treatment, also retains the protective surface, and is heavily stippled, in a sort of "non-skid" manner, within a smooth border that is beveled at the rear to the "final" level of the top surface. At Sounion, the treads were polished smooth, although, on the lower and middle steps, the outer part of the tread was slightly higher than the inner. At Rhamnous, on the other hand, there is no sign of any protective surface on the treads of the apparently unfinished step blocks, but the stylobate retains a "rim" along the outer edge and a rough raised rectangle between the columns.¹⁰⁹

Elsewhere in the building, a very lightly roughened surface may be noted on the taenia of the epistyle backers; it is possible that this was done to make paint adhere more easily, but other areas which still show traces of color, as this does not, were polished smooth. One or two fragments may indicate that the interior walls were treated with the stippling so much discussed in connection with the Hephaisteion: A 1776, A 1851 (Pl. 7, c), A 1874 (Pl. 7, f) and A 2253. The first two are small

¹⁰⁸ *Pace* Plommer who states that the top 0.04 m. and vertical bands at the joints at Rhamnous are polished, the rest of the area stippled, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

pieces, hardly more than chips, showing anathyrosis on the ends, with channels. A 1776 now has a virtually smooth face, but it appears to have been picked originally within a smooth margin about three centimeters wide. A 1851 has a smooth and slightly depressed band bordering a lightly picked surface; the channel which parallels this face shows that it could not have been intended for the bottom of the block, as it would at first appear. There is, of course, nothing to prove that these pieces did not come from the Hephaisteion.¹¹⁰ A 2253 on the other hand bears the unmistakable letters HAP (Fig. 3). The face seems to have been lightly stippled inside a band 0.095 m. wide at the top and 0.055 m. at the side.

The most problematic of the group is A 1874, which has been discussed at some length on page 31. Irregular picking may be seen on the face, especially toward the right side; the limits are not clear and the surface is evidently much worn (Pl. 7, f). The pits and dashes are coarser than on the preceding examples. The block would be a natural candidate for the Hephaisteion, but its length defies all attempts to find a place for it there; where so much of the building is preserved, it is possible to supply the rest with little chance of error, and there seems to be no position for a block 0.91 m. in length.

MASON'S MARKS

Above the level of the foundations of the temple, every block which is sufficiently preserved carries on its upper surface two or three well-cut letters. The ceiling beams are the only known exceptions. Certain characteristics show the letter types to be of the early Roman period, agreeing well with the late first century B.C. rebuilding of the temple (Fig. 3).¹¹¹ It has always been supposed that they were cut on the blocks as the building was dismantled in order to facilitate re-assembly. Letters serving the same purpose occur on the Great Marble Altar in the Athenian Agora and on the altar of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹¹² A somewhat similar use is found in original construction in the frieze of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, the Great Altar and an entire Ionic temple at Pergamon, and the steps of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora.¹¹³ However, it cannot have been often that so large and complicated a structure was completely dismantled and re-erected; the complexity of the marking system has no parallel to the author's knowledge.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ They were both recovered from marble piles in the vicinity of the foundations of the temple of Ares.

¹¹¹ See above, p. 2.

¹¹² *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 144-145 and *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 1, A, pp. 125 ff.

¹¹³ *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 1, B, pp. 35-36; *Altertümer von Pergamon*, III, 1, pp. 19-20, IV, pp. 58-62; *The Athenian Agora, a Guide to the Excavations*, 1955, p. 77.

¹¹⁴ The second century B.C. Ionic temple at Pergamon was completely labelled in every part as far as it is possible to determine, but as the building was considerably smaller than the Temple

The temple of Ares letters are well formed and carefully cut; traces often remain after much of the surface has been worn away through re-use. The size is in general conditioned by the size of the block, the height of the letters ranging from 0.04 m. on a metope (A 1790) to 0.09 m. on a step block (A 248). At the same time, there is considerable variation in letter height even among blocks of one category, as though two or three men had been working simultaneously, each at his own scale. The letters appear to be more or less evenly spaced across the top of the block, or rather across that part which would have been exposed by the removal of the superposed course. In some cases where there are only two letters,¹¹⁵ they are set closer together and more or less centered. They are *always* cut as near to the outer edge as possible, and in such a way that they could be read right side up by anyone *inside* the building. Consistency on this score was very important. The re-builders apparently tried to use the old clamp cuttings wherever possible; these could not be expected to be exactly centered and would not have matched properly if, for example, some of the wall blocks had been reversed. The letters provided the simplest key to the proper position. We may imagine scaffolding erected for the purpose of dismantling the temple, erected *inside* the line of the columns and *inside* the walls. A man standing on this staging would not only prefer to cut the letters right side up, but on the far side of the block rather than immediately against his chest. Usually the letters are just within the smooth band at the face joint; the notable exceptions to this rule are the toichobate blocks (Fig. 3, A 1438). Here the letters were cut as soon as the inner row of orthostates was removed and so they appear on the inner half of the top surface.

In interpreting the system used by the re-builders, one must bear in mind that it had to be readily understood by the ordinary workman to be of full value. Every block had to be marked clearly and unmistakably to make the work go quickly. In order to identify the exact position of each, there were three factors to be considered: the side of the building, the course, and the horizontal position within the course. It is reasonable to suppose that these are represented by the three letters present on many of the blocks.¹¹⁶ Those which had only two letters, such as the triglyphs, are immediately identifiable by their shape; no letter was required to indicate the course.

The euthynteria blocks present the best basis for the study of the system, because

of Ares, only two letters at most were necessary for any one block, corresponding to the first two on the blocks from the temple of Ares. The advantage of the Athenian system, in which the series are separate for each side of the building, is that operations could proceed on all sides at once. The continuous series used at Pergamon would become unwieldy and inconvenient on so large a scale.

¹¹⁵ For this general discussion, the designation AP is considered as one "letter."

¹¹⁶ Dinsmoor has already proposed this general interpretation, p. 17. The additional material now at hand, however, does not fit his specific indications. Various complications in the original solution can be eliminated by a rearrangement based on the new material.

they may be identified by their distinctive surface treatment and yet were considered sufficiently like the other step blocks to merit three letters. Six blocks or parts of blocks have been identified:

A 146 E $\Delta\Delta$ A 215 $\Psi\Delta\Delta$ A 249 - Δ OA 620 - Δ -A 625 $\Delta\Delta$ E

A 2393 E--

It is immediately obvious that the middle letter Δ must signify the course, as it is the only one common to all; it designates the euthynteria as the fourth course of the krepidoma.¹¹⁷ By analogy, the other five step blocks belong to the third course:

A 248 - Γ Γ EA 1758 I Γ EA 1791 - Γ -A 1814 Γ Γ -A 2101 I Γ Δ

Not one of the wall blocks so far identified is preserved entire. Fragments are known with a letter at the right or left end, and occasionally a block may be sufficiently preserved to show a letter in the middle as well. It is not assuming too much to suppose that all these blocks also had three letters each.¹¹⁸ Considering all the examples where the position of the letters can be determined, and bearing in mind that it is the middle letter which is omitted when only two are used, we find that in the first position thirteen different letters appear:

A (A 64, A 238, A 1025, A 2251), B (A 2257, Hephaisteion drum¹¹⁹), Γ (A 248, A 1814, A 1815), Δ (A 625, A 699, A 1424, A 2643), E (A 146, A 1375, A 2393, Theater of Dionysos drum¹¹⁹), Θ (A 263, A 747, I 2704), I (A 1758, A 2101), Λ (A 2254), M (A 1428, A 1567), Π (A 1436), P (A 1495), Σ (A 2277), Ψ (A 215).

This series is so long that it could have served only to indicate the position of the blocks within their various courses. It will be seen that the wall courses probably contained alternately twenty and twenty-one blocks on a side; the antae might have been marked in end series.¹²⁰ The stylobate seems to have had twenty-three in the flank series, the second step and euthynteria twenty-four, and the third step either twenty-

¹¹⁷ The blocks would be "numbered" most naturally from the top down, as they were uncovered in the process of demolition.

¹¹⁸ The assumption also is made that the order of the letters on the blocks was the same throughout the building, although the blocks may have been marked as a series running either from left to right or from right to left. See below, pp. 53-54. Any variation would complicate unnecessarily a system intended to make the work as simple and straightforward as possible.

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 12, note 30.

¹²⁰ See below, p. 63.

three or twenty-five.¹²¹ This last course is the only one, with the possible exception of the sima, which could have required more than the standard number of letters in the alphabet. If the waterspouts occurred on alternate blocks of the sima course, they might have been marked in a separate series.¹²²

In the third place on the block, only four designations appear; ^{122a} these may be taken at once to stand for the four sides of the building:

¹²¹ See Dinsmoor, p. 16 and p. 12 above. The cutting on the top of A 215 might suggest a short block of less than half the usual length inserted in the third step course near the corner, to avoid making an especially long corner block. There would then have been twenty-five blocks in the flank series. If A 215, marked Ψ, belongs next to the corner, in a course of twenty-four not including the corner blocks, it would seem that some extra symbol must have been used earlier in the series. Actually, there is nothing to show that the extra block in the third step course, if any, was not third from the corner, and A 215 beneath it twenty-third in a normal alphabetical sequence.

¹²² Not enough examples are known from the temple of Ares to say with any certainty that only twenty-four symbols were used, or what system, whether of double letters or letters with some additional mark, was used where more than twenty-four letters were needed. Of course, any blocks marked with some symbol such as stigma or koppa, occurring earlier in the alphabetical sequence and consequently in more places throughout the building, would have numerically a much greater chance of survival than would a rare twenty-fifth block, with for example a double alpha.

There are a few instances on record at this period or earlier of the use of letters to denote a series without quantitative value; most of the cases known are architectural in nature, serving a purpose similar to that of the letters on the temple of Ares blocks. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine the full sequence, or even enough of it to be sure what order of the alphabet was used. Many of the letters used on architectural blocks were paired on either side of a joint; the fact that the order of the alphabet was employed was a convenience, but not necessary to the success of the system. The marking of the ceiling slabs and coffer lids on the Hephaisteion depended on just such matching of symbols, only a few of which are strictly alphabetical (*A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pp. 40 ff.). The series employed on the Ionic temple at Pergamon is one of twenty-five letters, the extra one being a □ inserted in the sixth place. M. N. Tod in his discussion of Athenian numeral systems (*B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 126-139) does not mention any non-quantitative usages. Sterling Dow, however, in his comments on Tod's work (*A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, pp. 21-23) implies that the Athenians were accustomed to such a use of the alphabet, in the basic series of twenty-four letters, and that this use occurred simultaneously with that of the well-established acrophonic quantitative system. Dow gives two examples. The first is the labeling of the ten subdivisions of the tribal groups of the dikastai with the letters A-K without any stigma. The second example is in a quotation from Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 63) where he speaks of the eleven dikastic courts as lettered by allotment, τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου, τοῦ λ. These instances suggest that even after the establishment of the Milesian alphabetical numerical system, whenever there was a question of a non-quantitative series, the Athenians would have employed the twenty-four letter alphabet. Therefore, for the purposes of this article we will assume such a series, and suppose that some system of doubled letters or added marks was used if the basic twenty-four were exhausted. I hope to discuss this point more thoroughly elsewhere in connection with a general study of mason's marks.

^{122a} A single example of Θ (column drum A 2257) has been intentionally omitted here; an explanation is suggested below, p. 53. While the meaning of the letters on the drums is a moot point, if it does not disprove the general argument, it may be deferred to avoid confusion.

AP (A 1438, A 1923, A 2098, A 2099, A 2114, A 2249, A 2252, A 2253, EM 3056, I 2562, I 3526)

Δ (A 146, A 215, A 1749a, A 1790, A 1815, A 2100, A 2101, A 2277, I 5183)

E (A 238, A 248, A 625, A 1758, A 2643, Hephaisteion drum)

O (A 64, A 249, A 1375, Theater of Dionysos drum)

As these letters clearly do not form any alphabetical sequence such as has been established for the course and the place within the course, there is a possibility that they are the initial letters of descriptive words, presumably those in common use by the workmen.¹²³ If these words are taken to be ἀριστερά, δεξιά, εἴσοδος and ὀπίστέρος, they will be found to be entirely consistent with the existing remains.¹²⁴

The corner triglyph (A 64) marked AO and the corner geison (A 238) marked AE show that the corner blocks were included in the series at the ends of the temple in these courses, and undoubtedly in the rest of the building as well, as the number of symbols or letters needed would thus be at a minimum.¹²⁵ The triglyphs were probably marked in a series separate from the metopes; although this cannot be proved, it seems to follow from the fact that there would be twenty-three triglyphs and twenty-two metopes in a side series.¹²⁶

The evidence for the marking of the columns is highly unsatisfactory. Of the four drums identified at this time (above, p. 12, note 30) the first shows two letters widely spaced: EO (Pl. 3, d). Between these letters where a third would be expected, there is a large cutting made when the drum was re-used in a mill. The second is inscribed BΘ (Pl. 3, e). The letters are not exactly centered and the surface to the right of the Θ has been worn away to an additional depth of three millimeters, so that there may have been a third letter originally; it is impossible to say definitely either yes or no. The third drum can now be studied only from photographs (Pl. 3, c) and from notes in the record of the Agora excavations, made at the time of the reconstruction.¹²⁷ The letters are BE with a blank space where the third letter might be.

¹²³ See the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, where the letters are used both in alphabetical series and to give the first two letters of the ordinates (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 1, B, pp. 35-36).

¹²⁴ Note that Pausanias in describing the Parthenon pediments writes: ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιούσιν ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κείμενα, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστὶν ἕρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς (I, xxiv, 5). Pausanias very rarely uses compass directions. It is clear that they were not sufficiently familiar to the average workman, who would prefer the simple "left" and "right," "entrance" and "rear"; the Erechtheum building inscriptions employ compass directions but always add an additional reference to some near-by landmark. The crosswall blocks were probably marked like the columns *in antis*, below p. 53.

¹²⁵ Dinsmoor, p. 31, read the geison letters as AΓ, but an additional joining fragment supplies the bottom bar of the E (Fig. 12).

¹²⁶ The reconstruction of the temple as hexastyle with thirteen columns on the flanks is fully discussed and sufficiently proved by Dinsmoor, p. 9.

¹²⁷ E. Vanderpool, who examined the block at the time it was moved to the Hephaisteion, seemed very doubtful in 1953 that any letter would have escaped detection.

It is difficult to judge the condition of the surface other than that it seems to be worn. the fourth drum, mentioned by Dinsmoor, bears the letters ΔΕ, still legible despite the poor preservation of the surface. The description sent from Athens makes no suggestion of a third letter.

In view of the system used on the wall blocks of the temple of Ares, we might reasonably expect to find three letters on each drum. Considering that the euthynteria course was not thought sufficiently individual to be identified without a course letter, the difference in diameter between one drum and its neighbor seems too slight to permit rapid re-assembly. However, there must also have been some way of correctly aligning the sections of each flute. The simplest method would have been to make a "strike mark" across the joint, and it is not inconceivable that its form varied enough from joint to joint to identify the proper succession of drums, even as pairs of letters were used on either side of the joints on the interior epistyle of the Parthenon, and in many other cases. That no such mark has been found may well be due to the battered condition of all four drums, since we may suppose the marks would have been made as inconspicuous as possible.

The slight variation which does exist in the dimensions of the drums provides further proof that neither of the letters indicated vertical position. The top and bottom diameters of the four drums, as nearly as they can be measured from inside of flute to inside of flute, are 1) 0.99-1.02 m., 2) 0.85-0.885 m., and 3) 0.91-0.95 m., with only the top diameter of 4) 1.032 m. available. Their present heights are 1) 0.745 m., 2) 0.797 m., 3) 0.78 m. and 4) 0.70 m. The slope of the sides of number four is given as 0.005 m. in 0.40 m., or a diameter increase of 0.00875 m. in its preserved height, so that the bottom diameter may be reconstructed as a minimum of 1.09 m. The rate of increase in diameter is 1) 4.03%, 2) 4.39%, 3) 5.13%, and 4) 1.25%; it is not really possible to detect any entasis in these battered examples.

If, for the purpose of a rough calculation, we may discount any entasis and assume seven drums of approximately equal height in each column as in the Hephaisteion, it is possible to locate the general level of each drum. One of the various fragments of the capitals provides the neck diameter of 0.83 m. Using an approximate lower diameter of 1.074 m., the diameters at the joints will be found to be 0.83-0.864-0.900-0.935-0.970-1.005-1.040-1.074 m.¹²⁸ The increase in each case is 0.03486 m.

Adding 0.05 m. to obtain the full diameter, the first drum at 1.04-1.07 m. would appear to fit almost exactly in the seventh or bottom interval in this series. The second example at 0.90-0.935 m. fits perfectly into the third interval. In the third case, the measurements are just a little small for the ideal fifth interval. However, the

¹²⁸ For the derivation of the lower diameter figure, see below, pp. 56 ff. This is the full diameter including the arrises, which project approximately 0.025 m. beyond the center of the flute. The theoretical lower diameter seems substantiated by the evidence of the drum from the Theater of Dionysos, which may have lost a few millimeters over the centuries.

fourth lies completely outside the series, and appears to be the bottom drum of a corner column, the diameter of which should be about two centimeters larger than that of the standard.

Returning once more to the marking letters, 1) EO, 2) BΘ, 3) BE, 4) ΔE, it will be seen at once that they cannot be interpreted to read 1) seventh, 2) third, 3) fifth, and 4) seventh. The next assumption is that they stand for the series number and the side of the building, as do the two letters on the triglyph blocks. E and O are entirely acceptable as indicating the front and rear respectively, but Θ would seem to be a misfit. However, there are presumably four columns whose position cannot be described by the system proposed thus far; these are the two between the antae at either end of the temple. They might be considered as the seventh and eighth in the end series, or they might have some special letters. In this case, Θ immediately suggests some word connected with *θύρα*, and as there were two columns in this position, B also suits this proposal.

If, however, the first letter on each drum is taken to indicate the specific column, a discrepancy is immediately apparent. The fourth drum should be marked AE or ZE (?) in order to indicate a corner position.¹²⁹ There is a conflict here between the theoretically calculated dimensions and the interpretation of the letters, at least in the case of the column drums, which still remains to be resolved.

A study of the dowel and pry holes on the step blocks shows the order in which they were laid, which, taken with the marking letters, indicates the direction in which the alphabetical series ran.¹³⁰ The blocks sufficiently preserved in the euthynteria course are A 146 (EΔΔ) doweled at the right end but supporting a block doweled from the left; A 215 (ΥΔΔ) doweled at the left and carrying a similar left-end doweled block; A 625 (ΔΔE) doweled at the right and carrying a right-end doweled block; A 2393 (E —) doweled at the right but probably carrying a left-end doweled block.¹³¹ It was the usual practice to lay the corner blocks first. A 146 was laid in a series which ran from left to right and should have been near the end of its row, as its label "fifth on the right" indicates. A 215 is the twenty-third on the right or north side, and its cuttings show that it was near the right or northwest corner. A 625 was fourth on the front, near the left or southeast corner, and A 2393 was a

¹²⁹ If the fourth drum is marked ΔE as Dinsmoor and Harrison read it, the letters do not fit with my designation as a corner column drum. However, the calculations of size, which follow Dinsmoor's outline, will not admit a drum as large as this in the regular run. His statement that the size was right was based on a bottom diameter twice the width of the triglyph, and this is twice the width of the corner triglyph but not that of those in the regular series.

¹³⁰ Dinsmoor has already pointed this out (p. 15), citing the blocks A 146, A 215 and A 248. The discussion is repeated here to incorporate the new material identified since the publication of his article. "Right" and "left" are in reference to a position outside and facing the temple.

¹³¹ Only the right half of the block is preserved; it shows half the dowel hole at the broken edge, but no pry holes.

fifth block also near a left corner. From this it appears at once that the course series ran from left to right as the building was faced; we may imagine the foreman walking along the steps "chalking" the letters to be cut by the workmen.

The blocks sufficiently preserved in the bottom step course are A 248 ($\Gamma\Gamma E$) doveled at the right and carrying a right-end doveled block; A 1758 ($I\Gamma E$) presumably doveled at the right end and carrying a similar block; A 1814 ($\Gamma\Gamma -$) doveled at the right; A 2101 ($I\Gamma\Delta$) with the bottom broken away but carrying a block doveled at the left. A 248 then is third on the front near the left corner; A 1758 is ninth on the front and still laid from the left corner, although there were at most only eleven blocks in this series; A 1814 is a third block near a left corner. This course therefore was marked from left to right in the same way.

Conversely, the southwest corner triglyph A 64 is marked **AO** and the northeast corner geison A 238 is marked **AE**, each first in a series which apparently ran from left to right viewed from inside the building. At this level, the foreman like the workmen would have been standing on scaffolding inside the building; presumably, this point of view was maintained until the building had been dismantled to the level of the krepidoma, when it became more convenient to walk about on the terrace outside the temple.

RESTORATION OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE TEMPLE

This is the material evidence that is known today: a few blocks at one end of the Augustan foundations, and some two hundred thirty odd fragments of the superstructure, whose total volume would hardly equal that of two columns. Nevertheless, as Dinsmoor has shown, it is possible to estimate and calculate enough from even less than this to arrive at a fair conception of the original dimensions of the temple. Such are the measurements used in the reconstructed plan and sections, Figures 23, 24. There are many reasons why they cannot be fully trusted. First and foremost, the facts are too few; the blocks now known are often very much worn or battered. In the second place, most of the estimates are based on comparisons with the Hephaisteion, the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. While these four have much in common, they are by no means identical, and the one at Rhamnous is markedly smaller, a point which must inevitably have had some influence on design.^{131a} The proportions are seen to vary from one to the next, and all four are quite individual in detail, either from the change in fashion or the desire of the architect to improve on his previous work. It is impossible to say whether the temple of Ares, which comes after them in point of time, is closer to the conservatism of the Hephaisteion with its heavy entablature, or to the progressive tendencies of the

^{131a} Dinsmoor, p. 47, dates the four temples as follows: Hephaisteion 449-444 B.C., Sounion 444-440 B.C., Ares 440-436 B.C., Rhamnous 436-432 B.C.

temple of Poseidon with its unusually tall, slender columns. Apparently, the temple of Ares represents some median position; for this reason, averages take on some significance. If it is borne in mind that the third and fourth decimal places are due only to such averages and that even the second is derived from a very few examples, these figures may perhaps be of use as a basis for rough comparison with other ancient monuments.

There is no reason to question or even to review Dinsmoor's arguments for the number of columns, thirteen on the sides and six on the ends; he has clearly demonstrated that the foundations will not reasonably fit anything else.¹³² However, there are various points in his further calculations which are either disproven or confirmed by the new material now at hand.

To reconcile the difference between the dimensions which he calculated from triglyph A 64 and those reached from the step blocks, Dinsmoor proposed three solutions. The first was that the column spacings were narrower on the flanks than on the ends; this was considered a poor answer because of the resulting discrepancy between the projections of the foundations beyond the entablature on the front and flank. Now that more of the step blocks have been recovered, it is clear that the blocks were of the same length on the ends and sides of the two lower krepidoma courses, and presumably the column spacings followed suit.¹³³

The second solution was that the step blocks 1.345 m. in length, and the column spacing of 2.690 m. derived from them, were exceptional and occurred only at the corners. Dinsmoor points out that this angle contraction is insufficient and suggests duplex contraction. However, the assignment of step blocks of this length to middle positions in the courses now rules out this possibility also.¹³⁴

The third solution, that the spacing of 2.772 m. was an exceptional one, as it was derived from corner fragments, is now demonstrated to be correct by a study of the widths of the triglyphs.¹³⁵ The new triglyphs A 1375 (EO) and A 2277 (ΣΔ) may be reconstructed as 0.536 and 0.537 m. wide (Fig. 9), within a possible error of two millimeters, while the corner triglyph A 64 (AO) as reconstructed measures 0.555 m.

¹³² Dinsmoor, p. 9.

¹³³ In the euthynteria course, A 625 (ΔΔΕ), fourth on the front, is 1.3445 m. long, while A 215 (ΥΔΔ) and A 146 (ΕΔΔ), twenty-third and fifth on the north, are 1.3415 m. and 1.349 m. respectively: probably they were all intended to be the same, about 1.345 m. In the next course, A 248 (ΓΓΕ) and A 1758 (ΙΓΕ), third and ninth on the east, measure 1.339 m. and 1.3455 m., while A 2101 (ΙΓΔ), ninth on the north, is 1.344 m. long, averaging 1.343 m., hardly a significant difference. (The variant spacings proposed by Dinsmoor were 2.772 m. on the front and 2.690 m. on the flank.)

¹³⁴ Dinsmoor, p. 23, arrived at the conclusion that these blocks were of normal length.

¹³⁵ Dinsmoor remarked, p. 28, "the triglyph proportions in the temple of Ares seem unduly heavy."

on both faces (Fig. 10).¹³⁶ The width of the mutule next to the corner is 0.555 m. as against 0.554 m. at the corner itself, and these may both be augmented.

Beginning again from the new measurements, the following rough dimensions may be given: the end frieze would be $2(0.555) + 9(0.537) + 2(3/2)(0.555) + 8(3/2)(0.537) = 14.052$ m.¹³⁷ The side frieze would then be $14.052 + 14(0.537) + 14(3/2)(0.537) = 32.847$ m. The foundations, which were measured at the time of their excavation by Travlos as 17.00-17.40 m. by 36.40 m., would project 1.474-1.674 beyond the line of the frieze on the flanks and 1.7765 m. at the ends, a maximum difference of 0.3025 m. This difference is not significant, especially when viewed in the light of the generally casual nature of subsoil work in the Stoa of Zeus and other Athenian buildings.

Working with greater accuracy, the triglyph spacing or half-intercolumniation should equal the average length of the step and euthynteria blocks and so may be set at 1.344 m.¹³⁸ Then the mutules would be spaced at 0.672 m. on centers and the normal via would be $0.672 - 0.537 = 0.135$ m. wide.¹³⁹ The corner via of A 238 is 0.004 m. wider; if this augment applied to two viae, the end metope would be widened 0.008 m. Assuming that the width of the epistyle was twice that of the outer epistyle block A 1792, an approximate figure may be substituted in the angle distortion formula $1/2$ (Epistyle width—Triglyph width).¹⁴⁰

Enough of epistyle block A 1792 remains to show that the face slopes at a rate of 0.007 in 0.24 (Fig. 7), but the height must be determined in order to find the total width. Now the triglyphs are known to be 0.838 m. high and the geison mean height 0.344 m., taken from the top of the drip mold and pediment floor, as preserved on A 238. We may continue to follow Dinsmoor's example and approximate the height of the epistyle by considering the proportions of the Doric order. The lower

¹³⁶ Dinsmoor gives 0.554 m. for this last figure, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Two corner triglyphs, nine regular triglyphs, and the metopes between, assuming the triglyph equal in width to two-thirds of a metope and the corner metopes proportionally increased.

¹³⁸ In order to remind the reader that much of the following discussion is theoretical, and while probable is not susceptible of proof, italic type is used for the figures derived from actual measurements.

¹³⁹ The only via preserved in its full width is that on the restored block A 238 (Fig. 12) which measures 0.139 m. A 2313 is preserved to a minimum width of 0.124 m.

¹⁴⁰ Dinsmoor, p. 14, uses a theoretical epistyle width equal to $1/2.638$ of the column spacing, a proportion averaging those found at the Hephaisteion and at Sounion. (Formulas and proportions are based on this article unless otherwise noted.) Such a proportion here would give an epistyle width of 1.019 m. for a column spacing of 2.688 m. The formula for the angle distortion is quoted by Dinsmoor from Koldewey and Puchstein, *Griechische Tempel in Unteritalien*, p. 198. "Angle distortion" is the horizontal adjustment necessary to bring in the axis of the corner column from its normal position under the triglyph axis as far as the axis of the epistyle on the return, and is produced by the expansion of the corner metope and triglyph, the inward inclination of the corner column, and the "angle contraction" or reduction of the corner intercolumniation.

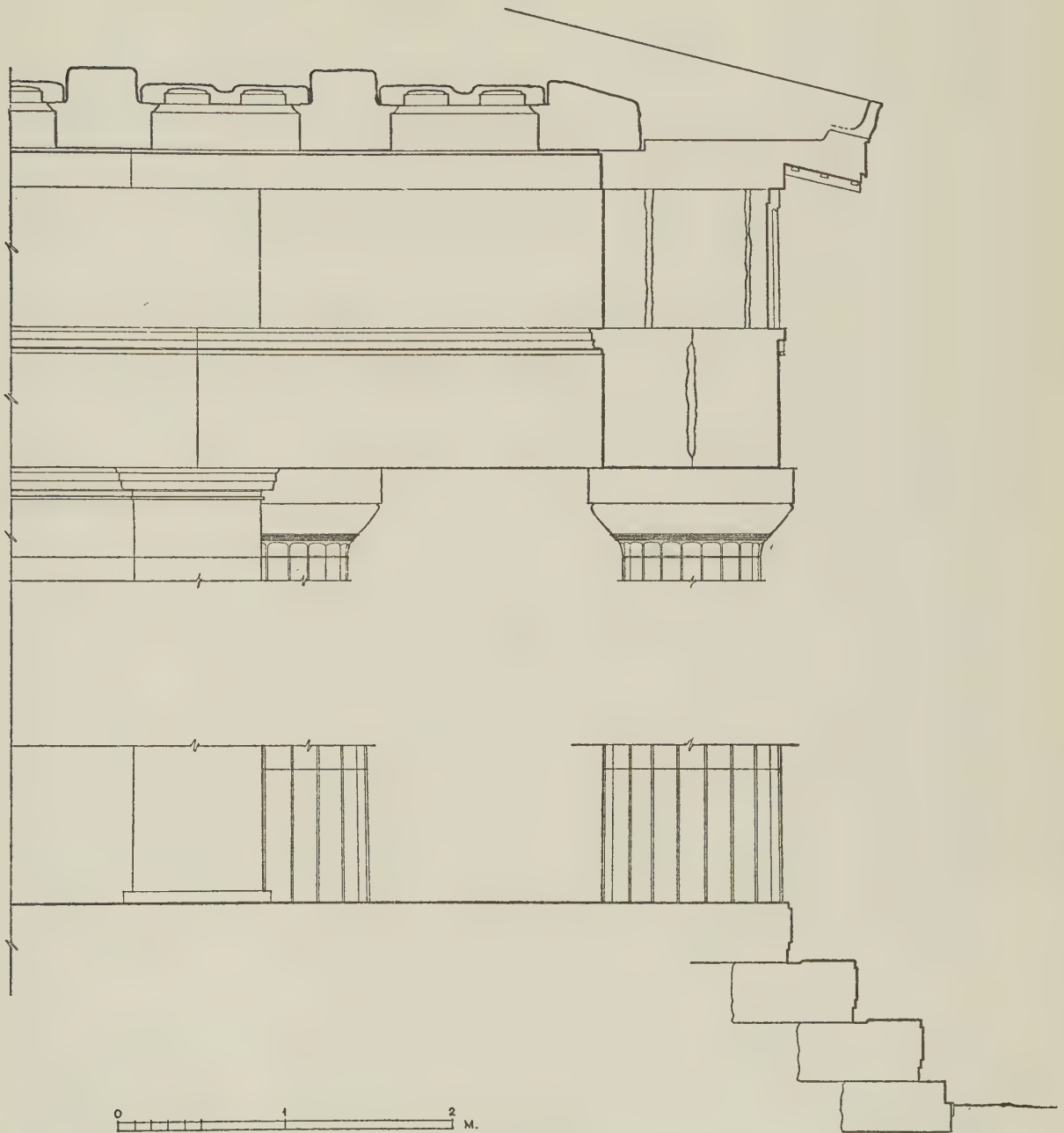


FIG. 23. Restored Section through East Porch.

diameter of the columns, derived from the new triglyph width should be $2(0.537) = 1.074$ m., assuming that the lesser triglyph measurement 0.536 m. may be due to wear on the surface. By comparison with the proportions of diameter to height used in the Hephaisteion, at Rhamnous, and at Sounion, the temple of Ares columns would be 5.612-5.776 diameters or 6.027-6.203 m. high.¹⁴¹ The height of the entablature may be estimated at about one-third the column height: 0.350:1 in the Hephaisteion, 0.332:1 at Sounion, and 0.335:1 at Rhamnous. That of the temple of Ares should be between the extremes of 2.001 and 2.171 m. Subtracting the known heights of the triglyph and geison, we arrive at 0.819-0.989 m. for the epistyle, based ultimately on the new triglyph.¹⁴²

If the same proportion of epistyle to total entablature height was held for all three temples, as it is 0.836:2.000 at Sounion and in the Hephaisteion, then the height of the epistyle in the temple of Ares would be 0.849 m.¹⁴³ The figure does not seem unreasonable in view of the slightly larger foundations of the Ares temple.

Subtracting 0.163 m. for the taenia, regula, and guttae, the outer epistyle block, with a measurable pitch of $0.007/0.24$, may be calculated to be 0.020 m. wider at the bottom than it is just below the regula, or 0.536 m., virtually the same as the width of the triglyph. The distortion would be $1/2 (1.072 - 0.537) = 0.2675$ m. The angle contraction at about $1/15$ of the column spacing ($1/6$ of the column diameter) would be 0.179 m. If the inclination of the columns at the corners was 0.04 m. as in the Hephaisteion, the remaining adjustment of $0.2675 - 0.179 - 0.04 = 0.0485$ m. would be applied to the corner triglyph and metope: 0.018 m. of this belongs to the triglyph ($0.555 - 0.537$), and the final 0.305 m. to the metope. Given 0.139 m. for the width of the second as well as the first via, $0.554 + 0.139 + 0.555 + 0.139 = 1.387$ m. for the first triglyph and metope; the latter would then be equal in width to $1.387 - 0.555 = 0.832$ m. If the other metopes were 0.305 m. narrower, the front frieze would be $2(0.555) + 9(0.537) + 2(0.832) + 8(0.8015) = 14.019$ m. wide, and the flank $14.019 + 14(0.537) + 14(0.8015) = 32.774$ m. The foundations would project 1.49-1.69 m. on the flanks and 1.81 m. on the ends; the maximum discrepancy of 0.32 m. is slightly greater than that which was estimated above.

Reversing the calculations and beginning with the theoretical entablature height

¹⁴¹ The average height of the surviving drums is 0.774 m. Assuming that there were seven in a column, we may multiply by this figure and add an approximate 0.50 m. for the height of the capital (Fig. 6), to arrive at a column height of 5.918 m. Allowing for the wear on the column drums, this is not far off. Indeed, if the maximum preserved height is used, it will result in a figure of 6.079 m. It may also be noted, in comparing the drums to the theoretical measurements of the columns, that the largest drum of the regular series has a diameter of 1.07 m. at the bottom, when allowance is made for the missing flutes. See above, p. 52.

¹⁴² Compare the figure of 0.836 m. proposed by Dinsmoor, p. 21, on the grounds that exactly this dimension was used at Sounion and in the Hephaisteion.

¹⁴³ Epistyle : Geison + Triglyph + Epistyle :: 0.836 : 2.000.

of $0.847 + 0.838 + 0.344 = 2.029$ m., we find that the columns, if between 2.856 (Hephaisteion) and 3.012 (Sounion) times this figure, would be 5.795-6.111 m. high, based on the theoretical epistyle height. The proportion of the column height to the lower diameter is 5.612:1 in the Hephaisteion, 5.776:1 at Sounion, giving 1.033-1.058 m. for the temple of Ares. The diameter 1.074 m., derived from the triglyph and supported by the material remains, would exceed these limits, if it were supposed that the relative proportions were actually the same as in either of the other temples. However, the changes from the Hephaisteion to the temple at Sounion, in favor of a lighter entablature and somewhat exaggeratedly tall columns, would seem to be continued in a modified form in the temple of Ares. For instance, if we suppose that the Sounion entablature-to-column-height proportion was maintained, the columns would be about 6.1 m. high as we have seen, or about 5.69 diameters.

Dinsmoor gives the excess of the open space between the columns over diameter at an almost constant 0.49 m.¹⁴⁴ The smaller spacing of 2.677 m. derived from the frieze [$2(0.537) + 2(0.8015)$] would leave $2.677 - 1.074 = 0.529$ m. as compared with 0.545-0.547 m. at the Hephaisteion, 0.475 m. at Rhamnous, and 0.436 m. at Sounion. The greater spacing of 2.688 m., derived from the step blocks and probably more reliable, would give an excess of 0.540 m. The different results reached by these two approaches would indicate that the temple of Ares had widely spaced columns like the Hephaisteion, but that, as might be expected in accordance with the general trend of the Doric style, the entablature had been lightened in relation to the intercolumniations. If we may accept the lower diameter of 1.074 m., the proportion of this diameter to the entablature is less than that of the Hephaisteion or of Sounion. The four temples seem strikingly similar in this as in other respects; the proportion would be in each: Hephaisteion 1:1.95, Sounion 1:1.92, Ares 1:1.89, Rhamnous 1:1.95-1.90.¹⁴⁵ This sequence might be interpreted as indicating that the entablature of the temple of Ares had been lightened in comparison with the notably heavy one of the Hephaisteion, but that the column diameter had not followed suit to the extent found at Sounion, nor had the intercolumniation been as much reduced in proportion.

The dimensions, theoretical and otherwise, which have been derived here are summarized in the following table:

¹⁴⁴ P. 22.

¹⁴⁵ These figures, like the proportions of column height to lower diameter, are taken from Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, the Chronological List of Greek Temples, facing p. 340.

¹⁴⁶ The angle spacing is equal to the normal axial spacing minus the assumed angle contraction of 1/15 of this normal spacing, and minus the increment in diameter of the corner column, taken at a nominal two centimeters by comparison with the Hephaisteion.

3 axial spacings (@ 2.688 m.)	= 8.064 m.
2 angle spacings (@ 2.489 m.) ¹⁴⁶	= 4.978
2 angle column radii (@ 0.547 m.) ¹⁴⁷	= 1.094
2 stylobate projections (@ 0.0475 m.) ¹⁴⁸	= 0.095
4 step treads (@ 0.395 m.)	= 1.580
2 euthynteria projections (@ 0.157 m.)	= 0.314

Width of krepidoma	= 16.125 m.
7 axial spacings (@ 2.688 m.)	= 18.816

Length of krepidoma	= 34.941 m.
Foundation projections — ends	= 0.73 m.
— flanks	= 0.44-0.64 m.

Height of the euthynteria	= 0.303 m.
Height of 3 steps (@ 0.356 m.)	= 1.068
Height of columns	= 6.100
Height of epistyle	= 0.847
Height of frieze	= 0.838
Height of geison to top of hawkbeak	= 0.3065
Height of sima	= 0.225

Height of temple to cornice	= 9.6875 m. or
more properly about 9.7 m.	

It is now possible to return to the ceiling beam A 2387 to see how it will fit with the reconstructed plan.¹⁴⁹ Assuming that it stretched from the front epistyle to the anta, it should determine the position of the anta in relation to the columns of the peristyle. The exposed length of the beam measures 4.65 m. Adding to this half the epistyle width 0.536 m. gives the distance of the anta face from the axis line of the end columns as 5.186 m. One angle spacing (2.489 m.) plus one normal spacing (2.688 m.) is the distance of the axis of the third column on the flank from this same end axis: 5.177 m. This would mean that the face of the anta was approximately in line with the axis of the third column, an arrangement used at both ends of the Parthenon. It is highly unlikely, however, that the cella of the temple of Ares was preceded by four columns prostyle, and such a deep porch would otherwise be most unusual.

There is an additional point against such an arrangement: it has already been shown that, at one end of the building at least, a frieze continued across from the antae

¹⁴⁷ The angle column radius is increased by a nominal one centimeter by comparison with the Hepaisteion.

¹⁴⁸ Normal for temples of the later fifth century B.C. (Dinsmoor, p. 24).

¹⁴⁹ See above, pp. 38 ff.

to the side columns.¹⁵⁰ Since the axis of the epistyle carrying such a frieze must have coincided with the axis of one of the peristyle columns, the beam and the frieze are mutually exclusive. Nor would it be reasonable to relegate either a special frieze or an extra large porch to the rear end of the temple. There is one other possible position for the beam, and that is in the pronaos. The span over the pronaos of the Hephaisteion is

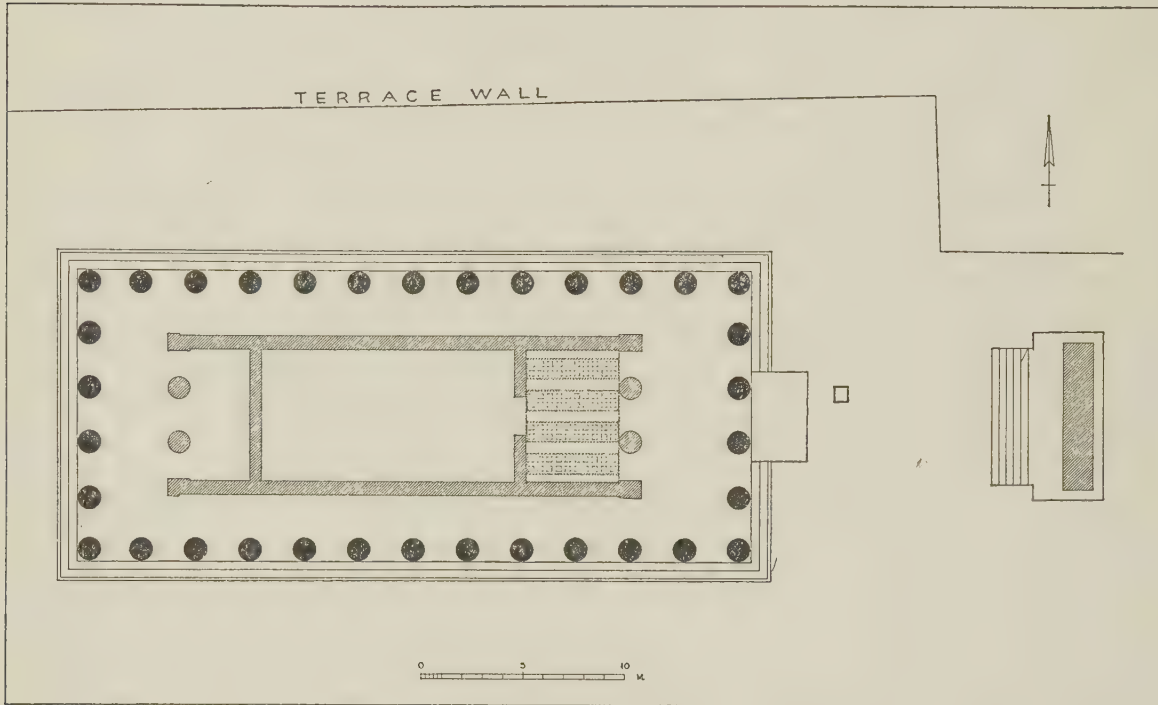


FIG. 24. Restored Plan.

almost identical with that over the east porch, as the result of an attempt on the part of the architect to modernize the shape of the cella.¹⁵¹ The temple of Ares foundations have the same unusually great proportion of length to width; might there not have been an even deeper pronaos in the third building of the series?¹⁵²

If, as seems likely, the group of ceiling fragments from the Late Roman Fortification belong together, a position over the main entrance is certainly an appropriate place for such an elaborate decoration. The area is comparatively small, and

¹⁵⁰ See above, p. 33.

¹⁵¹ At the level of the epistyle, the pronaos span is 3.962 m.; the east porch is 3.97 m. as measured by J. Travlos 22 June 1954.

¹⁵² Hephaisteion 1:2.318; temple of Ares approximately 1:2.2. Dinsmoor in *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, the Chronological List of Greek Temples, facing p. 340 gives 1:2.313. The theoretical krepidoma dimensions on p. 60 yield 1:2.167.

well separated from the peristyle ceilings, which may have been composed of coffers of the simpler Hephaisteion pattern. It is even possible that gold would be used in a special and limited case such as this would be. Although there is nothing to determine the exact width of the pronaos, it may be of interest to consider just how many coffers there would have been.

Ten coffers 0.458 m. on centers minus the distance between one pair of astragals (0.035 m.) gives a length of 4.545 m. between the outside lines of the astragals at each end.¹⁵³ The beam length 4.65 m. minus the 0.045 m. nosing at each end gives a total for the coffer slab length of 4.56 m. This allows a margin theoretically only 0.0015 m. at each end; the fit is tight, but not impossibly so.

The three beams which are preserved are 0.567, 0.565 and 0.544 m. in width. Placing the narrow one in the center and adding four double coffer panels 0.9146 m. wide, eight nosings of 0.045 m. each, and two side beams of the width used in the Hephaisteion east porch (0.374 m.) yields a total width for the pronaos of 6.4424 m. Adding 0.34 m. on either side for half the wall width, the distance between the two center lines would be 7.2224 m. Judging by the Hephaisteion, where the inner projection of the anta beyond the face of the wall is greater than the outer, the distance between the axes of the antae would be slightly less, possibly 7.20 m.

The distance between the axes of the second and fifth columns on the front of the temple would be $3(2.688) = 8.064$ m. On the Hephaisteion, the measurements are 6.952 m. between anta axes and 7.753 between the axes of the second and fifth columns. The proportion of this triple column spacing to anta spacing would be 1:0.893 for the temple of Ares, and 1:0.897 for the Hephaisteion, again suggesting that the proportions of the later temple were extremely close to those of the earlier.

For the end peristyles, assuming an end-beam soffit of 0.374 m. similar to that on the Hephaisteion, and a span of 13.042 m. between the centerlines of the north and south colonnades, one may restore nine beams as in the Hephaisteion. Although there is no evidence for the size of the beams, the dimensions of those restored to the pronaos may be tried in the east porch, as shown in Figure 23. Alternating those of 0.065 m. and 0.045 m. width, and spacing them equally, the interval between beams works out to be 0.88 m. \pm , just over the 0.85 m. averaged in the Hephaisteion. It has been seen that the Ares coffers average 0.8835 m. between the outside lines of the astragals, and that an unassigned group measures 0.833 m. over the same distance. We may suppose that a third set of coffers belongs here, or that those without trace of setting lines were set here like those of the Hephaisteion with the astragal immediately next to the moulding of the supporting beam, or that the unassigned slabs were used in this part of the ceiling, with a space of about 0.019 m. between beam moulding and astragal. The second choice has been shown in Figure 23; the work-

¹⁵³ See above, p. 41, note 99 and Fig. 22.

manship on the unassigned group is so poor that it can have been used only as a replacement at best.¹⁵⁴

While the original surfaces correspond in every way to the dimensions of the other beams, the two which Dinsmoor noted as sawed are in their present form too narrow to be used in the end peristyles.¹⁵⁵ It must be supposed that this was indeed their original location, but that in rebuilding the temple, they were cut down for use elsewhere, perhaps as interbeam blocks above the frieze or behind the pediment.

One end of the cella wall may be fixed in plan by the frieze which spanned from anta to third column; the other may only be approximated by comparison with the three "sister" temples. In the Hephaisteion, the west face of the west anta is approximately half way between the second and third columns, proceeding from west to east; at Sounion, the anta face is just in front of the third column, and at Rhamnous, between the second and third columns. The length of the wall then is equal to eight or eight and a half column spacings plus half the width of the pronaos epistyle. We may approximate this distance as $8(2.688) + 0.50 = 22.004$ m. or $8\frac{1}{2}(2.688) + 0.50 = 23.348$ m. of which at least two meters would be anta blocks. The length of the only known orthostate block A 704 at 1.102 m. would indicate about eighteen or twenty regular blocks in a course, but there is no way of knowing the length of possible short blocks at either end. The reader may recall that a series letter as high as P or "seventeen" is preserved on wall block A 1495.

The position of the crosswall at the entrance of the cella has been suggested by the assignment of the known ceiling beams to the pronaos. The length of 4.65 m. added to approximately half a meter for the epistyle half-width would set the face of the crosswall 5.15 m. back from the axis of the third column. The centerline of the wall would be very nearly on the axis of the fifth column, presumably making the cella slightly shorter than that of the Hephaisteion.¹⁵⁶

These are the positions of the walls shown on Figure 24. The position of the rear wall and even its existence, as well as the interior arrangement of the cella, are entirely conjectural, but we may suppose them somewhat similar to those of the Hephaisteion.

There are, of course, many questions which remain to be answered. The chances are few that many additional fragments of the temple of Ares will be discovered, but comparison with other temples yet to be excavated may shed some further light on

¹⁵⁴ Dimensions are purposely omitted from the restored section and plan, as they are largely theoretical. See p. 39, note 91.

¹⁵⁵ Dinsmoor, p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ At Sounion, the axis of the pronaos wall and that of the fifth column are virtually the same. At Rhamnous, the inner face of the wall lines up with the front face of the fifth column. See *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pls. 7, 8, 9.

these few remains. That dark question of the original site stands to gain most from further exploration. Indeed, until such a time, there can only be conjectures on this point. One school of thought would place the temple on the Areopagus, another where the Roman Agora now stands. There are reasons for and against both theories, but few facts. Above all it should be stressed that there must have been a compelling reason for the transference of a large and elaborate temple from the sacred ground where it had stood for four hundred years. Here is an intriguing problem which will be high on the list of those scholars who continue to fill in the plan of the classical city of Athens.

MARIAN HOLLAND McALLISTER

PHILADELPHIA
PENNSYLVANIA

ARAE AUGUSTI

(PLATES 8-9)

AMONG the *Tituli Imperatorum Romanorum* (*I.G.*, II², 3222-3423) Johannes Kirchner edited not only inscriptions of statue bases but also of altars found in Athens. Those of Hadrian (*I.G.*, II², 3323-3380) are well known, but they have never been studied as a group.¹ An altar of Nero as "New Apollo" (*I.G.*, II², 3278) is called a statue base by P. Graindor.² The Claudius inscription from Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II², 3275) may be an altar.³ Finally, there is the beautiful altar of Augustus (*I.G.*, II², 3235) at Athens.⁴

In addition to these recognized imperial altars, there is a series of inscriptions (*I.G.*, II², 3224-3230; 3229 A and B = 3281-3282) four of which (*I.G.*, II², 3224, 3225, 3228-3230) P. Graindor, following Hula, identified as statue bases of Augustus; ⁵ this interpretation has been maintained by Kirchner. Hula recognized that some of these monuments contain in addition to the name of Augustus the names of other emperors added by different and later hands. He deduced from this fact that statues of Augustus were removed after his death to make space in one case for statues of Tiberius and later Hadrian (*I.G.*, II², 3228), in another of Nero, Vespasian and Titus, in this order (*I.G.*, II², 3229 = 3281-3282), and again of Hadrian (*I.G.*, II², 3230).⁶ Both Hula and Graindor connect these alleged cases of *metagraphe* with a famous passage in Tacitus, *Annales*, I, 74, telling of the replacement of an Augustus portrait by one of Tiberius.⁷ It has not been noted, however, that these inscribed stones are not statue bases but altars. This is indicated not only by the stones them-

¹ See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 50 note 2 (on p. 51), a casual reference to *dédicaces anonymes*.

² *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 115 and note 1.

³ J. Pouilloux, *La Fortresse de Rhamnonte*, pp. 157-158, no. 47, added a new fragment (with different lettering), but no interpretation.

⁴ For an illustration, see J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 120 (no. 121 in the second edition); for an altar set up to Mark Antony and Octavia, see *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 150.

⁵ *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 45-46; E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 27-30.

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3232, which Hula restored, *op. cit.*, p. 30, with a similar text belongs to a different kind of monument. The stone, now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 3949), has the top preserved; both lines are inscribed by the same hand (Pl. 8): height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.; height of letters, 0.026 m. While no restoration can be offered (compare the similar inscription, *I.G.*, II², 4477), it may be suggested that this inscription is identical with *I.G.*, II², 3231, seen and copied only by Pittakys, *L'Anc. Athènes*, p. 36; this would mean that Pittakys restored the letters of the second line. Notice that *I.G.*, II², 3234 and 3237 are also known only from Pittakys. For *I.G.*, II², 3233, see *S.E.G.*, XII, no. 157.

⁷ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 88; see also W. Larfeld, *Gr. Epigraphik*, p. 125; E. Nachmanson, *Hist. Att. Inschr.*, nos. 73, 74.

selves but also by the inscriptions which have the name of Augustus in the genitive case.⁸ It is clear that a number of altars were erected to Augustus, some of which were later re-inscribed to his successors, Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and even Hadrian (whose many altars have already been mentioned).

L. R. Taylor discussed at length the *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), namely Augustus, and emphasized that even before the establishment of the state cult at Rome the worship of the emperor seems to have become practically universal in the East.⁹ The evidence assembled by her, however, is presented in an abbreviated form so that the reader can not be sure whether she is referring to an altar or to an honorary statue.¹⁰ Nor does she list any examples of altars of Augustus which were later used in the cult of other emperors. It seemed therefore advisable to re-examine the evidence pertaining to altars set up in the Greek East (with the exception of Egypt and Cyrene) before presenting the altars erected to Augustus in Athens.

An examination of the Greek dedications to Augustus reveals that many of them are statues of the emperor giving his name in the accusative case. Some of these were evidently set up before he received the name Augustus (Sebastos), but surely after the Battle of Actium. One of the inscriptions is dated in 31 or 30 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 470) and is notable because the name *Imperator* is omitted, but the number of the emperor's imperial acclamations and of his consulships is given. These features recall the texts of the various Caesar statues which were erected after the Battle of Pharsalos (*J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 65-75).¹¹ In fact, these early honorary inscriptions to the emperor contain the same elements as the Caesar inscriptions and as the later honorary inscriptions of Augustus: the full name of the emperor (Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ υἱόν), once with the addition of Θεόν (*B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 322); the designation σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην (*I.G.*, VII, 1836); and the cause, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας (*I.G.*, VII, 63) or εὐνοίας (*I. v. Olympia*, no. 367).¹² The statues themselves were erected in public places or dedicated to certain gods and set up in their sanctuaries.¹³

⁸ See the descriptions of Nos. 11-13; cf., however, Nos. 1 and 5 and the later additions in the dative case, Nos. 11-12.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-205.

¹⁰ See Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-277; cf. pp. 271 (*s.v.* Nicopolis and Thera), 276 (*s.v.* Halasarna and Hierocaesarea).

¹¹ In publishing another of the honorary inscriptions in which the name "Augustus" is missing, C. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos (*B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 331-333, no. 7 = *S.E.G.*, XIV, 537) assume that it was set up, together with a statue of Livia, immediately after Actium. They refer to *I.G.R.*, 870; see also *I.G.*, VII, 63 and 1836; *I. v. Olympia*, no. 367; *I. d. Délos*, nos. 1588, 1589 (the latter set up by Artorius whose Athenian honorary inscription, *I.G.*, II², 4116, has been found in the Agora Excavations, I 5620).

¹² For Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 73-75.

¹³ *I.G.*, VII, 1836; *I. v. Olympia*, no. 367; *I. d. Délos*, nos. 1588, 1589; for Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 67 (M), 71-72 (S).

From Athens we know of only one certain statue of Augustus (*I.G.*, II², 3253)¹⁴ which was set up, perhaps in A.D. 4, on the Acropolis, together with statues of Tiberius (*I.G.*, II², 3254), Germanicus (*I.G.*, II², 3255) and Drusus (*I.G.*, II², 3256).¹⁵ To an earlier period may belong the fragment of a statue base which does not seem to have been published so far; we present it here with the kind permission of the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, M. Mitsos.¹⁶

Plate 8. Fragment of gray Eleusinian stone, broken on both sides and on the back. The top and bottom surfaces are smooth as far as preserved. Neither provenience nor previous publication is recorded.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

E. M. 4565

After 27 B.C.

Ὁ δῆ[μος]
[Ἀντ]οκράτο[ρα Καίσαρα]
[Θ]εοῦ νίδον [Σεβαστόν].

The third line was indented by one letter, to judge by the spacing; there can be no doubt about the restoration of the last word. We presume that the base once carried a bronze statue of Augustus.¹⁷

It is clear that the inscriptions from the statue bases, giving the emperor's name in the accusative case, are not different from the honorary inscriptions set up to Julius Caesar and to other outstanding Greeks and Romans of that time. There exists, however, a large group of dedications, mainly, though perhaps not exclusively, altars, which have the name of the emperor (or of another person) in the dative case, indicating, as in the case of dedications to gods, that the monument is set up to the emperor; this type of dedication implies the existence of a (perhaps local) cult of the

¹⁴ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 45, after rejecting three dedications (*I.G.*, III, 437 = *I.G.*, II², 3237; *I.G.*, III, 434 = *I.G.*, II², 3232, see above note 6; *I.G.*, III, 435 = *I.G.*, II², 3236), lists seven inscribed bases of statues: *I.G.*, III, 130 = *I.G.*, II², 2953; *I.G.*, III, 438 = *I.G.*, II², 3235; *I.G.*, III, 447 = *I.G.*, II², 3253; *I.G.*, III, 451 = *I.G.*, II², 3224/5; Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 27-28, no. 1 = *I.G.*, II², 3230; *ibid.*, pp. 28-29, no. 2 = *I.G.*, II², 3228; *ibid.*, pp. 29-30, no. 3 = *I.G.*, II², 3229. The first one (*I.G.*, II², 2953) may indeed have carried a statue of Augustus, but its unique character and fragmentary state of preservation do not allow us to say any more (compare L. Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, p. 295; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 49); for *χαριστήριον* cf. *I.G.*, II², 4701 (a relief); 4709 (an altar); *I.G.*, VII, 3100 (an altar); *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, nos. 51-53 (altars). All the others with the exception of *I.G.*, II², 3253 are altars and not statue bases.

¹⁵ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ M. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool have helped us considerably with descriptions of stones and with photographs for this article, and to them we express our deep gratitude.

¹⁷ For Greek portraits of the emperor, see E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, pp. 86-87.

person so honored. The largest number of inscriptions of this type has been found in Mytilene.¹⁸ Those of the inscriptions which are illustrated or accurately described are all of altars, erected to distinguished Mytileneans, to Pompey, father and son, to Augustus and to members of his family, to Trajan, and to Hadrian. Since these monuments have not yet been studied as a group, it is impossible to say what purpose they fulfilled; so much is certain, that they are altars carrying the owner's name in the dative case. In this respect they agree with a great number of monuments dedicated to Augustus and found all over the Greek world. Most of these are inadequately described; a few are identified as altars, but only two are listed, we think mistakenly, as statue bases.¹⁹ The inscriptions on these monuments carry the name of Augustus either in the dative or in the genitive case,²⁰ and they testify to a well organized cult of Augustus both in Greece and in Asia Minor. Before some of the peculiarities of these documents can be discussed, a brief check list of those which we were able to find may be given here, following the order of J. and L. Robert's *Bulletin Épigraphique* in the *R.E.G.*

ATHENS

1. Agora I 4123. Published below, p. 75, No. 1.
2. Agora I 4332. Published below, p. 76, No. 2.
3. Agora I 4994. Published below, p. 76, No. 3.
4. Agora I 5686. Published below, p. 77, No. 4.
5. Agora I 6411. Published below, p. 77, No. 5.
6. E.M. 4935. Published below, p. 78, No. 6.
7. E.M. 6051; *C.I.A.*, III, 451. Published below, p. 78, No. 7.
8. E.M. 3910; *I.G.*, II², 3224/5. See below, p. 80, No. 8.
9. *I.G.*, II², 3226. See below, p. 80, No. 9.
10. E.M. 3948; *I.G.*, II², 3227. See below, p. 81, No. 10.
11. E.M. 10357; *I.G.*, II², 3228. See below, p. 81, No. 11.
12. E.M. 10360; *I.G.*, II², 3229 (A = *I.G.*, II², 3281; B = *I.G.*, II², 3282). See below, p. 82, No. 12.
13. E.M. 10350; *I.G.*, II², 3230. See below, p. 82, No. 13.
14. *I.G.*, II², 3234.
15. E.M. 10419; *I.G.*, II², 3235. See below, p. 71.

All but three (Nos. 2, 14, 15) have practically identical texts: *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; we have found this particular combination also in Nos. 19, 28, 29, 31, 37, 43, 44, 52, sometimes, however, in the dative case.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, XII, 2, nos. 140-201; *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), pp. 19-20, nos. 39-57; compare G. Klaffenbach, *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, pp. 222-223, no. 5; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, pp. 1230 (note 28), 1330 (note 2); A. E. Raubitschek, *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 71-72 (T) and note 2.

¹⁹ *S.E.G.*, I, 282; A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, no. 466. The subscriptions (in the dative case) underneath the statues of Augustus and his family on the monumental base from Apollonia (*M.A.M.A.*, IV, 1933, pp. 49-56, no. 143) may refer not to the statues themselves (if there were any statues) but to altars set up in front of them.

²⁰ On the use of these cases for altar dedications, see A. D. Nock, *H.S.C.P.*, XLI, 1930, pp. 47-52; A. E. Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 150; T. B. Mitford, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 244, note 94.

CORINTH

16. Corinth, VIII, i, no. 97 (fragment of an altar).

SPARTA

17. *I.G.*, V, 1, 373 (altar). See the comments on No. 53.

OLYMPIA

18. *Inscr. v. Olympia*, no. 366 ("architravblock vom Metroon?").

MEGARA

19. *I.G.*, VII, 36. See below, p. 72, note 29.

TANAGRA

20. *I.G.*, VII, 569.

THESSALY

21. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 93 (round altar?).
 22. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 424 (altar?).
 23. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 425 (altar?).
 24. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 604.
 25. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 1288; A. S. Arbanitopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1913, p. 167.

The five Thessalian inscriptions have practically identical texts: Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Σωτήρος; we have not found this particular combination of titles anywhere else.

MACEDONIA

26. *S.E.G.*, I, 282; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, no. 108. See above, p. 68, note 19.
 27. P. Lemerle, *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 461-463, no. 4, fig. 3 (altar). See below, p. 72, note 29. For other Latin inscriptions, see Nos. 44, 48.

NIKOPOLIS

28. *C.I.G.*, II, 1810 (altar?). Block of fine grained gray marble with white streaks. Width, at bottom, 0.48 m., at top, 0.47 m.; height, 0.56 m.; preserved thickness, 0.41 m.; height of letters, ca. 0.04 m. The edges on the front and on the left side are drafted; the front is dressed with a claw chisel, the sides show point dressing. There are no cuttings on the top. See Plate 9 and below, p. 73.
 29. Chr. A. Kontos, *Πρακτικά*, 1927, pp. 50-51. See below, p. 73.

LESBOS

30. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 104; *I.G.R.*, IV, 20 (architectural?). See below, p. 72, note 29.
 31. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 152; *I.G.R.*, IV, 58 (altar). See below, p. 73.
 32. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 153; *I.G.R.*, IV, 59.
 33. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 154; *I.G.R.*, IV, 60. See comments on No. 62.
 34. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 155; *I.G.R.*, IV, 61 (altar).
 35. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 156; *I.G.R.*, IV, 62. See below, p. 71.
 36. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 157; *I.G.R.*, IV, 63.
 37. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 158.
 38. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 164 d; *I.G.R.*, IV, 79 d (multiple altar).
 39. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 41.
 40. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 42. See below, p. 84 and note 82.
 41. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 49; G. Klaffenbach, *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, pp. 222-223, no. 5 (double altar).

The texts of six of these documents (Nos. 31, 32, 37-40) agree with those of the Athenian altars (see the comments on Nos. 1-15), but in four of the inscriptions (Nos. 32, 38-40) Θέω (= Θεῶ) is added in front of Σεβάστω (= Σεβαστῶ); the same combination occurs also in Nos. 26, 45, 49, 50, 51, 51 a, 54, 61. Three texts (Nos. 33, 34, 41) refer to Augustus simply as Θεῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ (or Καίσαρι Θεῶ Σεβαστῶ); Klaffenbach rightly points out that "die Reihenfolge der Bestandteile der Bezeichnung keine Rolle spielt."²¹

THERA

42. *I.G.*, XII, 3, 469; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, III, p. 27, fig. 15, and p. 122 (altar). See below, pp. 71-72.

KOS

43. W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 127, no. 83 (round altar?).
44. A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, p. 168, no. 466. See above, p. 68, note 19 and below, p. 72, note 29. For γρυστοπῶλαι see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXV, 1952, p. 172, no. 139, 34; for other Latin inscriptions, see No. 27, 48.

SAMOS

45. *I.G.R.*, IV, 958; E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, p. 43, no. 958. See below, p. 84.

CRETE

46. *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 166, no. 28 (altar?).
47. *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 203, no. 12 (altar?). The names should be restored in the genitive or dative case, perhaps with the addition of Θεῶ (or Θεοῦ) in the second line.
48. *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 316, no. 269. For other Latin inscriptions, see Nos. 27, 44.

MILETOS

49. A. Rehm in T. Wiegand, *Milet*, I, 9, p. 162, no. 335; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *R.E.*, s.v. Miletos, col. 1615, lines 29-33 (altar).

LYDIA

50. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1173. See below, p. 73.
51. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 71, no. 23 (altar?). See comments on No. 62.
51a. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1304; L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 71, note 2 (altar to Roma and Augustus).

CARIA

52. *O.G.I.*, 457. See below, p. 72, note 29.
53. B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Phil.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 287, no. 10 (altar). This altar was found *in situ* in the agora of Herakleia; see A. M. Woodward's comments (*B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907/8, p. 138) on the Augustus altar from Sparta (No. 17).
54. A. E. Kontoleon, *B.C.H.*, X, 1886, p. 516, no. 5; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, p. 35, note 14. See below, p. 72. For Fortuna Augusti, see W. Otto, *R.E.*, s.v. Fortuna, cols. 36-37.

LYCIA

55. *I.G.R.*, III, 722.

PHRYGIA

56. *I.G.R.*, IV, 691. See comments on No. 62.
57. *I.G.R.*, IV, 885; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1333, note 12 (altar).
58. *M.A.M.A.*, IV, pp. 49-56, no. 143 (multiple altar?). See above, p. 68, note 19.

²¹ *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, p. 223, note 18.

CILICIA

59. L. Jalabert, *Inscr. Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, III, no. 715 (altar). See below, pp. 72 and note 29, 84. For Poseidon's epithet Ἀσφάλειος, see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXVII, 1954, p. 173, no. 238, 36.

CYPRUS

60. *I.G.R.*, III, 932.
 61. *I.G.R.*, III, 937 (round altar?).
 62. *I.G.R.*, III, 997; T. B. Mitford, *B.S.A.* XLII, 1947, pp. 222-225, no. 9; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents*, no. 115 (altar). For altars dedicated by priests of Augustus, see Nos. 33, 51, 51a, 56. See below, pp. 73, 84.

A few words may be added on the form in which the emperor's name occurs on the various altar inscriptions. Attention has already been called, in the comments on Nos. 1-15 and 30-41, to the great number of texts which, in the genitive or dative case, have the "full" name Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς (Θεὸς) Σεβαστός; only in one inscription belonging to this group (No. 35) is Θεοῦ υἱοῦ omitted.²² We do not think that to the Greeks of this period Σεβαστός meant anything different or less divine than Θεὸς Σεβαστός; at any rate, the addition of Θεός did not indicate that the person so honored was no longer alive but was deified after death. This is indicated not only by the fact that Octavianus was Θεός before he received the name Augustus²³ and that Caesar was called Θεός soon after Pharsalos,²⁴ but also by the obvious similarity in form and content between the texts with Θεός and those without it. Moreover, there is another group of altar texts which contain the name of Augustus as (Θεὸς) Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ (σωτήρ): Nos. 2, 17, 20, 21-25 (with σωτήρ), 33, 34, 46, 47, 55, 56, 59, 60, some with and some without the addition of Θεός. We do not think therefore that No. 15 (Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ) was necessarily set up after the emperor's death. Unfortunately, we can not explain the choice of the Greek word for "Augustus," but its meaning must have been "the worshipped one."²⁵ Similarly, the Greek Θεοῦ υἱός has a different meaning from the Latin *divi filius* of which it is the equivalent. In Latin, *divus* is used like a praenomen, but in Greek Θεοῦ υἱός means the son of God or the son of a god, and the person so designated is elevated above the human and mortal order.²⁶ This is shown by the altar from Thera (No. 42) τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Καίσαρος, for the only indication of divinity is provided by the affiliation Θεοῦ υἱοῦ. The omission of the name Augustus shows that this altar belongs to the period before 27 B.C., and its association with the statue base *I.G.*, XII, 3, 470 points

²² See also *I.G.*, XII, 5, 940.

²³ *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 331-333, no. 7; see above, p. 66, note 11.

²⁴ *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, p. 75.

²⁵ See L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 160. E. T. Salmon, *Historia*, V, 1956, p. 461; R. Syme, *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 182-183.

²⁶ Cf. L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-180.

to a date late in 31 B.C.²⁷ It may therefore be asserted confidently that the Greek name of Augustus (especially its parts Θεοῦ υἱός and Θεὸς Σεβαστός), as it appears on altars and statue bases, indicates the same divine character as do the altars erected to him.²⁸

The divine character of Augustus is further illustrated by his equation and association with a variety of Olympic deities.²⁹ It is possible, however, that this worship of Augustus follows the Hellenistic tradition according to which Romans even before him were associated with Olympic gods.³⁰ The cult of Augustus himself (and by himself) has nothing to do with this tradition which itself continues beyond Augustus throughout the empire.³¹

Only one of the altars (No. 42) seems to have been set up before 27 B.C., while another (No. 54) may have been erected soon after 26/5 B.C.³² D. Magie³³ suggested that the altar in Aegaeae (No. 59) was erected in 19 B.C., and the erection of altars in other cities may be connected with benefactions received at various times by these

²⁷ See H. Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 147, note 3.

²⁸ See, however, W. H. Buckler, *Rev. de Phil.*, IX, 1935, pp. 179-180.

²⁹ A. D. Nock, *H.S.C.P.*, XLI, 1930, p. 37, however, speaks slightly of the monuments assembled here as depending "on private whim and in which there is a great tendency to pair the dative of worship and a dative of homage"; Nock himself, *op. cit.*, p. 40, says that the altar inscription of Alabanda (No. 52) was inscribed on "the basis for a statue of Augustus" without accounting for the genitive case of the text. Nock also claims (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, note 5, and 59) that "the epithet *Augustus* or *Σεβαστός* applied to a god probably describes him as 'the Emperor's god,'" and he would have us interpret the altar from Philippi (No. 27) in this way, were it not for the dedication (we think of an altar) from Kos (No. 44) which is erected to *Imp. Caesari Divi f. Aug. Mercurio*; on Augustus Mercurius, see the comments made by W. Kroll, *R.E.*, s.v. *Mercurius*, cols. 979-980, and J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain*, pp. 576-577. We accept, therefore, D. Magie's suggestion (*Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1333, note 12) that the altar from Kayadibi (No. 57) "may perhaps have been dedicated" to Augustus as *Διὲ Καίσαρι*. Another altar from Phrygia (No. 56) is dedicated to *Διὲ καὶ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι* by their priest; compare our comments on No. 62. In Samos (No. 45), Augustus was worshipped on an altar erected to him as Zeus Polieus, and in Mytilene (No. 40), he was worshipped officially as Zeus Olympios; see below, p. 84 and notes 82 and 83. Another altar from Mytilene (No. 35) is dedicated to Augustus as Eleutherios, but the inscription is too fragmentary to say whether the emperor is here equated with Zeus Eleutherios (as in Egypt) or with Apollo Eleutherios as in Caria (No. 52). In Cilicia (No. 59), Augustus is associated in an altar inscription with Poseidon and Aphrodite, and in Lesbos (No. 30) with Apollo Thermios. Finally, there is an altar from Megara (No. 19) dedicated to the Muses, to Caesar (as god), and to Augustus as Apollo Mouseios; for the connection between Augustus and the Muses, see A. Plassart, *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 383-462; W. Peek, *Ἑραυρία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν* (for A. Keramopoulos), IX, 1953, pp. 631-634; J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXVIII, 1955, pp. 224-226, no. 119.

³⁰ See A. E. Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 146-150; J. L. Tondriau, *Symb. Osl.*, XXVII, 1949, pp. 128-140; P. Lambrechts, *Nouvelle Clio*, V, 1953, pp. 65-81 (especially pp. 80-81).

³¹ See P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, who insists on the Latin and Roman origin of the Augustus cult.

³² See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, pp. 1331-1332, note 7.

³³ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 473-474.

cities.³⁴ We do not know whether the mention of *Pax Augusta* in No. 50 is to be connected with the *Ara Pacis* of 13 B.C.³⁵ Finally, one altar (No. 31) is to be dated after 2 B.C., because Augustus is called *pater patriae*,³⁶ and another (No. 62) before A.D. 2 and after 9 B.C. because of the mention of Lucius Caesar and on account of the date of the document itself which, according to T. B. Mitford, "affords us 9 B.C. as our *terminus post quem*." ³⁷

While the evidence presented so far does not encourage the assumption that all the Augustus altars in Greek lands were set up at one time and for one purpose, there is evidence to show that at least some of the altars were erected in response to a pan-Hellenic policy which can be directly associated with the plans of Augustus soon after his victory at Actium. Two of the altars (Nos. 28, 29) were discovered in Nikopolis, the city which Augustus founded after the battle. These were erected by the cities of Aegaeae (No. 29) and Mallos (No. 28), both Cilician cities of Greek origin.³⁸ It may be supposed that other cities made similar dedications just as the Panhellenion in Athens received dedications from all over the Greek world.³⁹ In fact the foundation of Nikopolis, after the "liberating" victory of Actium, corresponds even more closely to the Eleutheria of Plataiai than does the Panhellenion which has been associated with it.⁴⁰ Another link between the Augustus altars and the Hadrianic Panhellenion is provided by the Hadrian altars found not only all over Greece, but especially in Athens, the seat of the Panhellenion.⁴¹ Both Augustus and Hadrian visited Greece frequently, and the relationship between the attitudes towards Greece of the two emperors has still to be examined. There seems to exist a close relationship between the "list of free cities" dated by A. H. M. Jones before 20 B.C. (and attributed to Agrippa) and the Greek cities in which statue bases, altars, and fragments of Temples of Augustus were found;⁴² here again, a new collection of the entire evidence would be desirable. The pan-Hellenic character of Nikopolis is also indicated by the close association with the Delphic Amphiktyony which was revived and reorganized by Augustus.⁴³ It may well be that the Amphiktyonic Council was responsible for the erection of statues and altars of Augustus.⁴⁴

³⁴ See the chronological list presented by H. Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 147-175.

³⁵ See C. Koch, *R.E.*, s.v. *Pax*, cols. 2432-2433; H. Riemann, *R.E.*, s.v. *Pacis Ara Augustae*, col. 2082.

³⁶ See H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.*, I, p. 90, no. 211; compare also *I.G.R.*, IV, 95.

³⁷ *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 224.

³⁸ See A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 209 and 435, note 7.

³⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 3290-3310; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 50, note 2.

⁴⁰ See P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 108, note 8.

⁴¹ See above, p. 65.

⁴² See also A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, pp. 129-131.

⁴³ See H. Pomtow, *R.E.*, s.v. *Delphoi*, col. 2578; F. Schober, *R.E.*, s.v. *Nikopolis*, cols. 516-517.

⁴⁴ For its action on behalf of Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 74-75.

Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence to show a connection between Delphi (or the Delphic Amphiktyony) and the establishment of the Augustus cult throughout the Greek world.⁴⁵ The connection between Delphi and Athens, on the other hand, is shown by the lists of the Athenian sacred embassies to Delphi which began in the year when Architimos was archon in Athens;⁴⁶ his archonship has been assigned tentatively to 30/29 B.C. by J. H. Oliver and G. Daux.⁴⁷ P. Graindor associated the institution of the *dodekais* with Augustus, and if the date of its beginning is really the year 30/29 B.C., this association is very probable.⁴⁸

Turning to Athens our evidence, though fragmentary, is more specific. The fragment of a decree ordering the celebration of Augustus' birthday was first published by J. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 1071, and thoroughly discussed by P. Graindor.⁴⁹ R. P. Austin gave a good illustration of the inscription, which is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5314), on plate 14 of his *Stoichedon Style*. He also discussed the inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 114) calling it "a fully authenticated late survival of the stoichedon style," but while he realized that the inscription "archaizes" in its use of the stoichedon style, he claims that "it does not do so in the forms of its letters, which are the same as those of its contemporaries." A glance at Austin's own illustration shows that only the *sigma* has a late form, that the *phi* and *psi* are more elongated than was customary in the early fourth century, and that the *xi* lacks the vertical stroke; on the whole,

⁴⁵ Mention may be made, however, of certain monuments which can best be explained by the assumption of such an association. R. Flacelière accepted (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 4, p. 179) the suggestion made by Courby that a monumental statue base with many inscriptions once served as the pedestal of a statue of Augustus; without further evidence, we can not be sure of the significance of this suggestion. Next may be mentioned the inscription of Lentulus (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, no. 528) who was honored by Delphi as *ραμίας Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ*; for another *ραμίας Ἀυτοκράτορος* (*quaestor Augusti*) of this period see *I.G.*, XII, 5, 940. In *I.G.*, II², 4124 and by D. Magie, *op. cit.* II, p. 1590, Lentulus is wrongly called *quaestor Asiae*; see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 59, note 3, and on the office itself Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.*, II, 1, 3rd ed., pp. 569-570. The early date of the document (before 27 B.C.) and the close personal connection between Augustus and Lentulus (see *P.I.R.*, II², pp. 330-333, no. 1379) may indicate that Lentulus served as Augustus' personal representative on the occasion of the reorganization of the Amphiktyonic Council. Another honorary monument (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, no. 487-496) from Delphi, dated soon after Actium, may also be connected with the reorganization of the council under Augustus. Diodorus of Delphi had been active in 48 B.C. on behalf of Caesar and his friends (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, nos. 318, 480), but it was twenty years later that he had honors received from all over Greece recorded on stone; it is quite possible that his pro-Roman activities were not confined to the time after Pharsalos, but also to the time after Actium. The inscriptions add no details to the eulogies, and we can not say more than they do.

⁴⁶ *F. d. Delphes*, III, 2, nos. 59-66.

⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 82, note 21; *F. d. Delphes*, III, *Chronologie Delphique*, p. 74.

⁴⁸ *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 142.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-31; see also J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 286-287; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 190-191; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 136-137; S. Accame, *Il Dominio Romano in Grecia*, pp. 178-179.

however, the lettering clearly imitates early fourth century inscriptions. This is even more strikingly shown by the prescript of the decree, as P. Graindor pointed out.⁵⁰ We do not know why this inscription honoring Augustus was inscribed in classical Attic form and script. The first known fragment (*I.G.*, II², 1071) can be augmented by two fragments found in the Agora Excavations (I 2619 and I 5334) published by George A. Stamires in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 260-265, no. 98. One of these new fragments (I 2619) contains the form of *xi* mentioned above. Although the text of the inscription can not be restored with confidence, the following statements about its contents may be made: a) The decree provides for honors in addition to those voted the year before. P. Graindor suggested⁵¹ that these earlier honors consisted in the erection of the Roma and Augustus Temple on the Acropolis, and the lettering of the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of this temple⁵² bears a striking resemblance to that of the Augustus decree (*I.G.*, II², 1071). b) The decree provides for the celebration of Augustus' birthday on the twelfth day (of every month or of Boedromion), comparable to the celebrations of Apollo's birthday on the seventh. Monthly celebrations of Augustus' birthday are also called for in the decree from Mytilene, *I.G.*, XII, 2, 58, line 20; there, however, these celebrations are to be modeled after those in honor of Zeus (line 21). It is clear from the Mytilene decree⁵³ that Augustus' birthday was celebrated with sacrifices (lines 19 and 21), and it may be presumed that special altars were erected for that occasion. c) One of the new fragments (I 2619) contains the words *βωμόν, Πυθιο* [— —], and *[πεντε]τηρίς*, indicating the use of an altar, the references to Pythian Apollo and the existence of penteteric games (*I.G.*, XII, 2, 58, line 7) or festivals. Combining all this information, one may assume that at Athens (as well as at Mytilene and perhaps in other places) Augustus was honored on his birthday or on the monthly recurrence of his birthday by sacrifices which must have been performed on altars dedicated to him.⁵⁴ This explains satisfactorily (though perhaps not completely) the existence of the various Augustus altars, especially those found in Athens.⁵⁵

THE ARAE AUGUSTI FROM ATHENS

1. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Pentelic marble. Left face and top, with moulding, preserved; the top surface, as far as preserved, is smoothly dressed. Found in a modern context north of the Odeion (M 8), on May 6, 1936.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 26; for Augustan archaism in inscriptions, see A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 149; in sculpture, see Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-210.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵² *I.G.*, II², 3173; J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 117 (no. 118 in the second edition).

⁵³ See also *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 10, no. 26, lines 8-9; p. 13, no. 58. For a discussion of the date of the birthday, see A. Kaplan, *Studies for A. D. Fraser*, pp. 93-102.

⁵⁴ See P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 68. Nos. 1-15.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.026-0.029 m.

Inv. no. I 4123

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτ[οκράτορι Καίσαρι]
Θεο[ῷ νῦν Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ].

We assume that this is an altar and not a statue base because of the omission of the dedicator (ὁ δῆμος *vel sim.*).⁵⁶ We restore the name of Augustus in the dative and we add Θεῷ, although none of the completely preserved Attic altars have this text, because the second line seems to be two letters longer than the first; see also No. 5. For the form of Augustus' name as restored here, see above, pp. 71-72; for the use of the dative case, see above, pp. 67-68.

2. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Hymettian marble, broken all around except for a small part of the left edge. Found in surface fill west of the Odeion (J-K 9-10), in July, 1936.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. no. I 4332.

After 27 B.C.

Σεβασ[τοῦ]
Καίσα[ρος].

We have restored the name in the genitive case rather than in the dative case, because the former seems to be more common in Athens. For this short form of Augustus' name, see above, p. 71. The possibility can not be excluded that this is a statue base; in that case the inscription should be restored like *I.G.*, II², 3253.

3. (Pl. 8). Fragment from the top of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble with a narrow astragal along the upper edge. The top has been hollowed out, according to E. Vanderpool, at a later date. Found in the excavation for a modern cellar at the corners of Hadrian and Mnesikles Streets, east of the Roman Agora (W. Judeich, *Topographie*², Plan I, E 4), on June 14, 1937.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.24 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.60 m.

Height of letters, 0.030-0.035 m.

Inv. no. I 4994.

After 27 B.C.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 67.

Ἀὐτοκρά[το]—
 ρος Καίσ[αρος]
 Θεοῦ υ[ιοῦ Σε]—
 βας[τοῦ].

The first line seems to have been shorter than the second and third lines, and the short fourth line was placed symmetrically underneath. Even if the hole on the top is of a second use, it may be supposed that this altar had originally a hollow depression in the top surface; see Nos. 5, 6, 8, 9.

4. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Pentelic marble, broken at the right and left sides, with a moulding around the top, of which traces are preserved at the back. Found in a marble pile south of the Eleusinion (T-U 21-22), in March, 1939.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.23 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. no. I 5686

After 27 B.C.

[Ἀὐτοκρά]το[ρος]
 [Καίσ]αρος Θε[οῦ]
 [υἱ]οῦ Σεβας[τοῦ].

The restoration of the first line retains the symmetry of the inscription. The first line was spaced more widely, and also there is some uninscribed space between the words. These two features occur also in *I.G.*, II², 3224/5 (= No. 8) which is, in general, very similar.

5. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble, broken all around except for part of the top surface which is roughly picked. Found in a marble pile in the area of the Eleusinion (S-U 19-21), in April 1951.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. no. I 6411.

After 27 B.C.

[Ἀὐτοκράτορι Καίσ]αρι
 [Θεοῦ υἱῶι Θεῶι Σεβα]στῶι.

For this restoration, which is uncertain, see above, No. 1. The partly preserved, roughly picked top may belong to the hollow of the altar; see No. 3.

6. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a cylindrical base of grayish white marble, with a simple ovolo moulding along the upper edge. The bottom has been reworked, but the top is flat except for a roughly cut sinking in the center, *ca.* 0.12 m. in diameter and 0.15 m. in depth.

Height, 0.21 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.

E.M. 4935.

After 27 B.C.

[Αὐτοκράτ]ορος

vacat 0.035 m.

[Καίσαρος] Θεοῦ υἱοῦ

[Σεβα]στοῦ.

The last line is more widely spaced. For the depression on the top surface, see above, No. 3. We publish this inscription with the kind permission of the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Dr. M. Mitsos.

7. (Pl. 8). About half of the upper part of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble, with a moulding along the upper edge. The top surface, as far as preserved, is flat. Found (according to the inventory of the Epigraphical Museum) on August 16, 1869, in a modern house on Pluto Street, east of Monasteraki Square.

Height, 0.16 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.40 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.

E.M. 6051; *C.I.A.*, III, 451.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος

Καίσαρος Θε[οῦ υἱ]—

οῦ Σ[εβαστοῦ].

The second line seems to have been two letters longer than the first line; the third line, however, two letters shorter. We suspect that this inscription was first published by K. S. Pittakys who said that he saw it “dans l’église nommée Catholicon” which is, according to A. Mommsen, the little Metropolis.⁵⁷ His text is as follows:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΕΙΩ...

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΘΕ

ΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ—

The inscription was republished by W. Dittenberger (*C.I.A.*, III, 451) who used,

⁵⁷ *L’Ancienne Athènes*, p. 492; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 115.

in addition to Pittakys' book, a copy made by Mustoxydis. This copy did not have the last four letters of the first line (ΑΕΙΩ), and Dittenberger restored the inscription accordingly as follows:

Αὐτοκράτορ[ος]
Καίσαρος Θε[οῦ υἱ]—
οῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

Neither Pittakys nor Mustoxydis reported that the stone carried an inscription on the other side or that there was a cutting on the top surface.

When U. Koehler published the tomb epigram of Telekles (*I.G.*, II², 12764 = W. Peek, *Griech. Vers-Inschriften*, I, no. 1550), he remarked at the end of his comments:⁵⁸ "In latere opposito lapidis exaratus est titulus *C.I.A.*, III, 451." We believe that the inscription on the back of *C.I.A.*, II, 3, no. 4174 (= *I.G.*, II², 12764) is not the same as that copied by Pittakys and Mustoxydis and published as *C.I.A.*, III, 451, although it contains the same text. *I.G.*, II², 12764 was copied originally by K. S. Pittakys who said that he found it southeast of the Stoa Poikile in the Agora.⁵⁹ The same inscription was copied and published by G. Kaibel⁶⁰ who said that he saw it "nel cosi detto gimnasio d'Adriano"; no doubt, Pittakys' Stoa Poikile and Kaibel's Gymnasium of Hadrian are the same building, namely the Library of Hadrian.⁶¹ Kaibel later observed⁶² that the inscription which he thought to be unpublished had already been published by Pittakys, and he himself republished it in the *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 40.⁶³ Neither Pittakys nor Kaibel noted that there was an inscription on the other side, but Koehler evidently saw this inscription and mistakenly assumed that it had been published already in *C.I.A.*, III, 451. The two inscriptions, *C.I.A.*, III, 451 and the text on the back of *I.G.*, II², 12764, can not be the same because Pittakys saw the stone on which the one was engraved (*I.G.*, II², 12764) southeast of the Library of Hadrian⁶⁴ and the other (*C.I.A.*, III, 451) in the little Metropolis.⁶⁵ Another reason for disassociating the inscription on the back of *I.G.*, II², 12764 and *C.I.A.*, III, 451 is the text of the third line: Pittakys and Mustoxydis both read ΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ in *C.I.A.*, III, 451, while the third line of the inscription engraved on the back of *I.G.*, II², 12764 reads ΥΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (*I.G.*, II², 3224/5 = No. 8). On the other hand, the inscription published here (No. 7) agrees entirely in this respect with the text of *C.I.A.*, III, 451, but it has been damaged since Pittakys and

⁵⁸ *C.I.A.*, II, 3, no. 4174.

⁵⁹ *L'Ancienne Athènes*, pp. 70, 71.

⁶⁰ *Bulletino dell' Istituto*, 1873, pp. 248-249.

⁶¹ See W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 375-377.

⁶² *Neue Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1873, p. 815; *Bulletino dell' Istituto*, 1874, p. 168, note 1.

⁶³ See also *addenda*, p. 518, no. 40.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 492.

Mustoxydis copied it; one must remember that the stone was moved from the little Metropolis to a house on Pluto Street just east of Monasteraki Square.

8. (Pl. 9). Rectangular base of Hymettian marble, broken only at the lower right side. The stone was first used as the pedestal of a herm (?) and carried the tomb epigram now published as *I.G.*, II², 12764 (= W. Peek, *Griech. Vers-Inschriften* I, no. 1550); to this first use belongs the rectangular cutting (0.18 m. by 0.13 m.) in the top surface. When the stone was re-used as an altar of Augustus, the new inscription was inscribed on the back, and the cutting on the top was re-worked.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

E.M. 3910; *I.G.*, II², 3224/5.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Θεοῦ
υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

The inscription is mentioned in the comments on *C.I.A.*, II, 3, 4174 and published for the first time by J. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 3224/5. Kirchner mistakenly thought that this inscription was the same as *C.I.A.*, III, 451; see our comments on No. 7. This is the only altar we were able to find which served another purpose before it was dedicated to Augustus. There are, however, several statue bases of Caesar⁶⁶ and of Augustus⁶⁷ which had served at an earlier date as statue bases of other people. Only one of the two examples cited for Augustus (*Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 250-51, no. 12) may be properly called a *metagraphe*, since in the case of the Athenian base (*I.G.*, II², 3829) the statues of Augustus and his family and of Trajan could not have been "re-named" old statues since three of the old ones were female while all of the new ones were male. In fact, the custom of renaming old statues with new names is better attested from literature than illustrated by monuments.⁶⁸ For examples of *metagraphe* discussed by Hula⁶⁹ see below Nos. 11-13.

9. *I.G.*, II², 3226. We have been unable to find any record of the existence of this inscription since S. A. Koumanoudes found and published it in *Ἀθήναιον*, I, 1872, p. 401, saying that he had found it near the Dipylon. It should be noted, however,

⁶⁶ See *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, p. 72, note 20.

⁶⁷ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 250-251, no. 12; *I.G.*, II², 3253-3256, 3284 = *I.G.*, II², 3829.

⁶⁸ See E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, p. 27 and the bibliography quoted in note 1; A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 128.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

that this stone was hollowed out on top, just as several other of the altars; see the comments on No. 3.

10. (Pl. 9). Upper right corner of a rectangular base, found in the Olympieion and published by A. S. Rhousopoulos in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, I, 1862, cols. 43 and 47, no. 58, plate XII, no. 6.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

E.M. 3948; *I.G.*, II², 3227.

After 27 B.C.

[Αὐτοκράτορος Κα]ίσαρος

[Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ.

11. (Pl. 9). For description and measurements, see *I.G.*, II², 3228.

E.M. 10357; *I.G.*, II², 3228.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος]

Θεοῦ υἱοῦ

[Σεβασ]τοῦ.

After A.D. 14

Τ[ι]β[ε]ρ[ί]ον Καίσαρος.

ca. A.D. 132

on the back

[Σωτήρι καὶ Κ]τίστη[ι]

[Αὐτοκράτ]ορι Ἀδριανῶι

[Ὀλυμ]πίωι

Hula observed that the fourth line of the inscription on the front face was inscribed in larger letters than the other three, and that Dittenberger's restoration (*C.I.A.*, III, 431: [καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσα]ρος) is impossible.⁷⁰ Hula also noticed the inscription on the back, but he mistakenly assumed that Σωτήρι "kann nur auf der Statuenplinthe angebracht gewesen sein, da die erste Zeile an dem oberen Rande der Platte steht." The facsimile of the inscription which Hula reproduces⁷¹ shows clearly that the restoration suggested here is in keeping with the spacing of the preserved text; the first two lines began at the same point, while the third line was placed symmetrically below the second.

The stone itself is an altar and not a statue base as Hula assumed, and the later inscriptions for Tiberius and for Hadrian indicate that the Augustus altar was later

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29, no. 2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

used to make sacrifices for Tiberius and, still later, for Hadrian; see the comments on No. 13. Hula discounted the omission of $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in the Tiberius inscription,⁷² assuming that it was inscribed after the death of Augustus, and this line is dated by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 3228) "ante a. 37 p." Mention may be made here also of another Tiberius altar, found on Thera, which carries the simple inscription Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι .⁷³

12. For description and measurements, see E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 29-30, no. 3, and *I.G.*, II², 3229.

E.M. 10360; *I.G.*, II², 3229 A (= *I.G.*, II², 3281), 3229 B (= *I.G.*, II², 3282).
After 27 B.C.

[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καί-
[σαρ]ος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ.

After A.D. 54

in rasura

[N]έρω[νι Κλα]υδίωι Κ[α]ίσα[ρ]ι
[- - - - -].

After A.D. 69

Οὐεσπασιανοῦ.

After A.D. 79

on the back

[Αὐτοκρ]άτορι Καίσαρι
Σεβαστῶι Τίτωι.

On the left side is a graffito containing the first nine letters of the alphabet or the numbers from one to nine. We do not know the significance of this inscription, but we doubt whether it was inscribed *ludendi causa* as Kirchner suggested.

Hula, who first published this monument, observed that it carried on its front, in addition to the Augustus inscription and that of Vespasian, an erased text which he read and restored (with Adolf Wilhelm's assistance) as referring to Nero.⁷⁴ Evidently this altar (mistakenly called a statue base by Hula) served Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, and Titus in turn; see the comments on No. 13.

13. (Pl. 9). Thin slab of Pentelic marble with flat mouldings at top and bottom; the back is roughly picked.

Height, 0.57 m.; width, 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.025-0.035 m.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 28 and note 3.

⁷³ *I.G.*, XII, 3, 471; see also Nos. 45, 62.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, no. 3; p. 29 note 4; for another Nero altar from Athens, see *I.G.*, II², 3278 (in P. Graindor's publication, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 260, no. 23).

E.M. 10350; *I.G.*, II², 3230.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Θεοῦ
υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

ca. A.D. 132

Ἀ[δ]ριανοῦ Κτίστου.

Hula, who published this monument, noted that the letters above the first line are the remains of an inept attempt at writing Αὐτ(οκράτορος).⁷⁵ He also pointed out that the preserved slab was part of a construction of four thin plaques forming a rectangular base, but he did not notice that it was an altar of Augustus. Hula also recognized that the fourth line of the inscription is a later addition and not part of the Augustus inscription as Dittenberger assumed (*C.I.A.*, III, 430).

As long as the stones published here as Nos. 7-13 were considered to be statue bases, the later use of Nos. 11-13 was explained by the assumption that statues of Augustus were rededicated to several of his successors, an assumption which is not adequately supported by the reference to the one case of such a substitution mentioned by Tacitus.⁷⁶ Nor does the general custom of *metagraphe* readily apply to the statues of the emperors; see the comments on No. 8. This difficulty disappears with the realization that the monuments in question were altars and not statue bases. It becomes necessary, however, to explain the circumstances under which altars dedicated to Augustus were later rededicated to Tiberius (No. 11), to Nero (No. 12), to Vespasian (No. 12), to Titus (No. 12), and to Hadrian (Nos. 11, 13).

We know virtually nothing of the origin of the imperial cult in Athens, and J. H. Oliver's account of it is based on evidence which is later in time and which comes from places other than Athens.⁷⁷ He did point out, however, that the dedicatory inscription from the Temple of Roma and Augustus (*I.G.*, II², 3173) is "the earliest evidence for the imperial cult at Athens."⁷⁸ Two priests of this imperial cult are known: Pammenes and Demostratos of Pallene.⁷⁹ It should be noted that Pammenes was called ἱερεὺς Θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτήρος, that Demostratos, the other known priest of Augustus, was ἱερεὺς Θεᾶς [Ῥώμης] καὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος, and that the priest of Tiberius was called ἀρχιερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ.⁸⁰ This means that under Augustus and during the first century of our era, the priest of the imperial

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, no. 1.

⁷⁶ *Annals*, I, 74; see Hula, *op. cit.*, p. 27 and note 2.

⁷⁷ *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 92.

⁷⁹ On the priest Pammenes, see Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, pp. 77-78.

⁸⁰ *I.G.*, II², 3530; see also *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 68-69, no. 21; see J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84.

cult was called in Athens the priest of the ruling emperor whose name was added to the title *ἱερεὺς* or *ἀρχιερεὺς*.⁸¹ This peculiarity in the title of the priest is reflected in the re-dedication of the altars of the emperors (Nos. 11-13). The altars in question served the imperial cult, and sacrifices were offered on them to the ruling emperor; when he died, his altar was rededicated to his successor just as his priest became the priest of his successor. The peculiar development of the imperial cult in Athens is not confined to this city. An altar to Hadrian (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 20, no. 55), when examined in Mytilene, proved to bear on the other side an inscription to Augustus the text of which is identical with that of No. 40 (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 19, no. 42).⁸² This Augustus altar is the official cult altar to him as Olympian Zeus, and it was this altar which continued to be used in the imperial cult until it was reinscribed to Hadrian.⁸³ The altar from Aegaeae (No. 59), originally erected to Augustus, Poseidon and Aphrodite, was later inscribed on the back: *καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς*.⁸⁴ An altar from Samos (No. 45) is dedicated to Augustus as Zeus Polieus and to Tiberius as Zeus Polieus. Finally, an altar from Cyprus (No. 62) originally dedicated to Augustus seems to have been rededicated to Tiberius; in this case, the name of Augustus may have been erased to make space for the name of Tiberius.

CONCLUSION

The survey presented here tends to show that altars were erected to Augustus all over the Greek world and especially in Athens. The Athenian altars could be connected with special sacrifices made in honor of Augustus' birthday, but they must have been used also on other occasions which called for sacrifices to the emperor. There can be no doubt that these altars were public monuments and that they constitute our earliest and best evidence for the existence of a cult of Augustus in Athens. Some of the altars were used, after Augustus' death, for the cult of his successors from Tiberius to Hadrian. The Imperial cult in Athens under Hadrian was greatly revived, as the large number of altars dedicated to this emperor indicates.

It is not possible to localize the Augustus cult within the city of Athens, but it

⁸¹ On the distinction between the two titles, see J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁸² This inscription (No. 40) is reported to be inscribed on a plaque of white marble, not on a round monument, but the peculiarities of the text, where ΘΕ|Ω is split between the second and third lines and the *iota* omitted while written in the other cases of the dative, make it almost certain that *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 42 (our No. 40) and *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 55, are inscribed on opposite sides of the same stone; see the illustration, Plate 9.

⁸³ Six other inscriptions from Mytilene (*I.G.*, XII, 2, 206, 209, 540, 656; Suppl. [1939], p. 19, no. 42; p. 20, no. 59) also refer to the official designation of Augustus as Olympian Zeus; see P. Riewald, *Diss. Phil. Halenses*, XX, 1912, pp. 293-295.

⁸⁴ See Ad. Wilhelm, *Arch.-Ep. Mitteil.*, XX, 1897, p. 61.

is significant that all but one (No. 10) of the altars were found in or near the Agora (or the Roman Agora). The construction of the Roman Agora was completed about 10 B.C., and there were many places in it where altars of Augustus could be erected.⁸⁵ It must be remembered that the Roman Agora of Athens, as it is called now, was in fact one of the many imperial buildings which E. Sjöqvist has shown to merit the name Kaisareion, and one would expect to find the imperial cult centered in such buildings or market places.⁸⁶

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⁸⁵ See H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 299-305; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, pp. 205-206.

⁸⁶ *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, XVIII, *Opuscula Romana*, I, pp. 86-108; see also the comments on Nos. 17 and 53.

ATHENS HONORS THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS

(PLATES 10-12)

IN front of the Stoa of Attalos and about on its axis there stood a tall monument supporting a bronze quadriga, similar to the "Agrippa" Monument at the entrance to the Acropolis (Pl. 10, a). This monument was erected in the middle of the second century B.C., at the same time as the Stoa, and, although no trace of a contemporary inscription belonging to it has been found, there seems little doubt that it was dedicated to Attalos II, the donor of the Stoa. Later on it was re-dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius as we learn from an inscription cut on its face, just as the "Agrippa" monument, originally a Pergamene memorial, was later re-dedicated to Agrippa. The monument itself, a great many of whose blocks still exist, is to be the subject of an architectural study by Mr. C. W. J. Eliot. Here we will concern ourselves only with the Tiberius inscription.¹

The inscription is cut on three contiguous orthostate blocks of Hymettian marble which together make up the full width of the monument (Pl. 10, b). Most of the inscription is on the middle block, but one letter at the beginning of the first line overlaps onto the block at the left, and several letters at the ends of the lines overlap onto the block at the right.

The middle block. Published as *I.G.*, II,² 4209; for earlier publication history, see below. Re-discovered in January 1949 among the marbles lying in the Stoa of Attalos (Q 10).

Height, 0.637 m.; preserved width, 0.99 m.; original width, estimated, 1.18 m.; thickness, 0.33 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.05 m. to 0.08 m., averaging about 0.065 m. Broken at left. Anathyrosis at right. Surface badly weathered.

The right hand block. Agora Inv. No. I 6120 a. Found in January 1949 among the marbles lying in front of the Stoa of Attalos (P 10). Unpublished.

Height, 0.637 m.; width, 1.19 m.; thickness, 0.33 m.

A corner block with finished right side. Anathyrosis at left. Complete except for minor breaks.

The left hand block. Agora Inv. No. I 6120 b. Found in July 1949 among the marbles lying in the area of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 11). Unpublished.

Height, 0.637 m.; width, 1.175 m.; thickness, 0.40 m.

¹ The monument and its inscription have been mentioned in various Agora publications: *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 317-318; *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations*, 1954, pp. 64-65; *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 87; R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957, p. 47.

A corner block with finished left side. Anathyrosis at right. Complete except for minor breaks.

inter annos 14 et 37 p.

Ἡ [βουλ]ῇ ἡ ἐξ Ἀργίου πάγου
[καὶ ὁ δ]ῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
[τῶν ἐ]ξακοσίων Τιβερίῳ
[Καίσαρι] Θεῶι Σεβασ[στ]ῶι
[εὐεργ]έτῃ τῆς πόλεως.

The central block which contains most of the inscription (Pl. 10, c) has been known for at least 175 years and has apparently always been visible. It was built face outward into the west side of a tower of the Late Roman Fortification in the middle of the Stoa of Attalos. The superstructure of this tower was built largely of blocks taken from the Donor's monument which had formerly stood on the axis of the Stoa only a few meters to the west. The face of the block is badly weathered and difficult to read, so that those who tried offered varying texts and no acceptable interpretation has hitherto been possible.

The first modern record of the inscription is contained in two unsigned drawings, a sketch and a water color made from it, dated June 1785 and now in the Gennadius Library in Athens (Pl. 11). The artist was no epigraphist, and he copied only a few of the most conspicuous letters of the inscription. He evidently knew some Greek, however, for on the sketch he first copied the letters ΑΦΟΥΤΑ as they appear on the stone, but later "corrected" and restored them to ΑΡΕΙΟΥΤΑΓΟΥ.

The next record is that of Edward Dodwell who visited Athens at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* (1819)² he publishes a drawing showing the tower with the inscription built into it (Pl. 12, a). He identifies the tower as part of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, this being the usual name for the ruins of the Stoa of Attalos in his day. We might have expected Dodwell to copy the inscription, but he was evidently put off by its inaccessibility and poor condition, and he contents himself with remarking that "one of the blocks which faces the north contains a mutilated inscription, which, however has no reference to the building."³

The first to attempt a copy of the inscription was Fauvel, the French consul in

² Volume I, p. 371.

³ Dodwell's compass directions are not quite exact. He describes the Stoa as running towards the northeast instead of towards the north as it in fact does. This leads him to place the inscription on the north instead of the west. Lueders locates it correctly in the west face of the tower (*apud* Dittenberger *I.G.*, III¹, 953), and it may be seen still in its position in the tower in a photograph in the files of the German Institute taken shortly before the demolition of the tower (negative no. AB 166).

Athens in the early nineteenth century. In a letter dated September 10, 1810 addressed to J. D. Barbié du Bocage and now in the Gennadius Library in Athens he gives a sketch showing the location of the inscription and his reading and restoration of it, adding the following comments (Pl. 12, b) :

Voici mon ami une inscription qui existe sur un mur de marbre au gymnase de Ptolémée que j'ai marqué A à 15 pieds de hauteur écrite en caractères le 3 pouces. J'étais parvenu à la lire et je crois avoir pu restituer ce qui manque et que j'ai marqué par des points. La place des lettres usées m'a guidé. Par *tiberii adelfi* doit-on entendre Drusus et Tibère.

On April 4, 1811, he forwarded another copy to Barbié du Bocage with the following comments (Pl. 12, c) :

Les lettres restituées sont plus petites et marquées d'une teinte de crayon.

Sur un mur de marbre à 15 pieds de haut en caractères de 3 pouces. En dehors du mur de marbre au Gymnase dit de Ptolémée.

Barbié du Bocage published Fauvel's text with a few minor corrections in the *Magazin encyclopédique* for March 1811, and from this it was taken by August Boeckh and printed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828) as No. 318. Boeckh's comments show that he was most dissatisfied with the text, and he found himself unable to offer a satisfactory interpretation of it.

After the Greek War of Independence Pittakis copied the inscription and published a text in his book *L'ancienne Athènes* (1835), p. 54.

When Dittenberger came to edit the inscription as No. 953 in the third volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1878) he had before him not only Fauvel's and Pittakis' printed texts but also manuscript copies made by Ludwig Ross and O. Lueders. Far from helping the situation, this only made matters worse, and Dittenberger despaired of reconciling the variant readings. He even found it impossible to classify the inscription, for he was unable to decide whether the person honored was a Roman Emperor, a Roman magistrate or a distinguished Greek. He inclined to the last view, however, because of the great number of Greeks who had adopted the names Tiberius Claudius.

Meanwhile, in 1900 the tower into which the stone was built was demolished by the Greek Archaeological Society in the course of its clearance of the Stoa of Attalos, and the inscription was "lost" among the many blocks that filled the area of the Stoa. Kirchner, in preparing the second edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1935) apparently failed to find the stone and simply bases his text on Dittenberger's, noting its unsatisfactory state.⁴

In 1949, in the course of a systematic study of all the blocks in the Stoa area, John Travlos noticed that one of the series of blocks that had come from the tower

⁴ *I.G.*, II², 4209.

of the Late Roman Fortification and belonged to the monument on the axis of the Stoa had at the left edge of its face an inscription consisting of one or two letters in each of several lines, obviously the final letters of an inscription whose main part had been on the adjacent block. A search soon revealed the adjacent block lying near by, and it proved to be *I.G.*, II², 4209. Not long afterwards the block with the initial letter was also discovered. With the re-discovery of the inscription, the addition of the blocks to left and right and the newly acquired knowledge of the monument of which it formed a part, we were at last in a position to make a correct reading and interpretation of it.

With the text as now established, the inscription assumes new interest and importance for we find the Athenians honoring the Emperor Tiberius with a large and conspicuous monument in the Agora and including the epithet *theos* among his titles, i. e., offering him divine honors. We would like to know the occasion on which this was done, but the inscription does not tell us and the other sources are silent. Presumably the date was early in the reign, perhaps at its very beginning. Tiberius was well known and popular at Athens as is shown by a long series of monuments that the Athenians erected to him.⁵ Even before his adoption by Augustus he must have won the favor of the Athenians for he was honored by at least five statues, on the bases of two of which he is given the title of benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*).⁶ After his adoption his statue was erected west of the Parthenon alongside those of other members of the imperial family.⁷ After he had ascended the throne, the Athenians did not confine themselves to erecting statues to him⁸ but even appointed a high priest in charge of his worship.⁹ To all these manifestations may now be added the inscription under consideration here.

A date for our inscription late in Tiberius' reign seems much less likely than an early date, for the Emperor's popularity declined as the years passed. It also seems unlikely that we have to do with the deification of Tiberius after his death. His deification was indeed tentatively proposed by Gaius, but the matter was not pressed and the Senate never ratified it.¹⁰ It is hard to imagine that the Athenians would hasten to deify an unpopular prince especially in view of the Senate's refusal. In fact, all the evidence suggests that the old Emperor was quickly forgotten by everyone in the joy and hope of the new reign, and that Athens shared these feelings.¹¹

⁵ The rest of this paragraph is drawn mainly from P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 1-2. See also J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, p. 91.

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3243-3247. No. 3243 is published again, but differently restored, as No. 3932.

⁷ *I.G.*, II², 3254.

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 3228, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3265.

⁹ *I.G.*, II², 3530.

¹⁰ A coin struck at Lyon in A.D. 37 shows Tiberius deified, but this appears to be an isolated phenomenon. *J.R.S.*, X, 1920, p. 37.

¹¹ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 7-8. *I.G.*, II², 2292.

If we are right in our dating of the inscription, it appears that the Athenians are according divine honors to Tiberius during his lifetime. This is by no means unprecedented, and can be paralleled by numerous examples from the Greek half of the Empire where the idea of ruler-worship was deeply rooted. Tiberius, to be sure, was reluctant to assume divine honors, being content with more modest and human ones, and when he was consulted beforehand as to whether he would accept them he followed the precedent set by Augustus and declined as politely as possible. We see this most clearly in the case of the city of Gytheion in Lakonia where an inscription preserves the Emperor's reply to such a proposal.¹² His words to the Senate, as quoted by Tacitus,¹³ also bring out the same point. Some cities, however, went ahead and instituted a cult of the Emperor of their own accord, and Athens was evidently among them. Besides the inscription under consideration here, we have a base inscribed *Τιβέριον Θεόν*.¹⁴ On a monument honoring Drusus as the New God Ares, erected shortly after A.D. 20, his father Tiberius is referred to simply as *theos*.¹⁵ At Eleusis there was a high priest of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.¹⁶ From near-by Pagai, a town in the Megarid, comes another inscription honoring Tiberius as *theos*.¹⁷ Other such inscriptions are known from various parts of the Greek world.¹⁸

We may therefore suppose that on the accession of Tiberius, or soon after, the Athenians declared him a God and dedicated to him the handsome monument conspicuously placed at the center of the east side of the Agora, just behind the bema or speakers' platform and close to the Panathenaic Way, in thanks for past favors and in lively anticipation of favors to come.

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¹² *S.E.G.*, XI, 922. V. Ehrenburg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*², 1956, No. 102.

¹³ *Annals*, IV, 38.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 3265.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3257.

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3530.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, VII, 195; also published, through an oversight, in the *Attic corpus*, *I.G.*, II², 3264.

¹⁸ A list is given in J. R. Rietra, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Vita Tiberi neu kommentiert*, Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 13 ff., which I have not been able to consult. The Gytheion inscription has given rise to a whole series of discussions on the subject of divine honors to living Emperors and to Tiberius' attitude towards them. These may be found through the bibliography in *S.E.G.*, XI, 922. The subject is also well discussed by A. D. Nock in *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, pp. 481-489 and 493-496, and by J. H. Oliver in *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, pp. 91-93.

ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958¹

(PLATES 13-22)

MUSEUM INSTALLATION

THE Stoa of Attalos, rebuilt in the years 1953 to 1957, is now functioning smoothly both as a working headquarters for the expedition and as a museum. Its immediate proximity to the site is proving of immense advantage in both these roles; the student has the most convenient possible access to his material, while the visitor, having explored the out-of-doors, finds in the colonnades and galleries of the Stoa an abundance of material to fill out his picture of both public and private life. In the first year after its opening the Stoa was visited by over 47,000 people. As the building becomes better known the attendance is steadily rising; through 1958 the monthly figures were approximately three times those of the previous year. More

¹ Grateful acknowledgments are made once more to our official hosts, the Greek archaeological authorities. We are under particular obligation this year to Professor S. Marinatos, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and to his successor, Mr. John Papadimitriou, for their support in the acquisition of additional properties along the east side of the Agora; to Mr. John Threpsiades, ephor responsible for the lower city of Athens, for his ever helpful collaboration in the administration of the area, and to Mr. Christos Karouzos for his consideration in arranging the transfer of certain marbles from the National Museum to the Agora.

The resident staff consisted of Eugene Vanderpool (Deputy Director), M. Alison Frantz, Virginia R. Grace, Mary Zelia Pease Philippides, Maria Savvatianou, Lucy Talcott and John Travlos. Martin Jones joined the staff as Assistant Architect, bringing with him much valuable experience from Samothrace. Dorothy B. Thompson spent the spring and summer in Athens, G. Roger Edwards the autumn, while Evelyn B. Harrison, Mabel Lang, Evelyn L. Smithson and Eva Brann were on hand during the summer months, all engaged on their respective studies. Brian Sparkes collaborated with Lucy Talcott on their joint study of the classical black glaze until he departed in the autumn to take up a teaching appointment in the University of Southampton. George C. Miles, Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society, in the course of a six-weeks sojourn, made good progress on his study of the Islamic coins from the excavation, numbering some 5000 pieces.

In order to gain more free time for her ceramic studies, Miss Talcott has turned over to Poly Pamel the administration of the records, an office in which for a quarter of a century she had rendered invaluable service both to her immediate colleagues and to visiting scholars of many nationalities. Among those who assisted in the Records Room on a part-time basis during the year particular mention may be made of Suzanne Young and Marion Miles.

Through much of the spring and summer Piet de Jong exercised his unrivalled talents on the preparation of diagrammatic plans for the Museum and the Capps Memorial Lectern.

A special word of appreciation is due to the Legal Advisor of the School, Mr. Aristides Kyriakidis, and to his associate, Mr. Victor Melas, for the skill and patience which they have devoted to the negotiations for the acquisition of the additional property along the east side.

convenient access to the building, for which plans are being made, should further increase the attendance.

Although the installation and display are for the most part completed, the mounting of sculpture still continues.² This is proceeding under the direction of Evelyn B. Harrison as a natural corollary to her commitment to publish the sculpture. The larger statues and groups of sculpture from known monuments such as the Temple of Hephaistos, the Temple of Ares and the Odeion of Agrippa have been erected in the lower colonnade, while portrait heads, grave stones and other smaller pieces have been placed in the more intimate setting of the upper colonnade.

By arrangement with the Archaeological Council the two large statues personifying the Iliad and the Odyssey which were found by the Greek excavators in 1869 near the south end of the Stoa³ have been brought back from the National Museum; together with the inscribed base of the Iliad which came to light in the current excavations in 1953,⁴ the statues now stand in the shelter of the Stoa within a stone's throw of the Library of Pantainos of which they must once have formed a principal ornament. A column capital from the Odeion of Agrippa, found in the construction of the Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1890/91,⁵ was likewise brought back from a long sojourn in the National Museum and has been set up in the ruins of the Odeion.

A constant effort is being made to assist the visitor, whether lay or learned, in a readier understanding of this complex site. Among the measures taken during the year has been the preparation by Piet de Jong of a series of six large and boldly colored plans showing the Agora in successive stages of its development from the 5th century before Christ into the 5th century after Christ. The plans have been hung on a screen in the upper colonnade which commands a full view of the actual area.⁶ Thus placed they can also be used effectively in conjunction with the model of the Agora (Pl. 18), work on which was resumed after the death of John Bakoulis by another talented Greek technician, Christos Mammelis, who works under the direction of John Travlos. In the course of the year the Middle Stoa and the Library of Pantainos have been added to the model, greatly enhancing its effect. A perspective drawn restoration of the Agora area, including the Market of Caesar and Augustus and the Library of Hadrian, has been completed by Piet de Jong on a slab of white marble which has been affixed to the Edward Capps Memorial Lectern on Kolonos Agoraios. The visitor approaching from the west can thus get a very good idea of the ancient appearance of the Agora before he descends among the ruins.

² For financial assistance toward the mounting of the sculpture grateful acknowledgment is once more made to Mr. John Crosby.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 160-169.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 62-65.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 44.

⁶ The effective display of these paintings has been greatly enhanced by a contribution of low-reflecting glass from the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co. of Toledo, Ohio, through the interest of Mr. John D. Biggers, Chairman of the Board.

EXPLORATION

The demolition of the Excavation House that followed on the completion of the Stoa made available an area of some 1500 square meters at the north foot of the Areopagus. This area was thoroughly and profitably explored by Dorothy B. Thompson between the middle of March and the middle of May. The results are particularly interesting for the light they have thrown on the private housing that pressed so closely on the Agora proper. Farther to the east, in the months of April and May, Eugene Vanderpool supervised the clearance of the Panathenaic Way on the north slope of the Acropolis. The excavation proper had been virtually completed in the 1930's, but at that time heaps of marble and ancient building blocks were left in the line of the roadway. The removal of this debris and a limited amount of excavation at specific points not only improved the appearance of the area but added much to our knowledge of the Panathenaic Way itself, of the fortification that was erected on its line in the 3rd century after Christ and of a series of aqueducts extending in date from the 6th century B.C. into the 6th century after Christ. Some work of conservation was carried out on all these monuments.

In the course of the year Eugene Vanderpool and John Travlos assisted the ephor responsible for the Lower City of Athens (Mr. John Threpsiades) in two small but rewarding "extramural" excavations. One of these brought to light a sanctuary, apparently of Artemis, between the southwest corner of the Agora and the Piraeus Gate; the other exposed the line of an ancient road that led northward out of the northwest corner of the square. In both cases the results are of interest to all students of Athenian topography and not least of the Agora.

Six additional pieces of property have been acquired along the east side of the Agora through expropriation proceedings instituted by the Greek Government. The purpose is to straighten the border of the excavated area and so to facilitate its maintenance, to permit the full clearance of the Panathenaic Way, the Mint and the Eleusinion, and to improve the setting of both the Stoa of Attalos and the Church of the Holy Apostles. It is intended to excavate the newly acquired areas in the spring of 1959.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY (Pls. 13-15)

The excavation of the 1930's had revealed the line of the Panathenaic Way not only in its diagonal course across the Agora proper but also in its further course from the southeast corner of the Market Square to its goal in front of the Propylaia.⁷

⁷ For the excavation reports, cf. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 327-337; VI, 1937, p. 359; VII, 1938, pp. 326-334; VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; IX, 1940, p. 268. Cf. also *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, Athens, 1954, pp. 63 f.; R. E. Wycherley, *Testimonia (The Athenian Agora, III)*, p. 224.

The construction of the road differed from section to section. Within the Agora its gravelled surface was virtually uniform with that of the square. In the steeper stretch that led out of the southeast corner of the square the road was paved with massive stone blocks over a distance of some 200 meters. Beyond this, on the still steeper and more irregular upper slopes of the Acropolis, the roadway consisted of a ramp supported on either side by a wall. The width of the road in its various parts measured 10 to 12 meters.

The clearance carried out in 1958 was confined to the upper half of the stone-paved section of the road which now stands out as the most impressive piece of ancient street in Athens (Pl. 13). The paving consists of re-used ancient building blocks, almost all of poros, laid on the dressed bedrock or on an earth packing; the blocks were placed transversely to the line of the road. In the area adjacent to the Eleusinion a row of blocks of softer poros laid in a slightly different manner may derive from an early retaining wall connected with the sanctuary. Although the paving had been exposed to long and heavy wear, it retains in this section no traces of wheel ruts such as may be seen farther north near the Library of Pantainos. The gradient, *ca.* 1 in 6.5, would have been enough to deter most vehicular traffic.

There can be no doubt, however, that this was the course of the Panathenaic Procession, and up this steep roadway must have been hauled the ship bearing the new peplos for Athena.⁸ It was up this roadway, too, that Xenophon would have had the Athenian cavalry dash in their annual display of horsemanship.⁹ Galloping, as Xenophon recommended, from the Herms (presumably at the northwest corner of the Agora) as far as the Eleusinion in tribal contingents they would indeed have provided a show "pleasing both to the gods and to the spectators."

No new evidence has been secured for the date of the paving. Indications from the original excavation had suggested a date in the early Roman Period. The paving may indeed be contemporary with the construction of the ramp in the upper reaches; the ramp, which appears prominently on a familiar series of Athenian coins of the imperial period, has been tentatively identified with the *anabasis* mentioned in an inscription of the time of Claudius.¹⁰

The ancient street was much disturbed by the construction of the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the latter part of the 3rd century after Christ. Paving slabs were torn out along the east side of the road to permit the foundations of the wall

⁸ Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 566. Rectangular sockets which appear at irregular intervals along the east side of the pavement conceivably served some purpose in connection with the handling of the ship which, according to Philostratos, "sped along not drawn by animals but gliding smoothly on underground contrivances." The cuttings in the pavement are reminiscent of the sockets along the ancient quarry roads on Mt. Pentelikon which are commonly supposed to have held posts for snubbing loads on their downward course.

⁹ *Hipparchikos*, III, 22.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2292, lines 49 ff.; A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 245.

to be carried down to bedrock, and the thoroughfare was largely blocked by one of the projecting towers of the wall. At a still later date the western half of the paving disappeared; the blocks had here rested on an earth fill which allowed them to be undermined and carried away by winter torrents; the resulting gully was found full of silt and gravel that yielded pottery of the 11th and 12th centuries.

In order to facilitate the ascent of the hill without disturbing the ancient paving a modern path has been constructed along its western edge.

LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION WALL (Pls. 14, 15)

The season's activities shed a little more light on the fortification wall that was thrown up by the Athenians soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.¹¹ The removal of the great heaps of excavation debris has in fact brought into view an imposing stretch of the west flank of the new enceinte that included the Acropolis and a comparatively small area at its north foot. Here as elsewhere the wall was made entirely of re-used ancient material. An inner and an outer face of well fitted blocks secured with a little tough mortar contained a core of loose stone fill, the total thickness being 3 to 3.5 meters.

At the north foot of the steep incline are the remains of a rectangular tower measuring 6 x 7.5 meters; first exposed by the Greek Archaeological Service many years ago, the tower has now been thoroughly cleared. To the north of the tower, at an interval of *ca.* 3 meters, a gateway provided for the passage of the age-old east-to-west road that skirted the south side of the square (Pl. 14, b). So well established was the ancient street that the gateway was set at an angle in the wall to conform to the course of the road. The opening was *ca.* 2.80 m. in width, and its marble threshold blocks are deeply rutted by the passage of wheels. This gateway is now seen to be the middle of three gateways in the west flank of the 3rd century enceinte, all serving important east-to-west thoroughfares.

The gateway and the adjacent curtain underwent various adjustments in the course of a long existence, as was natural at such a strategic point in the system of fortifications. Eventually the gateway was blocked and the curtain to north and south was rebuilt in crude rubble masonry of stone and brick set in clay (Pl. 14, b). The pottery associated with this construction points to a date as late at least as the 13th century. In view of the very shabby nature of the masonry the repair is presumably to be regarded as an emergency measure taken in the face of some sudden crisis in the turbulent period of Frankish domination.

In the angle between the north face of the tower and the short spur of wall between tower and gate is a small enclosure bounded by its own walls to north, south and west, by the curtain wall to the east (Pl. 14). It measured about 3 meters

¹¹ *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, pp. 71 f.

square overall. Access was provided by an opening *ca.* 0.50 m. wide at the northeast corner. The enclosing walls are of rubble masonry retaining traces of plaster on their inner faces; their maximum preserved height is 0.85 m. Within the enclosure are five bedding blocks of re-used material each with a shallow socket in its top. In the central block the socket is round, *ca.* 0.39 m. in diameter and 0.16 m. deep; in the other four, which are grouped symmetrically around the first, are square sockets 0.25 m. to the side and 0.05 to 0.10 m. deep, centered *ca.* 1.20 m. from one another on the short sides, 1.50 m. on the long sides.

The available evidence does not permit a certain identification. Probably, however, we have to do with a small sanctuary in which a sacred object (altar, statue, holy water basin?) would have been protected against traffic by means of a railing supported by four square posts. In its original form the establishment presumably antedates the construction of the fortification wall; it would then have bordered the ancient east-to-west roadway. It was apparently respected by the wall builders, and subsequently, as the ground level rose, the open railing was replaced or supplemented by the solid wall. At a time around the middle of the 4th century, however, it was abandoned and dismantled.

As to the identity of the cult, if cult place it was, we have no specific evidence. One may note, however, that the establishment stood at the junction of the Panathenaic Way with the old east-to-west street, one of the most important crossroads in the ancient city. As such it would have been an appropriate site for a sanctuary of one of those divinities concerned with roads and crossroads: Hermes, Hekate or possibly Apollo Agyieus. Perhaps the most likely object to have stood in the central round cutting is a figure of the triple Hekate, several of which have been found elsewhere in the Agora.

AQUEDUCTS (Pls. 13, a; 15)

Throughout antiquity the principal aqueducts that supplied the Agora with water entered the region at its southeast corner, the highest point in the area. Three such systems are represented by remains cleared in 1958 within the area.

The earliest conduit was a round terracotta pipeline that supplied the Southeast Fountain House, both pipeline and fountain house dating from the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.¹² This pipeline (not indicated on the plan, Pl. 15) underlay the east-to-west street that skirted the south side of the square. The terracotta system was replaced late in the 5th century B.C. by a substantial stone aqueduct designed primarily to supply the Southwest Fountain House with which it is contemporary.¹³ In the area represented by the plan of Plate 15 the stone conduit followed a course parallel to but slightly north of its predecessor.

¹² *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 29-35; XXV, 1956, pp. 49-52.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 52-54; XXV, 1956, pp. 52 f.

The third system dates from imperial times, probably the Antonine period. The aqueduct, coming from the east, followed the line of the east-to-west road to the south of and above the Eleusinion. Carried beneath the paving of the Panathenaic Way, it poured its water into a square settling basin at the west edge of the road. From the basin one branch line, of which only very exiguous remains survive, led westward,¹⁴ while a second branch turned at right angles northward, bordering the Panathenaic Way in its course down the hillside. The *specus* or water channel of this system, as also the settling basin, were substantially made of massive blocks of poros. In the best preserved section, viz., that under the Panathenaic Way, the channel measures 0.63 x 0.75 m. inside. In its lower course the northern branch was carried on a massive underpinning of concrete, originally underground though now largely exposed, which is at first continuous but which lower down takes the form of a series of long piers. There can be little doubt that the piers supported a system of arches on top of which the channel would have descended with a uniform gradient. Provision was made for the east-to-west road that bordered the south side of the Agora to pass under the aqueduct through one of the arched openings, and the same may have been done for the lesser east-to-west road that joined the Panathenaic Way opposite the Eleusinion.

Beyond the northern limit of the area shown in the plan, Plate 15, the continuation of this aqueduct is overlaid by a modern house which, it is hoped, may soon be removed. Even now, however, it would seem certain that the aqueduct was the source of water for the semicircular fountain house or nymphaeum that was erected in the 2nd century after Christ at the extreme southeast corner of the Agora.¹⁵ There is also reason to believe that the conduit continued beyond the nymphaeum in a westerly direction. A massive concrete foundation set against the back wall of the South Stoa (Pl. 16) proves to be identical in thickness and in the nature of its concrete with the underpinning for the aqueduct where it bordered the Panathenaic Way. It seems likely, therefore, that the conduit went on as far as the Southwest Fountain House to replace or to supplement that fountain's original source of supply.

At some time in the late Roman period the aqueduct was stripped of practically all its cut-stone masonry. It is altogether probable that the blocks were removed to be re-used in the construction of the Late Roman Fortification in the latter part of the 3rd century. The north branch of the conduit was subsequently rebuilt, though on a more modest scale. A 40-meter stretch of the underpinning for the new channel is preserved above the concrete piers of its predecessor. In this period the foundation consisted of a continuous mass of concrete of poor quality *ca.* 0.75 m. thick; of the water channel proper nothing whatever remains. The date of the reconstruction

¹⁴ This branch of the aqueduct may have supplied water to a channel that has come to light northwest of the Areopagus flowing in the direction of the Piraeus Gate; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 156.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 57-59.

has not yet been established; but in this, its final phase, the aqueduct would seem to have been the source of water both for the great gymnasium complex erected above the middle of the old market square early in the 5th century and for the water mill that flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries just outside the Late Roman Fortification to the south of the gate at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos.

The removal of the large modern house to the east of the Nymphaeum and the Church of the Holy Apostles and the subsequent exploration of this area should elucidate further both the structure and the history of the aqueduct.

HOUSES AT THE NORTH FOOT OF THE AREOPAGUS (Pls. 16, 17, 19, 20)

The detailed exploration of the past season has tended to confirm the earlier observation that the north slope of the Areopagus was a residential district throughout antiquity.¹⁶ One small building, however, may make some claim to a public nature. Its tantalizingly exiguous remains lie on the very middle of the hillside, labelled "Poros Building of 4th Cent. B.C." on the plan, Plate 16. Only the southwest corner is left of a structure, the long axis of which would seem to have run east to west. Its back, i. e. south wall, was set down into the steep hillside, while its northern façade presumably bordered an ancient road. Ancient blocks have survived only in its back wall: a series of four poros euthynteria blocks and a single thin orthostate together with a packing of rubble stonework behind the line of the orthostates. In the face of the euthynteria are three shallow housings centered at intervals of 1.65 m.; these probably took the ends of supports for a continuous bench at the foot of the wall. This floor was presumably of clay laid over the dressed bedrock. The workmanship is good. The style of the stone work and a little pottery found in significant places indicate a date within the 4th century B.C.

The north front and the east end of the Poros Building have been utterly destroyed by later activities on the hillside. It is altogether likely, however, that in the eastward direction the building stopped short of a cistern one gallery of which is bent in such a way as to suggest that it was carried around the corner of the building; this would indicate for the building a length of *ca.* 22 meters. The cistern may in fact have drawn water from the roof of the building. For fixing its north-to-south width the evidence is less precise. Between the missing north front of the building and the south wall of the house to the north we may, however, hypothesize a street. This consideration, coupled with the absence of any trace of internal supports, makes it unlikely that the width of the building exceeded 8 meters. The north front was probably supported in whole or in part by columns.

The identification of the building, in view of the paucity of the evidence, must be highly speculative. The most likely interpretation is as a *lesche*: a resort for leisurely

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 147.

intercourse more elegant than the smithy, less grand than the stoa. If we may trust a scholiast on Hesiod (*Works and Days*, lines 493-495), in Athens alone there were no less than 360 such establishments. An example securely identified by inscriptions was brought to light by the German excavators near the southwest angle of the Areopagus.¹⁷ This building, too, like the structure on the north slope of the Areopagus, faced on a street in a district that was largely residential; it also dated from the 4th century B.C. and was modest both in scale and construction.

Among the private houses explored in 1958 we may begin with a group that stood on the gently sloping ground between the north foot of the Areopagus and the east-to-west roadway that bordered the south side of the Agora (Pls. 16, 17, 19, 20). Within this area the ancient buildings are somewhat better preserved toward the south where they were more speedily and more deeply buried by the silt from the hillslope. Toward the north the ancient remains have been almost utterly obliterated by the deep cuttings for modern house foundations.

The area was divided into blocks by narrow streets that ran from north to south, providing access from the broad and important road along the south side of the Agora. Of the two narrow streets that served the group of houses with which we are immediately concerned, the eastern continued down into the market square itself; when South Stoa I was erected toward the close of the 5th century B.C. provision was made for the ancient thoroughfare by inserting a stepped corridor near the middle of the stoa. The normal width of these side streets was *ca.* 3 meters (10 feet) as compared with about twice this figure for the main east-to-west street. They were surfaced with gravel and at steep points were provided with rough stone steps. No wheel ruts or other evidence of wheeled traffic have been observed. Beneath the eastern road are traces of terracotta drains of various periods; beneath the western is a trench for a pipeline that must have drawn on a source high up on the hillslope. The stratified deposit of road metal indicates that the eastern road was already in use before the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C.; the western may be equally early.

Wells and scattered deposits of household refuse indicate that the area had been inhabited at least from the 7th century B.C., as was natural in view of the proximity of the district to the market place and to one of the principal streets of the town. Certain foundation walls, especially in the northeastern quarter of the block, are as early as the mid 6th century, but the early houses would seem to have been thoroughly destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 B.C. or by the citizens themselves in their frantic search for material with which to rebuild their fortifications after the Persian with-

¹⁷ W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 91; XIX, 1894, p. 503; Middleton, *J.H.S. Supplement III*, pl. 20, XXVII (plan); W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,² Munich, 1931, p. 299, fig. 36. For a general discussion of *leschai*, with particular reference to the one south of the Areopagus, cf. S. N. Dragoumis, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 147-155.

drawal.¹⁸ The main lines of the block as we now have it were apparently established in the course of a post-Persian reconstruction, presumably in the second quarter of the 5th century. In plan and construction the houses of this group closely resemble those excavated some years ago in the low lying area to the northwest of the Areopagus; they too in their earliest form also date from shortly before the middle of the 5th century B.C.¹⁹ Although the remains are tenuous and at many points not susceptible of certain restoration, the newly explored group nevertheless provides a welcome supplement to our scanty knowledge of Athenian domestic architecture.

The best preserved block (Pls. 16, 17, 19, b), bounded to east and west by the narrow side streets, measured *ca.* 25 x 22 meters. It appears to have comprised originally four dwelling units disposed in two pairs separated by a north-to-south party wall. Set into the hillside to the south of this main block were two small annexes that may either have been very modest independent units or subordinate rooms connected with the adjacent units to the north. The southern of the two major units in the western pair appears to have been divided subsequently into two separate establishments. The use of a party wall between the two halves of the main block, as also uniformity in construction, indicates that the four major units were part of one building program.

The individual houses were of modest size, the two eastern units, for which the overall dimensions are fairly certain, measuring 11.00 x 11.10 m. and 11.00 x 11.90 m. as compared with the Olynthos norm of *ca.* 17 x 17 m.²⁰ Each unit appears to have contained a courtyard situated in the middle of the house, at one corner or at one side. Around the courtyard were grouped rooms of various shapes and sizes. There is clear evidence for a porch roof supported by a central column on the west side of the court of the northeast unit, and similar porches have been restored, though on less secure evidence, in two other cases. But there is nothing to compare with the multi-columned porches or the well defined "pastas" that are so characteristic of the typical houses of Olynthos.

Only in one case can the use of a room be certainly established; this is the square chamber toward the southwest corner of the block which is clearly marked as a storeroom by the five beddings for large pithoi. In the small room immediately to the north of the storeroom two complete terracotta grills were found lying on the floor, giving evidence of culinary activity (Pl. 22, e).²¹ A set of nine loomweights found in the small chamber bordering the street at the very middle of the west side

¹⁸ Thucydides, I, 90, 3; 93, 1; Diodoros, XI, 39 and 40.

¹⁹ R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135-288.

²⁰ D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 33 f.

²¹ The round grill (P 26165) measures 0.33 m. in diameter, 0.06 m. high, the rectangular (P 26166) is 0.19 x 0.235 m. in plan with a height of 0.05 m.

of the block suggests the presence of a loom. No trace of fixed hearths has been observed. Nor is there any positive evidence of upper storeys although in view of the condition of the buildings this negative evidence is by no means conclusive.²²

The walls were of sun-dried brick resting on stone socles (Pl. 20). In several surviving stretches of the main walls the socle consists of large blocks of Acropolis limestone with careful polygonal jointing tending toward the rectangular. The surface, striated with short vertical strokes in no pattern, may well have been stuccoed, although no stucco survives.²³ In the inner walls the socles are normally of rubble masonry built of small blocks carefully laid in clay. The floors of most of the rooms were of rolled clay; in the large room in the central unit of the west half of the block there remains a little of a bedding of field stones that would be suitable for a cement floor; this room may well have been an *andron* or men's dining room.²⁴ Some at least of the courts were cobbled.

A feature that would seem to be characteristic of these houses is a rectangular stone-lined pit set down below ground level. One such occurs in the courtyard of the northeast unit, measuring internally 0.82 x 1.30 m. with a depth of 0.60 m. (Pl. 21, b). Another came to light in the side street just to the south of the door of the southeast unit (Pl. 21, a); its internal dimensions are 1.10 x 1.70 m. with a depth of 1.15 m. Both these pits were filled in the late 5th century B.C. with earth containing much broken pottery. A third pit, unlined and smaller (0.75 x 1.30 x 0.50 m. deep), in the west side road would seem from its filling to have gone out of use at the time of the Persian sack. The purpose of these pits is somewhat problematic. Since they were unplastered they could not have been intended as cisterns. The fact that two out of the three were in the street virtually rules out their use as repositories for food.

The pits were most probably cesspools which would have been emptied periodically,²⁵ a practice that persists in the older parts of Athens even to the present day. The dark discoloration of the floor of the pit in the court of the northeastern unit might well be due to such use (Pl. 21, b). The pits in the street presumably com-

²² Cf. the judicious remarks by J. W. Graham on the prominence of a second storey in the houses of Olynthos; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 320-328.

²³ For comparable masonry in the houses to the northwest of the Areopagus, cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 63, b (mid 5th century), pl. 68, d (before the middle of the 5th century), pl. 75, c (third quarter of the 5th century). Similar also is the masonry in parts of the enclosure wall of the Sanctuary of Dionysos to the south of the Areopagus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 164, fig. 1. The evidence from the Agora tends to confirm the 5th century dating of the upper part of the enclosure wall of the Sanctuary of Asklepios on the south slope of the Acropolis which was proposed with some reservations by W. Wrede (*Attische Mauern*, Athens, 1933, no. 73) but rejected by R. Scranton who regarded this part of the wall as probably Hellenistic (*Greek Walls*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 173).

²⁴ Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 171-185.

²⁵ According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 50) the *astynomoi* were to see to it that the dung collectors did not deposit dung within 10 stadia of the city walls.

municated by means of a short length of drain with latrines immediately inside the house.²⁶ The arrangement in the southeast unit where the pit occurs at the side of the door corresponds nicely with the Theban practice as described in a passage of the comic poet Euboulos (early 4th century B.C.).²⁷ In Thebes Herakles discovered that each householder had a privy by his door, an arrangement of which the hero thoroughly approved. In contemporary Olynthos a couple of vessels plausibly regarded as toilet seats have been found, as also traces of drains leading out through the wall into the street, but neither cesspools nor proper street sewers are reported from that site.²⁸ A decree of 320/19 B.C. appears to prohibit cesspools in the streets of the Piraeus.²⁹ The fact that the latest of our pits were abandoned already before the end of the 5th century may indicate that in Athens customs had begun to change earlier. The new alternative was to construct sewers under the streets into which lateral drains might carry the discharge from the latrines as well as the rain water from the courtyards; this arrangement is well attested for later times in Athens,³⁰ as also in Priene,³¹ Thera³² and Delos.³³

Thus far we have described the houses in their original state. In the course of the following centuries they underwent many vicissitudes and innumerable alterations. Masses of debris of the 3rd century after Christ must derive from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. A tomb with furnishings of the mid 4th century in the eastern side street would argue against habitation at this time.³⁴

But parts at least of the old buildings were subsequently, probably in the 5th century after Christ, patched up and used once more. The latest evidence for habitation in the area comes from a well which yielded pottery of the 6th and 7th centuries.

²⁶ Such an arrangement is attested in the 5th century phase of the Palace at Larisa on the Hermos; J. Boehlau and K. Schefold (editors), *Larisa am Hermos*, I, Berlin, 1940, p. 88, fig. 5. I owe the observation to K. Schefold. Somewhat similar stone-lined pits occurred in the 4th century phases of two of the houses west of the Areopagus; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 194, 201 (identified as rubbish pits).

²⁷ Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 181 f., frag. 53: μετὰ ταῦτα Θήβας ἦλθον, οὐ τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην τὴν θ' ἡμέραν δειπνοῦσι καὶ κοπρῶν' ἔχει ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος, οὐ πλήρει βροτῶ οὐκ ἔστι μείζον ἀγαθόν· ὥς χεζητιῶν μακρὰν βαδίζων, πολλὰ δ' ἰδίῳν ἀνὴρ, δάκνων τὰ χεῖλη, παγγέλοιός ἐστ' ἰδεῖν.

²⁸ Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 205 f.; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 178-180. For a short length of round drain under a street at Olynthos, cf. *Olynthus*, XII, p. 273.

²⁹ *I.G.*, II,² 380 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,³ 313), lines 34-40.

³⁰ As typical of numerous examples noted in the Agora excavations may be cited the arrangements introduced into the houses to the west of the Areopagus after the construction of a large sewer in that area in the early 4th century B.C. Cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 198 f., 201, 203, 205, 206, 213, 216.

³¹ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 294.

³² F. Hiller von Gaertringen and P. Wilski, *Thera*, III, Berlin, 1904, pp. 157-159.

³³ J. Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, *Le Quartier du Théâtre*, Paris, 1922, pp. 181-191. On the subject of street drains cf. R. Martin, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXI, 1957, pp. 66-72.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 353, fig. 41.

Across the east side street opposite the southeast corner of the block described above are the well preserved foundations of a small, two-roomed house (Pls. 16, 20, c). Measuring overall 5.80 x 10.40 m., it was divided by a crosswall into rooms of equal size communicating with one another by a doorway. Though similar in construction to the larger houses, this building dates from the early 4th century. Repeated rises in the floor level indicate intensive use through the 4th and 3rd centuries, but there is no evidence of later occupation. Unusual though the plan may be for a dwelling, there is nothing to suggest that the structure was anything but a private house.

Extraordinarily unpretentious though these houses may seem for the great period of Athenian history, there is no reason to believe that their simplicity is due to their having been intended for people of the poorer or lower classes. The situation was desirable, being an open area conveniently close to the market place, to the Southeast Fountain House and to the Acropolis. Moreover, the remains of household furnishings that came to light in the excavation, though pitifully few in number, were of good quality. In a single room of the northeastern dwelling unit, for instance, and within the levels of the 4th century B.C., were found one silver tetradrachm and thirty-one bronze coins, a lead token (IL 1448), an arrow head (B 1214), a fine terracotta lamp (L 5298), and three pieces of exquisitely worked ivory: a whorl (BI 771), a boss (BI 769) and a handle (BI 770). Even the fragmentary pottery of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. found on the floors and in the streets of the district was of superior quality as illustrated, for example, by the two pieces of red-figure shown on Plate 22, a-c. The archaeological evidence appears, therefore, to be in full agreement with the literary tradition according to which the residential parts of Athens were poorly laid out, with narrow streets and with houses of such uniform modesty that one could barely distinguish the dwelling of an Aristides or a Miltiades from its neighbors. Demosthenes attributed this state of affairs to the self restraint and public spirit of the great men of old; a later and more astringent critic (Ps. Dikaiarchos) put it down to the incompetence of early times.³⁵

In the area farther to the east, i. e., at the northeast foot of the Areopagus, the exploration of the past two seasons has yielded evidence of habitation from the 7th century B.C. onward. In this region the houses of the Greek period were almost

³⁵ Demosthenes III, 25; Ps. Dikaiarchos, *F.H.G.*, II, p. 254; cf. also Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios*, II, 23. Robinson and Graham (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 151) ventured to predict in 1938 that the pastas and pastas-peristyle house types so well illustrated at Olynthus would prove to be prevalent also at Athens. Although there is some basic similarity between the houses of the 5th and 4th centuries now known from the slopes of the Areopagus and the examples of approximately the same period from the northern city, the Athenian houses are on the whole appreciably smaller, simpler and less elegantly furnished with such good things as mosaic floors, stone columns and fixed culinary facilities. Cf. also the general observations made by R. S. Young on the houses to the west of the Areopagus; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 226-228.

completely obliterated by two large establishments that date from the general revival of the 5th century after Christ. The more easterly, which is also the larger and the better preserved, is shown in plan in Figure 1. The irregularities in the south side were occasioned by the ruggedness of the terrain and by the line of a street against which the building was set. In the southern and eastern parts of the complex the

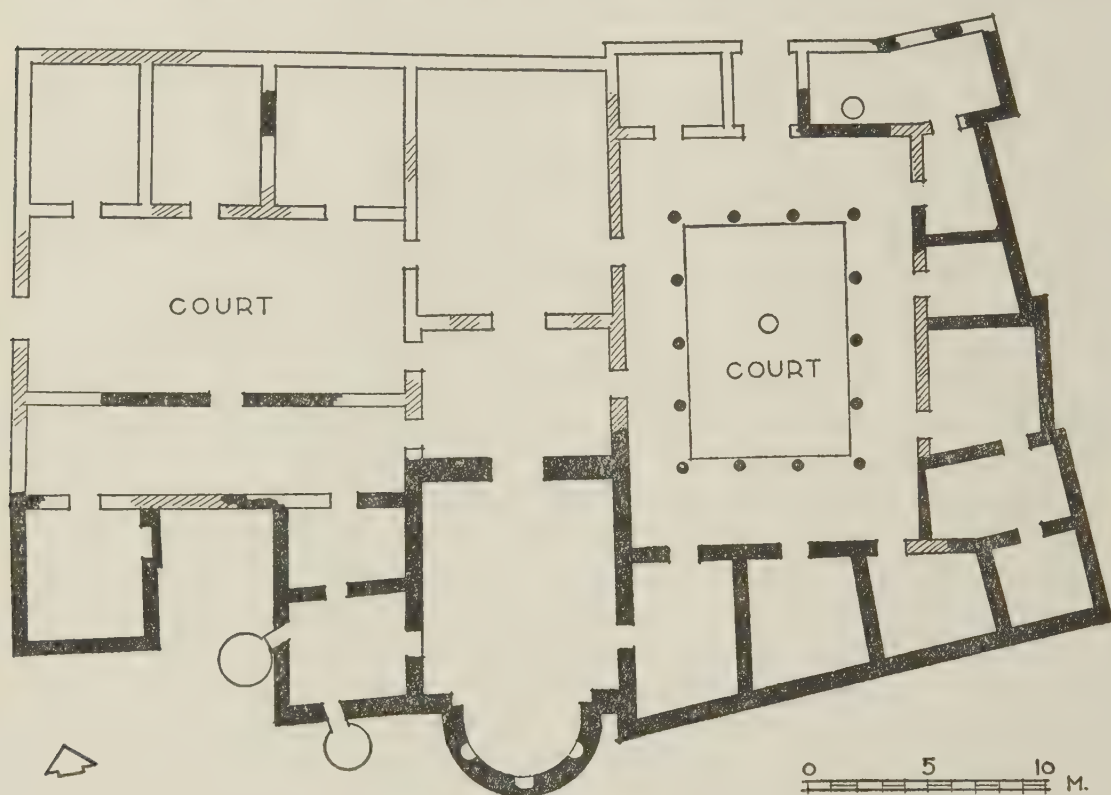


FIG. 1. House of 5th century after Christ at Northeast Foot of Areopagus

walls still stand to a height of two to three meters; toward the northwest the plan has had to be restored largely on the basis of plundered foundation trenches and beddings.

Despite minor uncertainties the building evidently comprised a central suite of three large rooms flanked to east and west by courtyards on which opened numerous rooms of moderate size. In the eastern court much of the marble stylobate remains with indications of columns; near its middle was a well. Particularly distinctive is the southern room of the central suite with its apsidal end containing niches for sculpture (Pl. 21, c). The wall construction throughout is that characteristic of the period: rubble stonework including much ancient material with levelling courses of brick and with solid brickwork for the niches and exposed corners.

The construction of two such large establishments in our region at this period, and a third of similar plan which has recently been brought to light south of the Acropolis, is striking.³⁶ There is little likelihood that we shall ever know with certainty by whom or for whom they were built. It is tempting, however, to bring those at the north foot of the Areopagus into historical association with the great gymnasium complex that was erected early in the 5th century after Christ above the middle of the ancient market square.³⁷ It has seemed altogether probable that this complex, with its courtyards and adjacent rooms, its bathing facilities and its gardens, served educational as well as purely athletic purposes, in this way carrying on the tradition of the Athenian gymnasia of the classical period. From an instructive passage in Eunapius' *Life of Julian* (p. 483, 5) we learn that in the 4th century (and the same was presumably true also for the 5th) some of the sophists held classes in their own houses which were elegantly furnished and equipped with auditoria modelled on the public auditoria but smaller.³⁸ We also know that in this period the sophists were in the habit of taking their favorite pupils into their own households. And finally there is good literary evidence for substantial assistance and encouragement from the Emperor Julian and from the proconsuls of the 4th and 5th centuries in the rehabilitation of educational facilities in Athens. It is a plausible conjecture, therefore, that some at least of the distinctive establishments 'with which we are dealing were occupied by successful sophists who would have found in them ample domestic accommodation for large households as well as chambers suitable for classroom use.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

RED-FIGURED POTTERY³⁹

From the few fragments of red-figure found in the exploration of the houses at the north foot of the Areopagus two may be singled out for mention. A cup fragment of exceptionally fine quality (Pl. 22, b)⁴⁰ shows Ixion bound to the wheel; the bonds securing his left arm to one of the spokes may be clearly seen. The subject, so admirably suited to the tondo of a cup, appears to have been used but rarely for this shape. Miss E. Simon, in publishing a fragment with a similar representation from the Roman Forum, points out that the piece from Rome must antedate Pindar's

³⁶ I. Miliadis, *Πρακτικά*, 1955 (1957), pp. 46-49.

³⁷ *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations*, p. 59, No. 25.

³⁸ The literary evidence for the state of educational facilities at Athens in late antiquity is most conveniently assembled by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 711-713.

³⁹ I owe the notes on red-figure to Lucy Talcott.

⁴⁰ Agora Inv. P 26228. Cup interior. Max. dim. 0.053 m. Relief contour, excellent glaze.

account of the story, of about 475 B.C., by some two decades.⁴¹ The new piece carries the representation still further back, into the last decade of the 6th century.

The second fragment of red-figure (Pl. 22, a, c),⁴² also from a cup, will be of special interest to students of the Berlin painter; on the exterior the legs of a standing male figure remain, on the interior the border of the medallion: maeander with saltire squares. Sir John Beazley has pointed out⁴³ that these legs are very close in style to the Berlin painter and comments: "The only unusual point in the legs is that the mid-line leading up to the navel is black and in the Berlin painter it is always brown. But in the Gorgos cup⁴⁴ it is black." Another link between the Gorgos Cup and the Berlin painter is thus added to those already discussed by Robertson.

MINIATURE REPLICA OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS SHIELD

A small fragment of a round terracotta shield (Fig. 2; Pl. 22, d) came to light in a deposit of the 3rd century after Christ, presumably to be associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, among the ruins of the most westerly houses in the block at the north foot of the Areopagus.⁴⁵ The figures moulded in low relief on the front surface indicate clearly that we have to do with a miniature replica of the shield of the Athena Parthenos which bore on its outer face an amazonomachy.⁴⁶ Comparison with the Lenormant and Patras statuettes shows that the supine figure of our fragment is to be thought of as lying horizontal at the middle of the lower edge of the shield. Since, however, there is no trace of attachment on the surviving piece we cannot be sure whether it was made as an independent *objet d'art* or was accompanied by a figure of the goddess. The diameter, which may be restored as 0.15 m., is identical with that of the Lenormant statuette and corresponds to about one-thirtieth of the original.⁴⁷

Although sketchy and now badly rubbed, the modelling was done with not a little skill and feeling; when complete the general effect must have been quite satisfactory

⁴¹ *Jahresh.* XLII, 1955, p. 16, fig. 6.

⁴² Agora Inv. P 26245. Max. dim. 0.032 m. Relief contour, good glaze.

⁴³ By letter, October 13, 1958.

⁴⁴ Agora Inv. P 24113. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 64-66, fig. 4, below, pl. 30; M. Robertson, "The Gorgos Cup," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 55-66, pls. 6-10.

⁴⁵ T 3577. Max. pres. dim. 0.094 m. Soft clay ranging in color from buff to yellow and red. No trace of glaze or paint. The back is roughly finished.

⁴⁶ S. Ras, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII/IX, 1944/45, pp. 163-205; F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmann-programm*, 1948 and *Athena Parthenos* (Opus Nobile Series), Bremen, 1957, pp. 11-14 (restored drawing fig. 4); P. Stavropoulos, *Ἡ Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου τοῦ Φειδίου*, Athens, 1950 (reviewed by H. Möbius, *Gnomon*, XXIII, 1951, cols. 266-277); E. Bielefeld, *Amazonomachia*, Halle, 1951, pp. 18-32; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 209-214.

⁴⁷ The height of the figure alone in the Lenormant statuette is given as 0.34 m. Cf. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 277.

on a replica of such miniature scale. As one of a half dozen known copies of the figured shield the tiny scrap takes its place among the documents bearing on the restoration of Pheidias' masterpiece. Inasmuch as the new fragment derives from a part of the shield that survives also on the Lenormant, Strangford and Patras copies, it cannot be expected to provide startling new information. It does, however, add its modest testimony on several disputed points of detail.

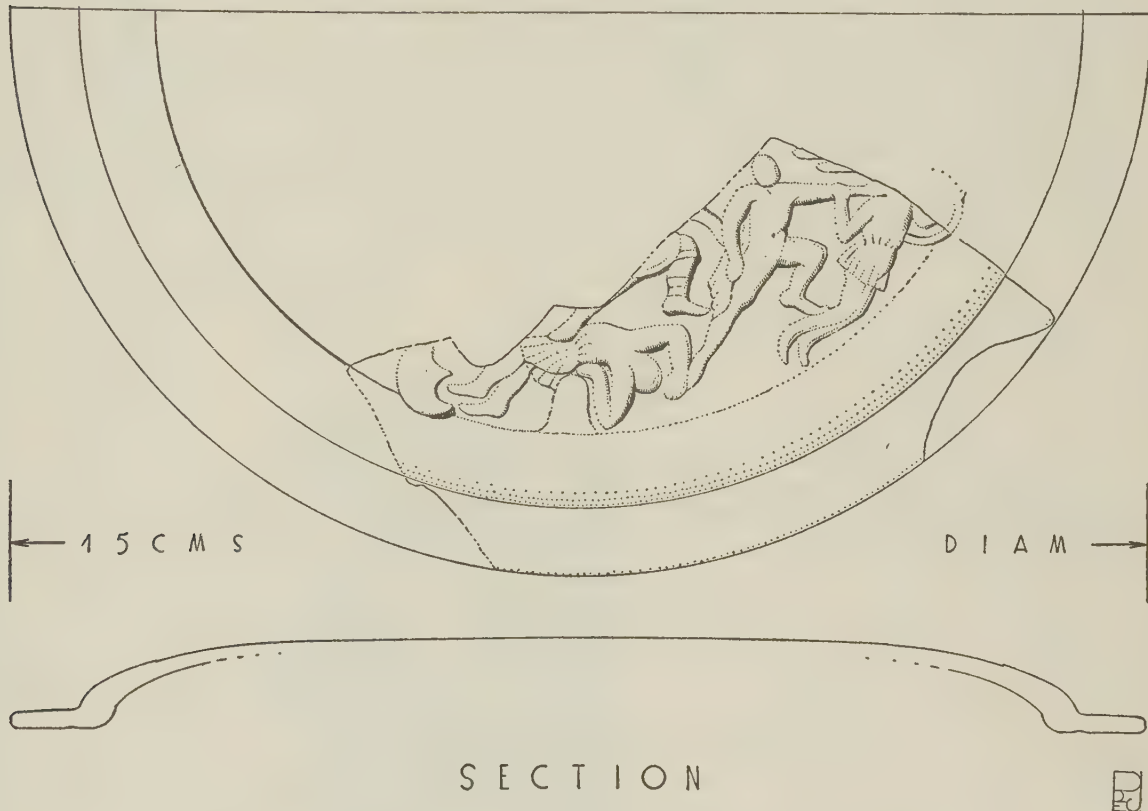


FIG. 2. Terracotta Replica of Athena Parthenos Shield

Parts of four figures remain, apparently two Greeks and two Amazons, the Greeks in both cases having the advantage. The affiliations of the supine figure to the left, which could scarcely be determined from the figure itself, are indicated by the shield at its feet, an Amazon's pelta. This is a matter of some interest in view of the divergence among the other copies; on the Strangford shield the figure is shown by its dress to be an Amazon, while the makers of the Lenormant and the Patras statuettes apparently took it for a Greek.⁴⁸ The Greek of whom only the legs remain on our fragment above this fallen Amazon, and who presumably has dispatched her, is shown

⁴⁸ Bielefeld, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

on the Lenormant, Patras and Strangford versions to be lunging to the right; in the Strangford copy he is armed with spear and shield. The right-hand group on the Agora fragment is more readily legible in the Patras and Strangford versions, as also on the slabs from the Piraeus: a Greek who has seized a fleeing Amazon by the hair is about to drive home his sword; the Amazon desperately clutches the left hand of her assailant. The very slight traces that remain of the shield held by this Amazon would favor the restoration of a round shield rather than the pelta which appears on the Lenormant and Strangford copies.⁴⁹

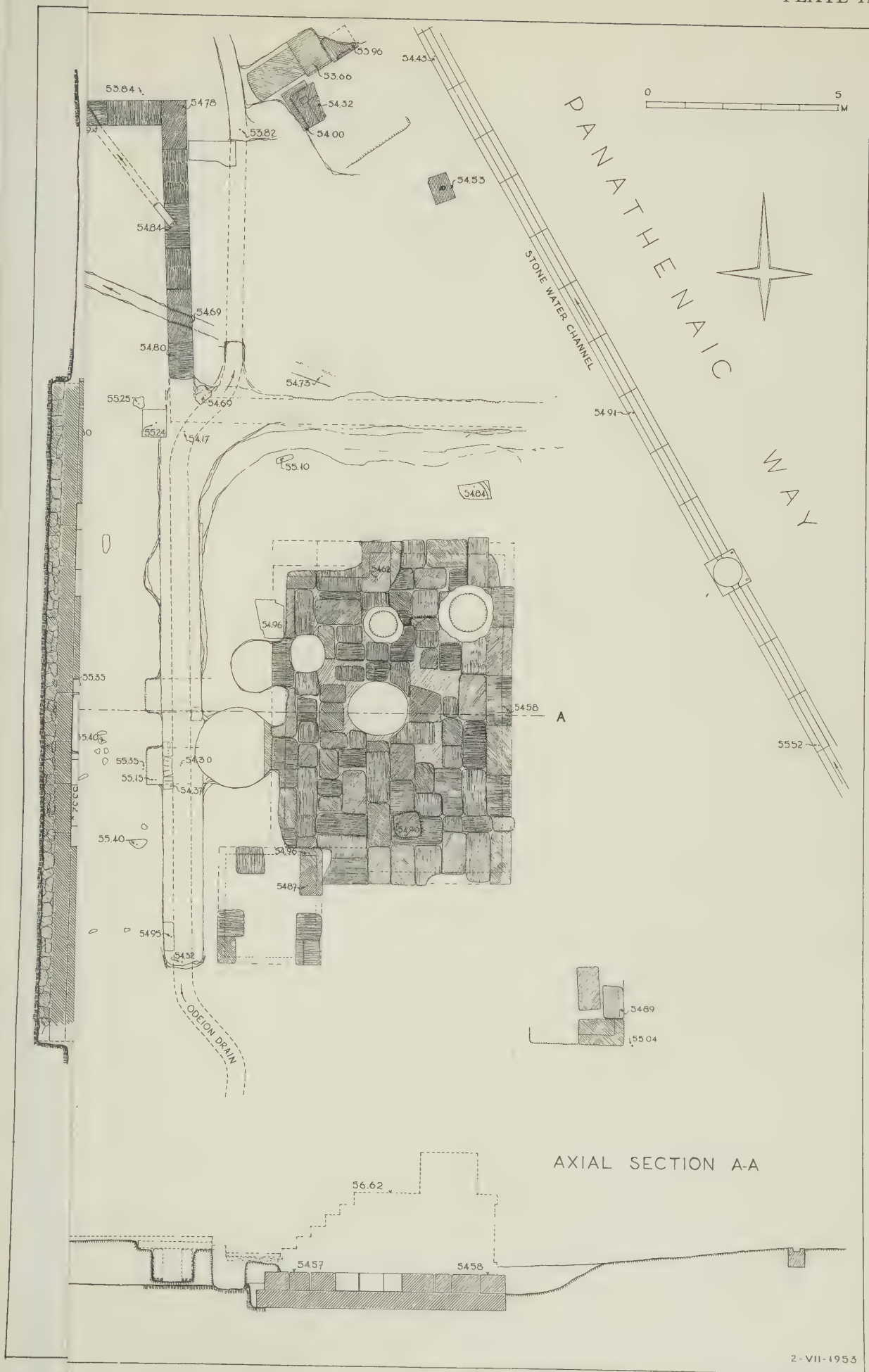
Apart from its value in recovering the design of the Parthenos shield, our fragment is of interest as adding to the now considerable repertory of minor *objets d'art* such as fine lamps, medallions and coins in which one or other of the famous Athena statues of Athens appears prominently.⁵⁰ One can readily believe that such objects were in demand among visitors as souvenirs of the venerable city.

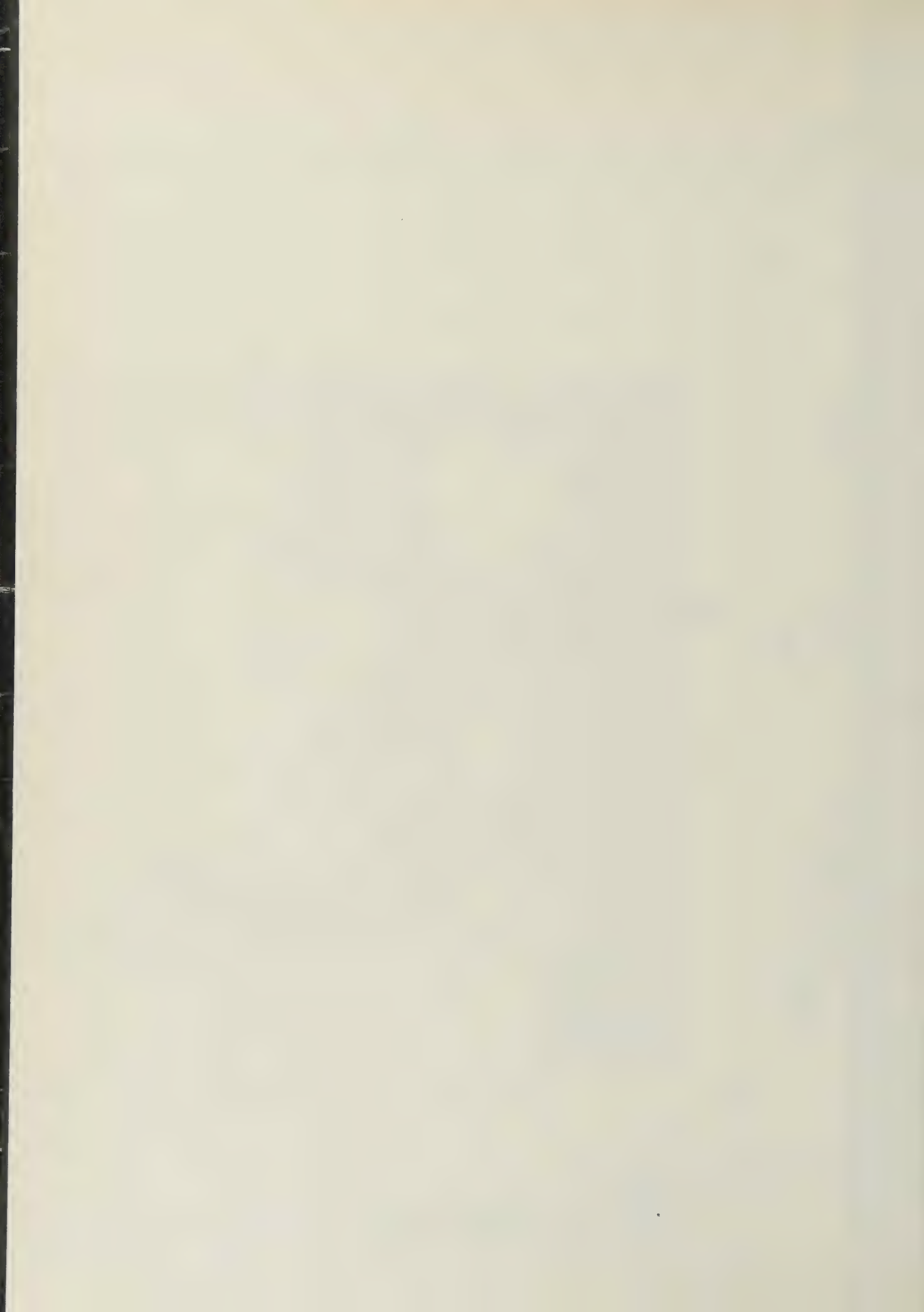
HOMER A. THOMPSON

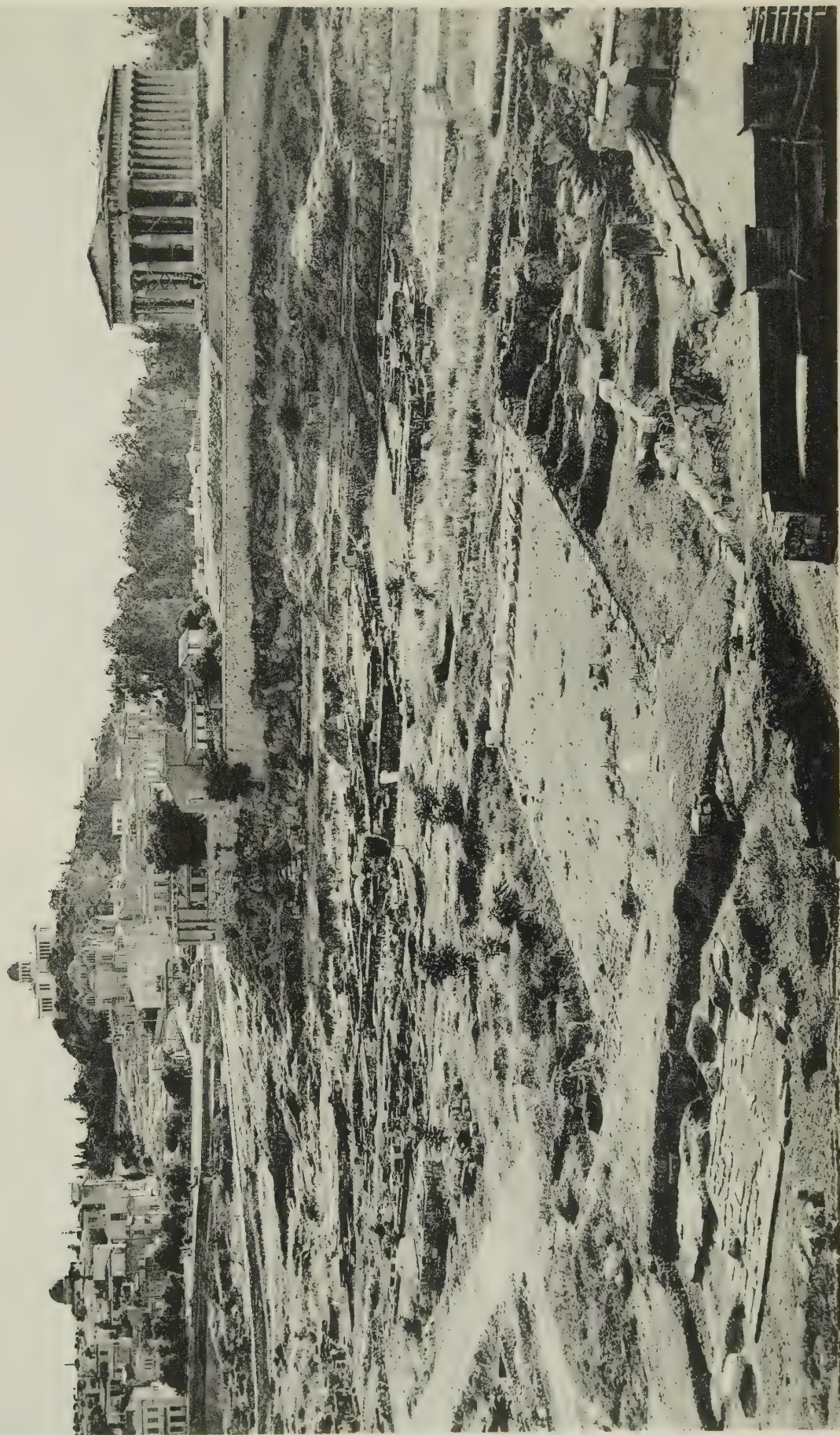
THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON

⁴⁹ On the diversity of shield forms, cf. Bielefeld, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 182 f., pl. LXII; XXVII, 1958, p. 159, pl. 46, d; G. Beccati, *Problemi Fidiaci*, Milan-Florence, 1951, pls. 63, 86, 87.







Temple and Altar of Ares from the Northeast

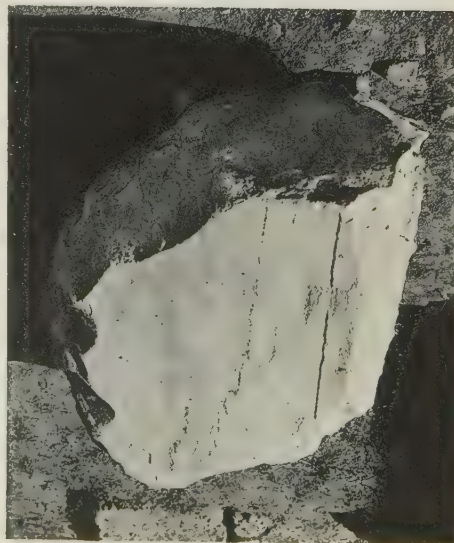
MARIAN HOLLAND McALLISTER: THE TEMPLE OF ARES. A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE



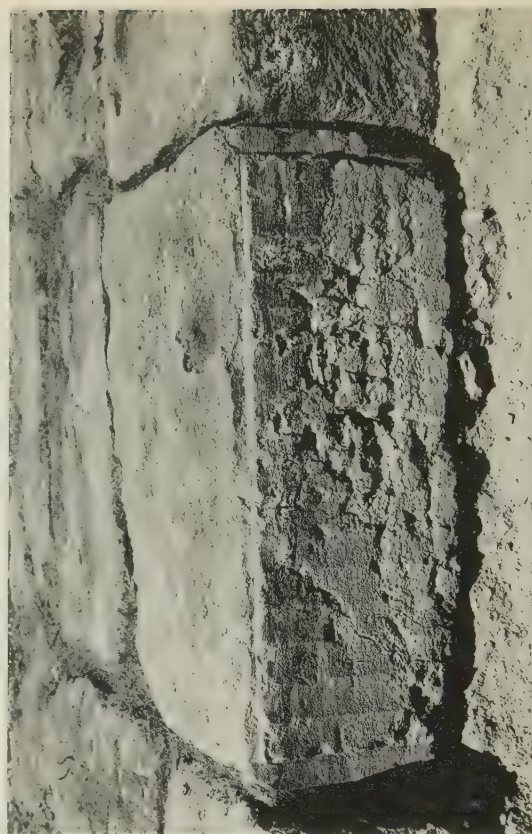
a. East End of Foundations



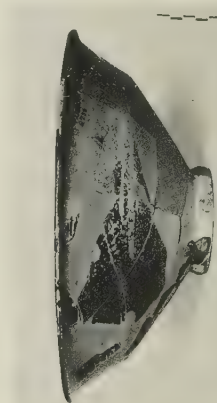
b. Shield Block I 6634



c. Altar Orthostate A 1652

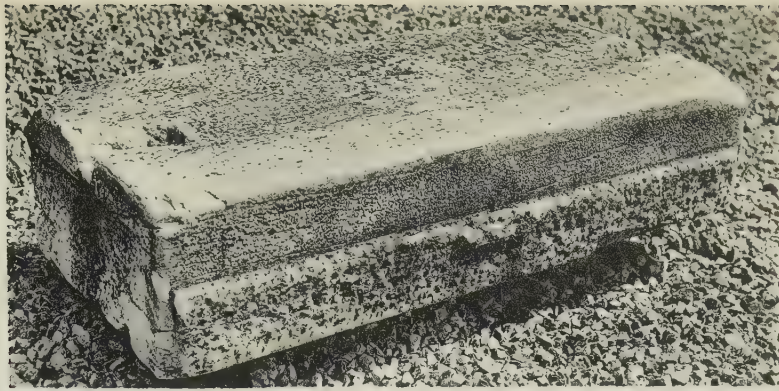


e. Altar Foundation Block



d. P 21280

MARIAN HOLLAND McALLISTER: THE TEMPLE OF ARES. A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE



a. Euthynteria Block A 215



b. Step Block A 1719



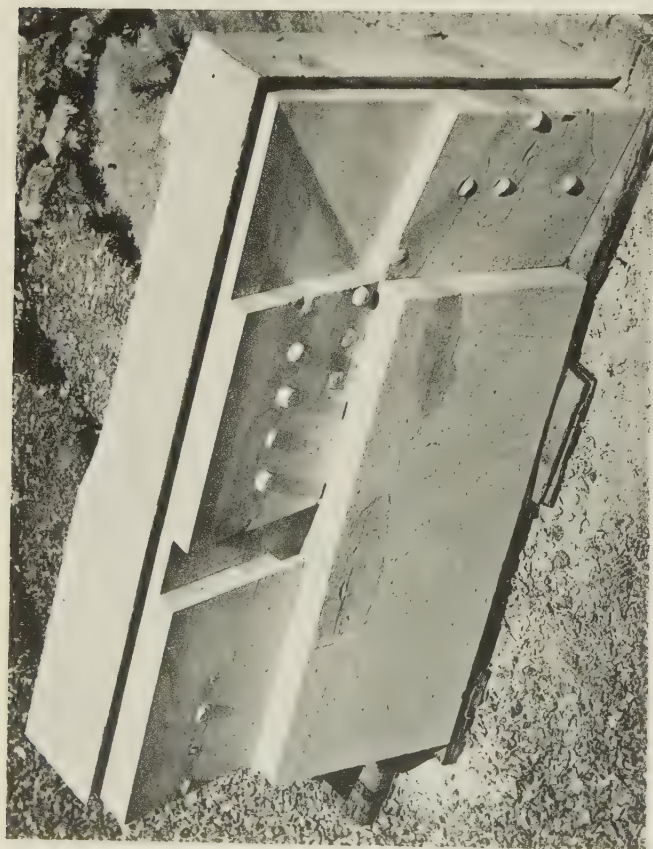
c. Hephaisteion Drum



d. Theater of Dionysos Drum



e. Column Drum A 2257



a. Restored Geison Block



b. Triglyph A 2277



c. Lion Spout A 1833

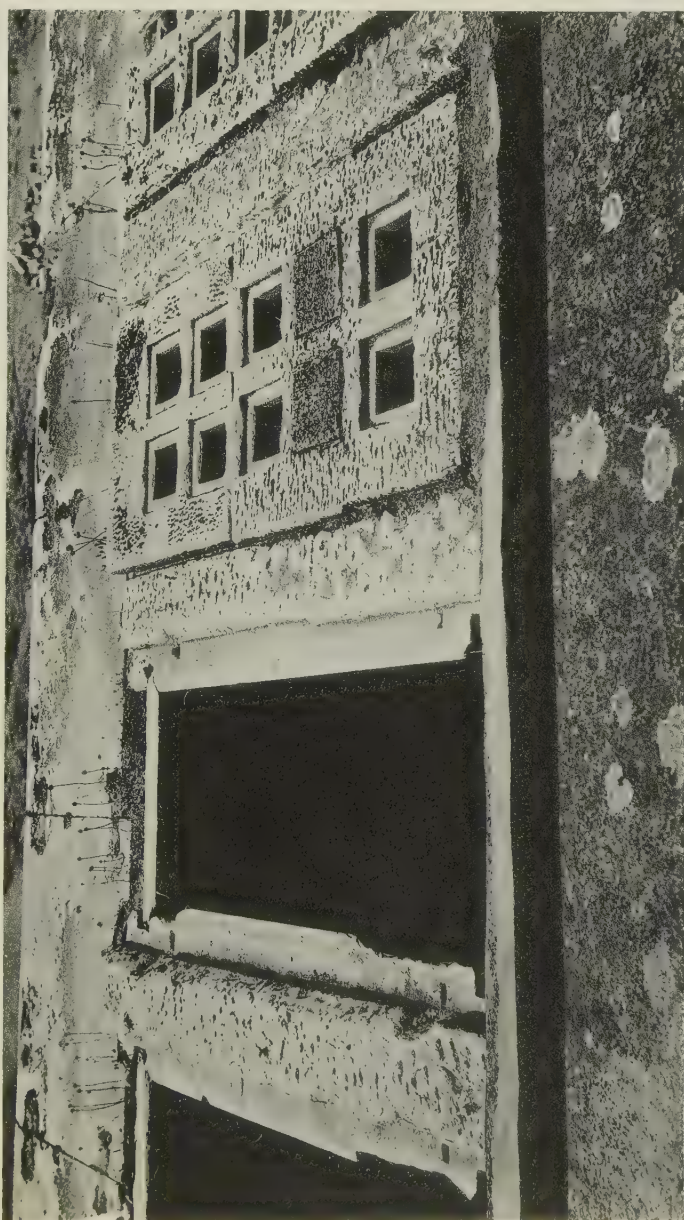


d. A 702 + 1135

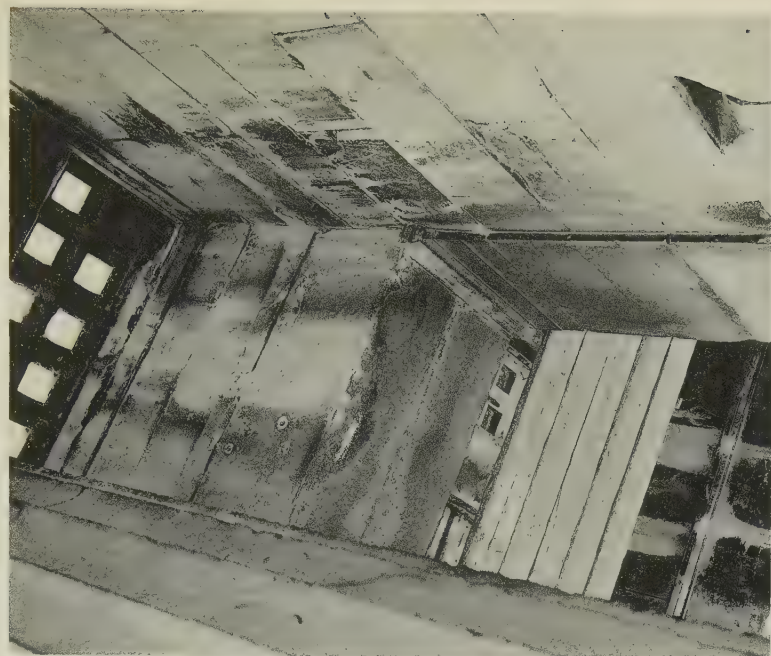


e. Capital Fragments A 600 and 1845 c

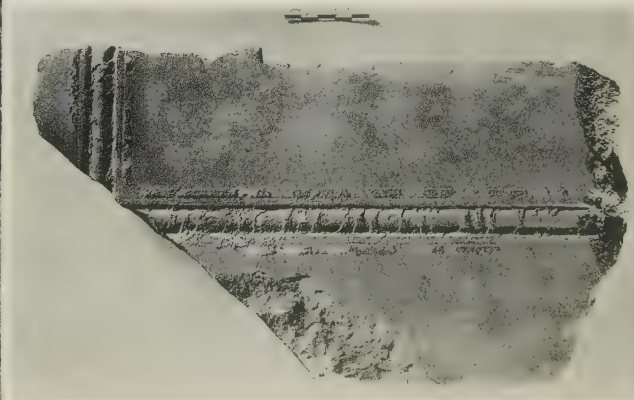
MARIAN HOLLAND McALLISTER: THE TEMPLE OF ARES. A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE



a. Hephaisteion, Ceiling of South Peristyle



b. Hephaisteion, Northeast Anta



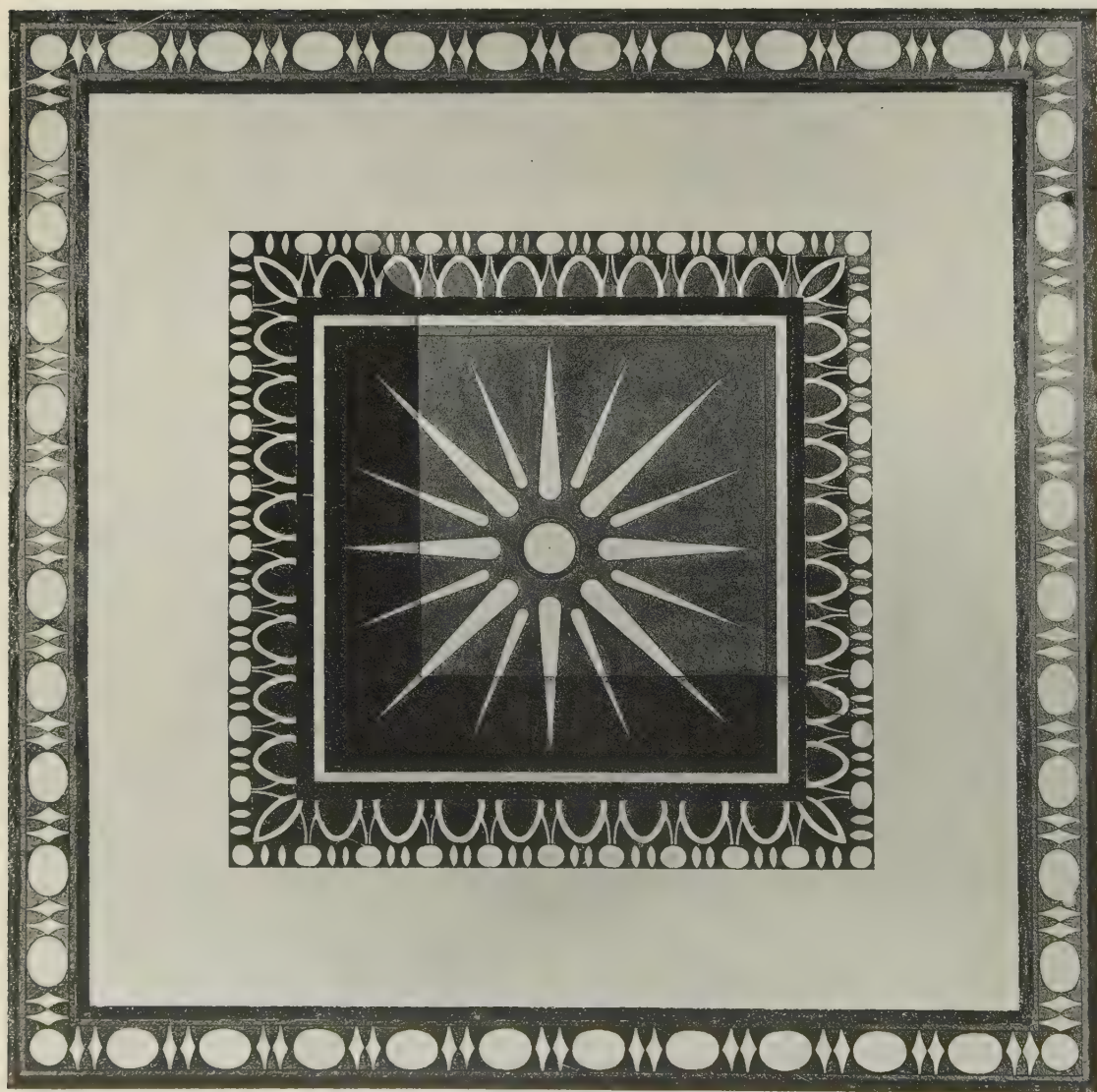
c. Hephaisteion, Coffin A 2183



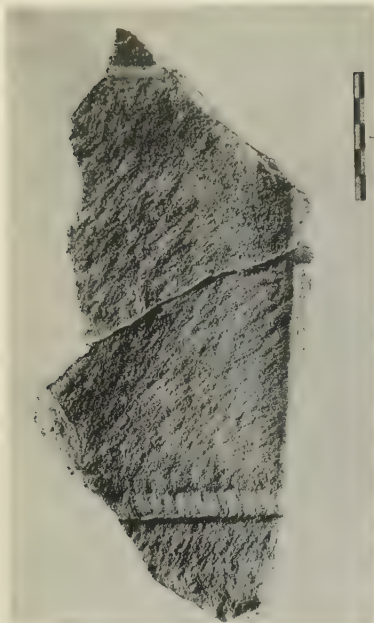
d. Temple of Ares, Ceiling Beam A 2389



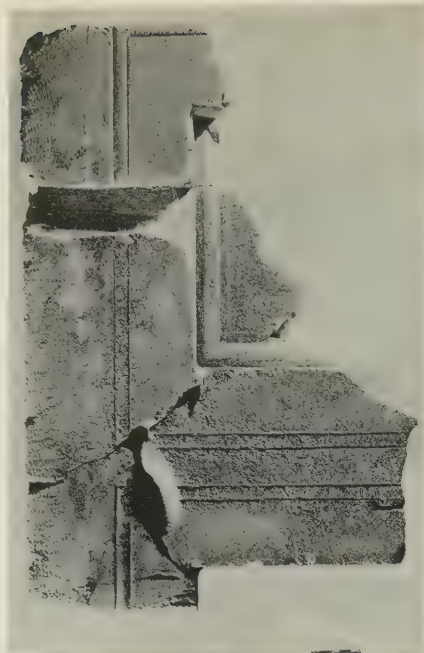
e. Temple of Ares, Interbeam Fragment A 2121



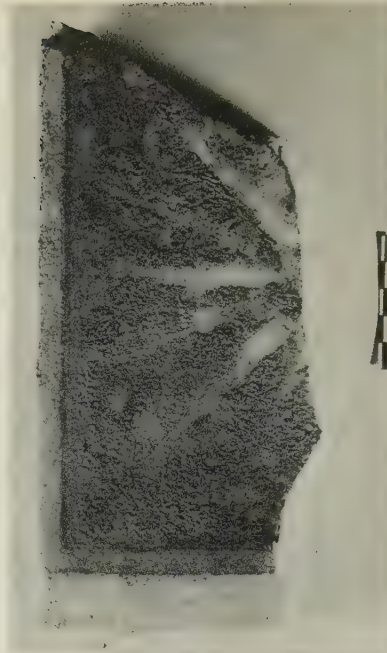
a. Restored Cella Coffers



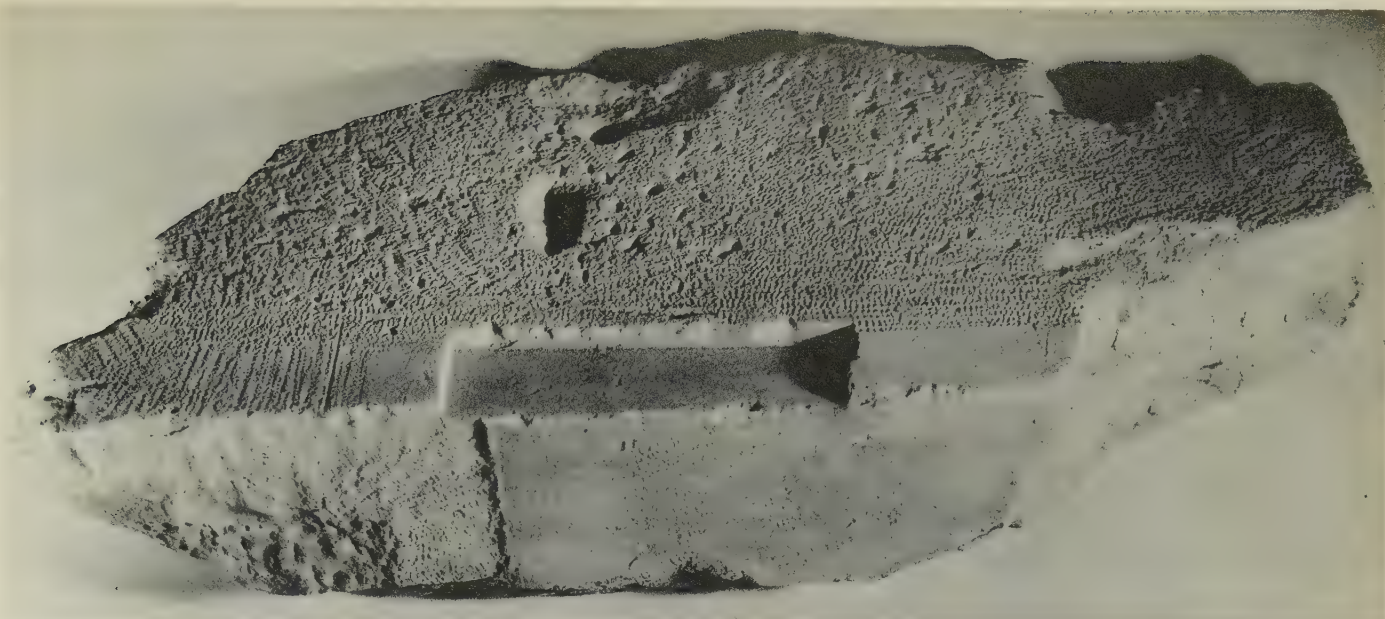
b. Coffers Fragment A 2181 a



c. Coffers Fragment A 2137 b



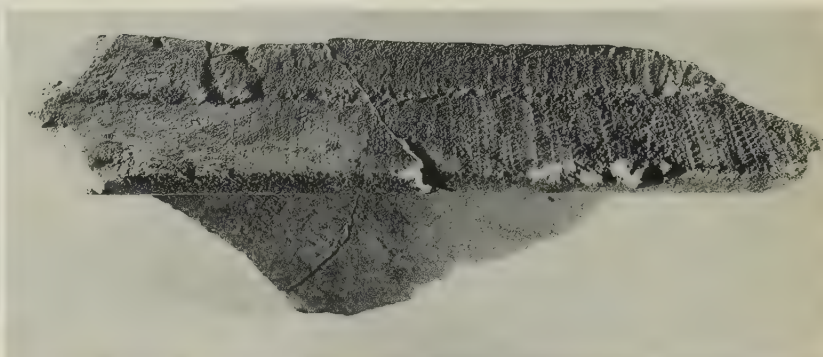
d. Painted Coffers Vault A 2157



a. Wall Block A 2635



b. Anathyrosis and Channel on A 1851



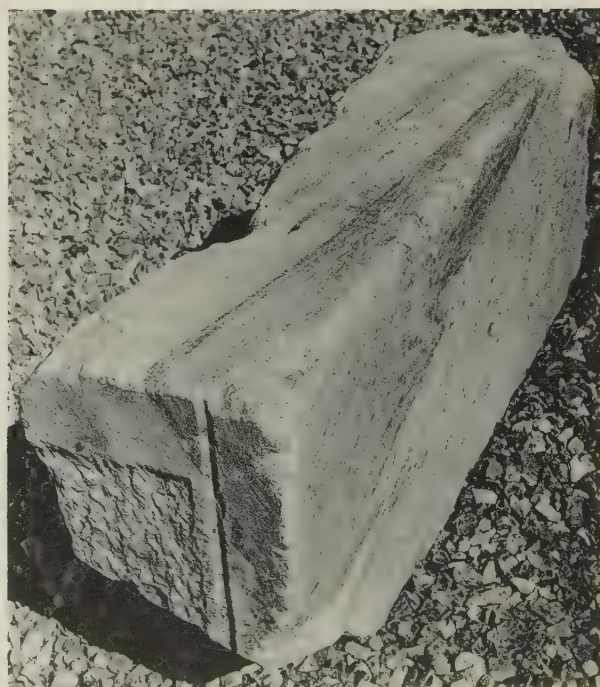
d. Beam Fragment A 2123



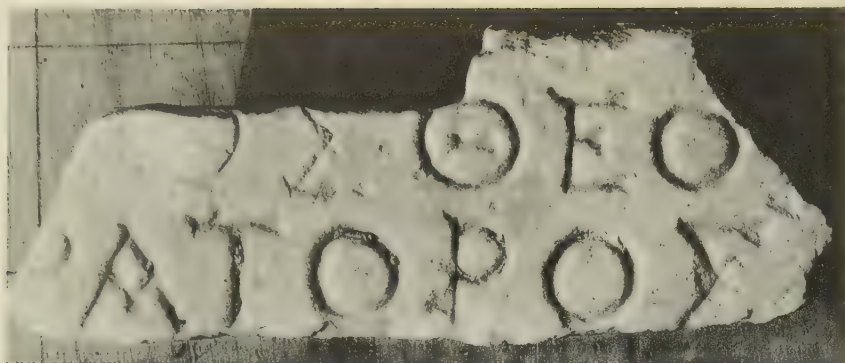
c. Stippled Face of A 1851



e. Euthyteria Course of the Temple at Sounion



f. Stippled Block A 1874



E.M. 3949



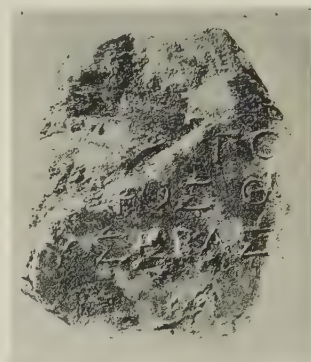
No. 1



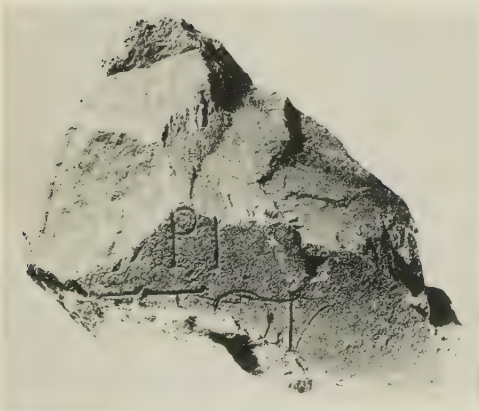
No. 2



No. 3



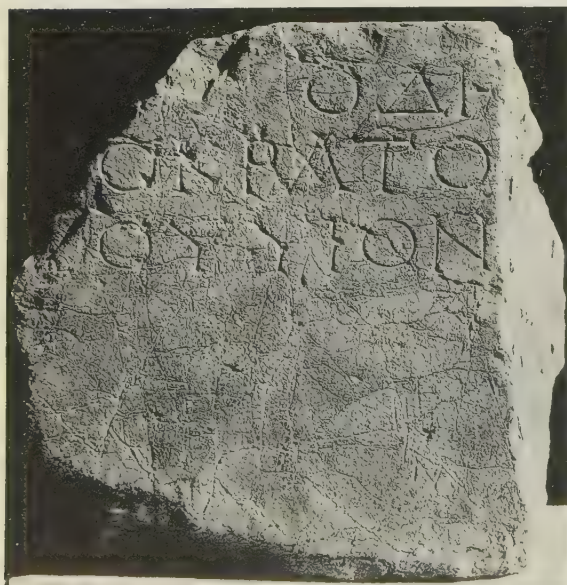
No. 4



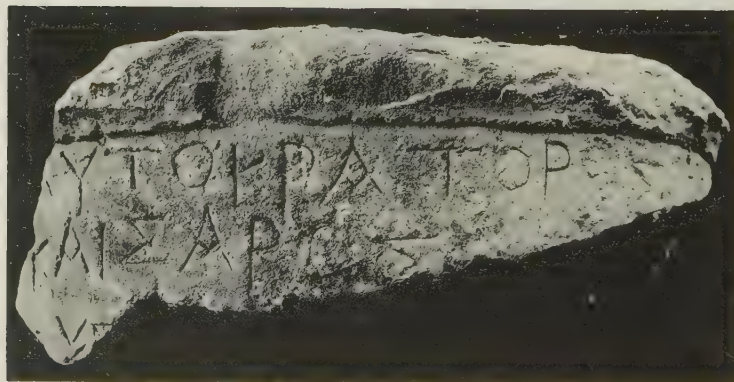
No. 5



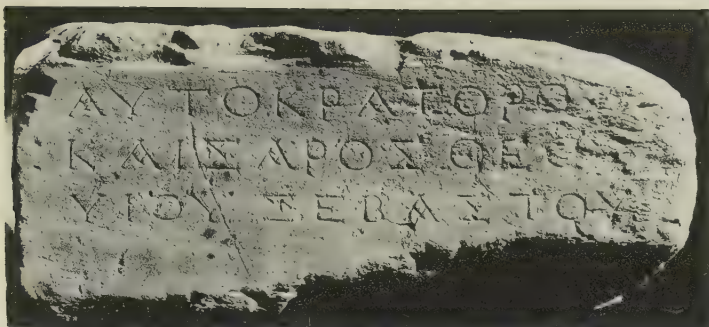
No. 6



E.M. 4565



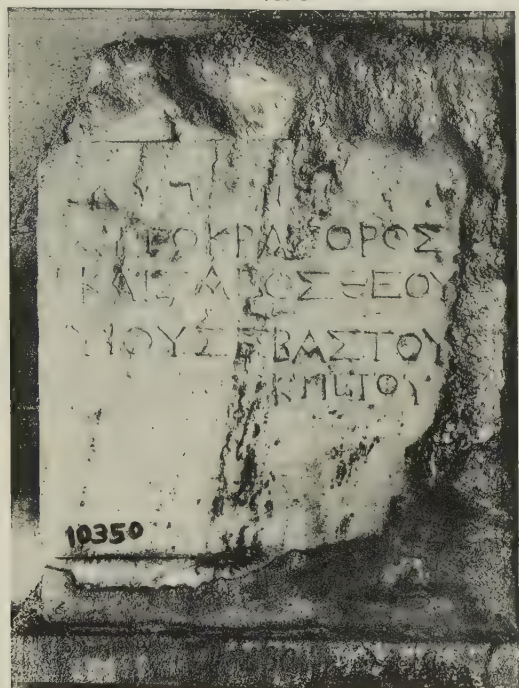
No. 7



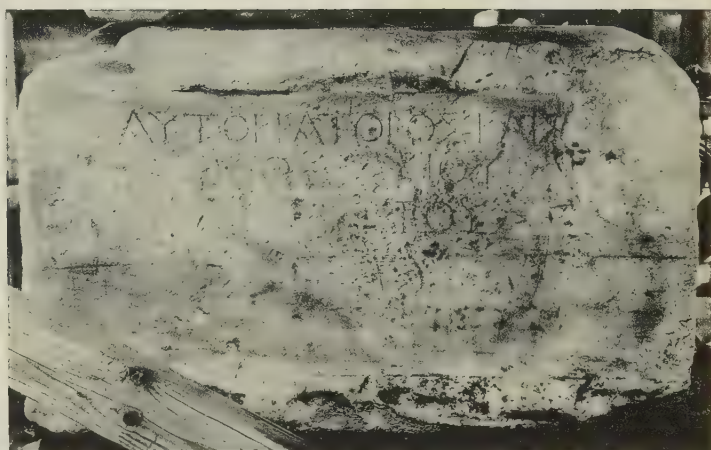
No. 8



No. 10



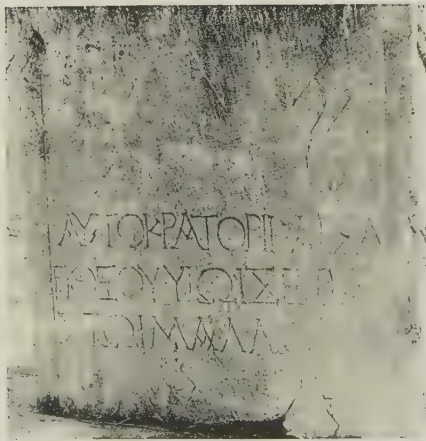
No. 13



No. 11

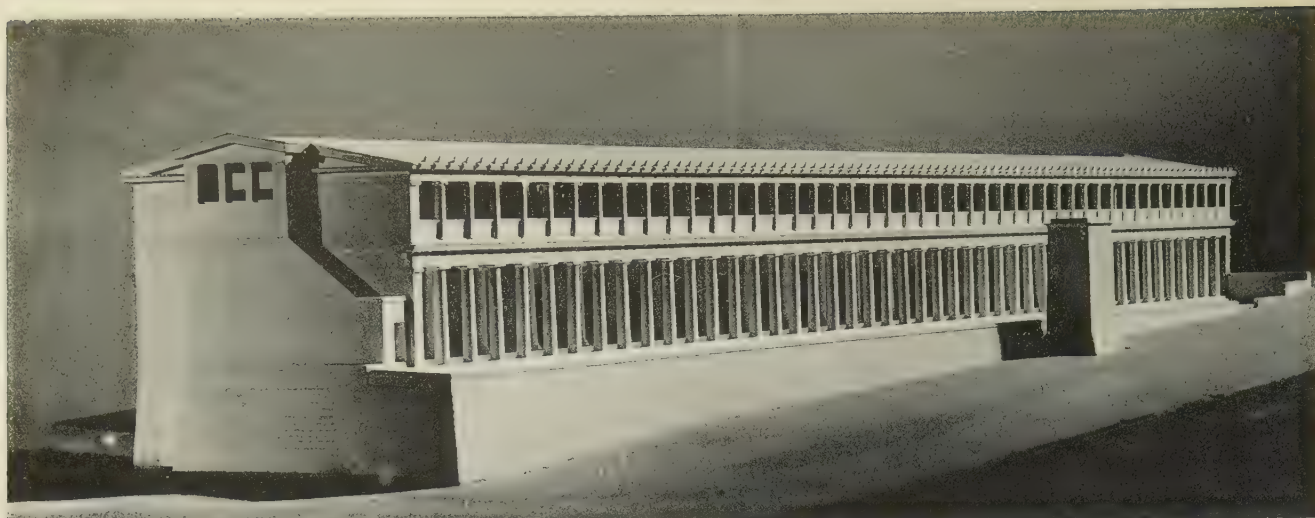


No. 28



No. 40

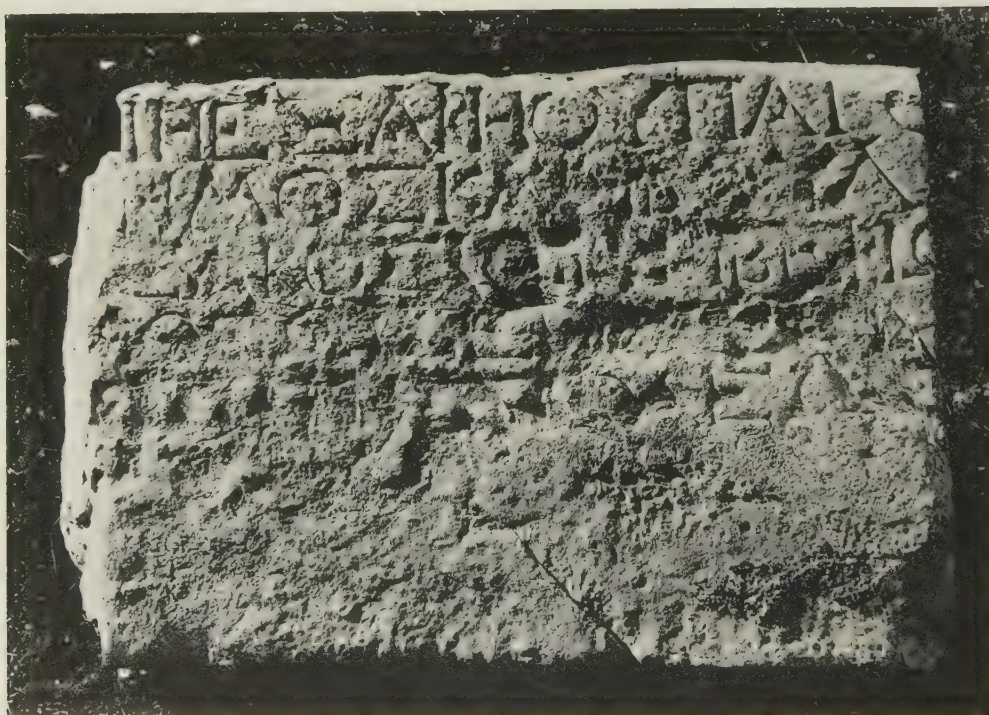




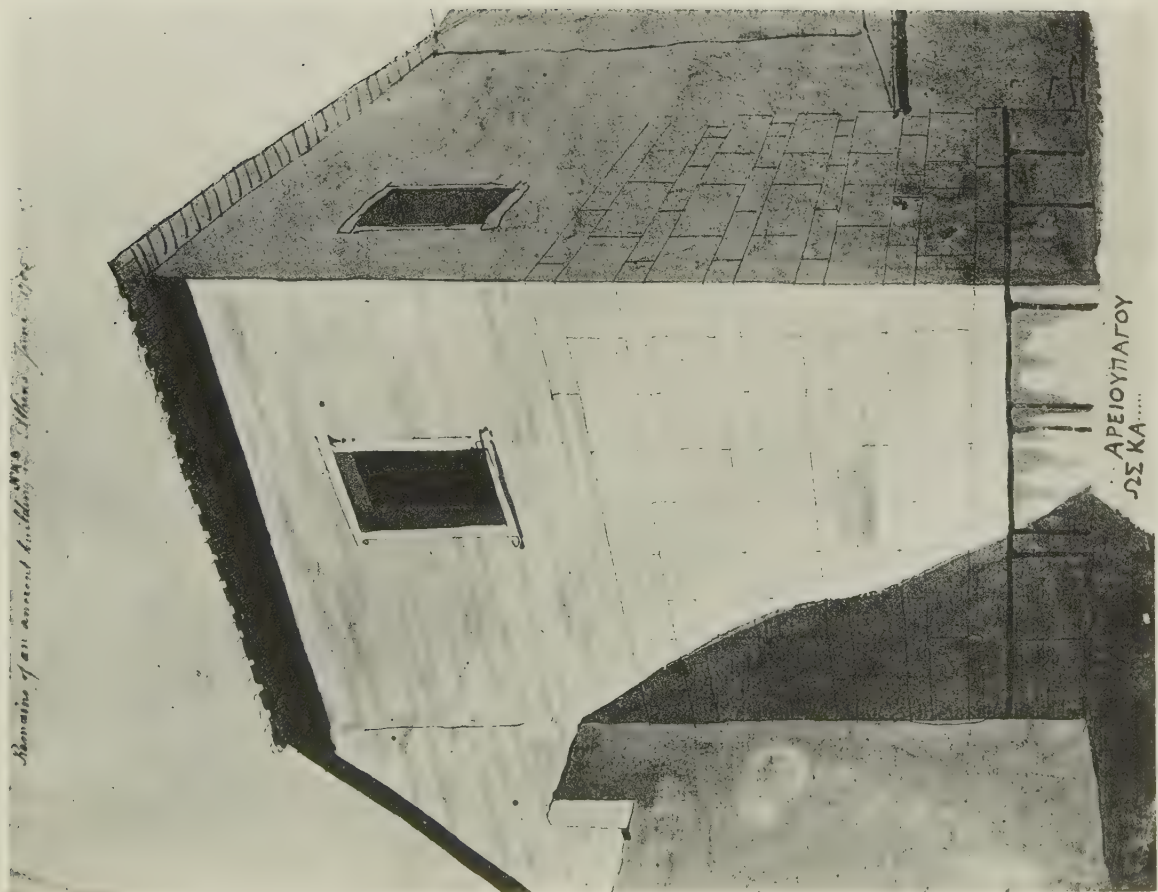
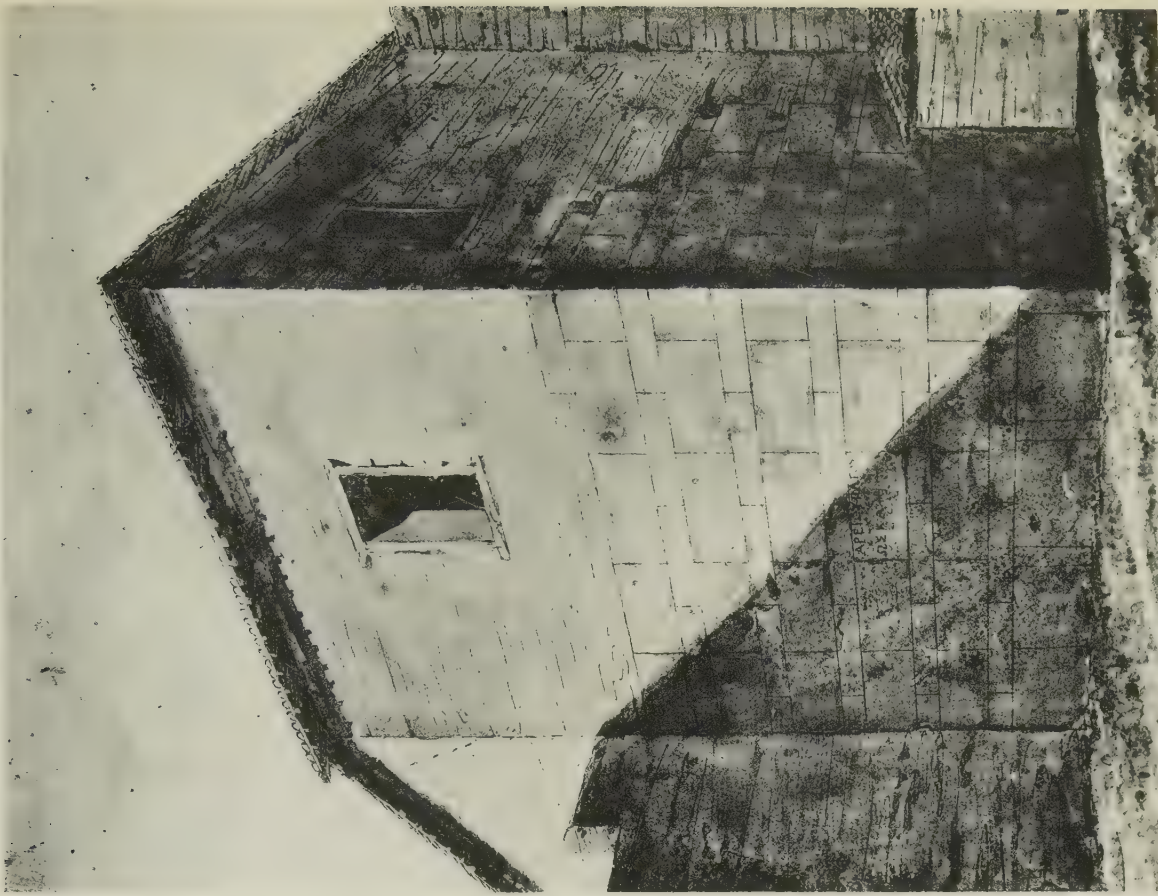
a. Model of Stoa of Attalos with Donor's Monument, seen from Northwest



b. The Three Blocks of the Donor's Monument with the Inscription Honoring the Emperor Tiberius.



c. Detail of the Middle Inscribed Block.

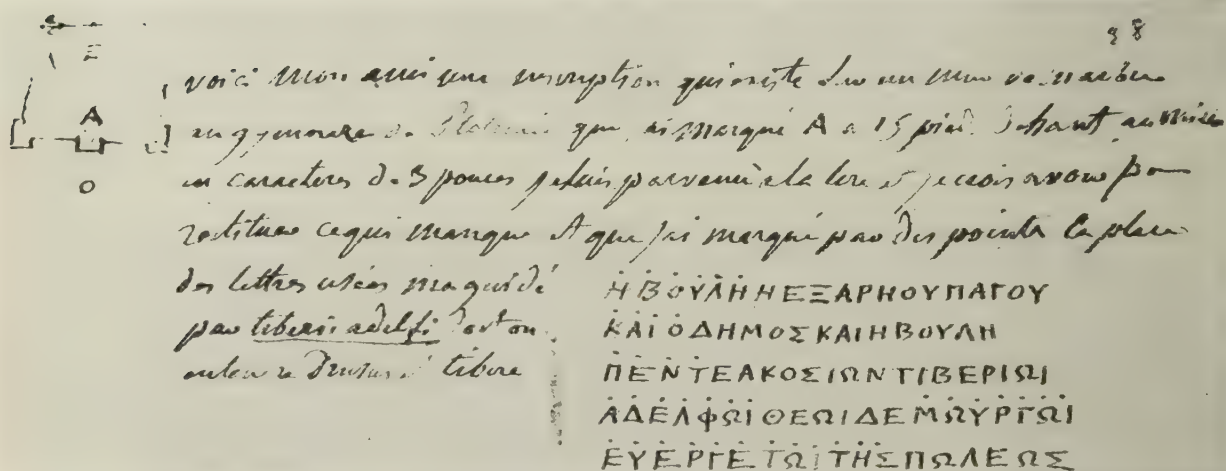


Late Roman Fortification Wall: Middle Tower in Stoa of Attalos. An unsigned sketch (left) and a water color made from it (right), now in the Gennadius Library, Athens. Legend on sketch: "No. 46. Remains of an ancient building in Athens, June 1785." Legend on water color: "No. 33. Areopagus, Athens."

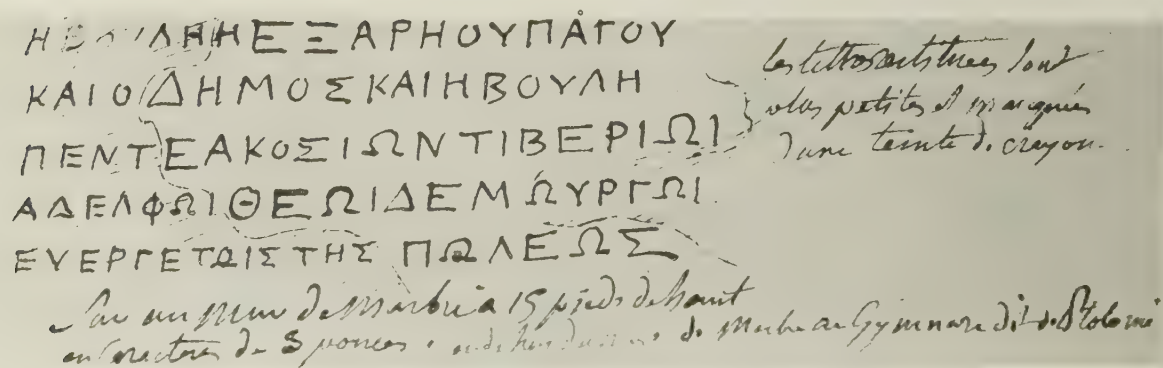
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: ATHENS HONORS THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS



a. Late Roman Fortification Wall: Middle Tower in Stoa of Attalos.
Drawing made for Edward Dodwell.



b. Part of letter from Fauvel to Barbié du Bocage dated Athens, September 10, 1810. (Gennadius Library, Athens, Ms. 134, p. 38, recto, part).



c. From a sheet attached to Fauvel's letter of April 4, 1811 to Barbié du Bocage. (Gennadius Library, Athens, Ms. 134, p. 49, recto, part).



a. View from North



b. View from South. A¹ and A²: Aqueduct of Roman Period, B: Aqueduct of late 5th Century B.C., C: Tower in Late Roman Fortification, D: Modern House to be removed

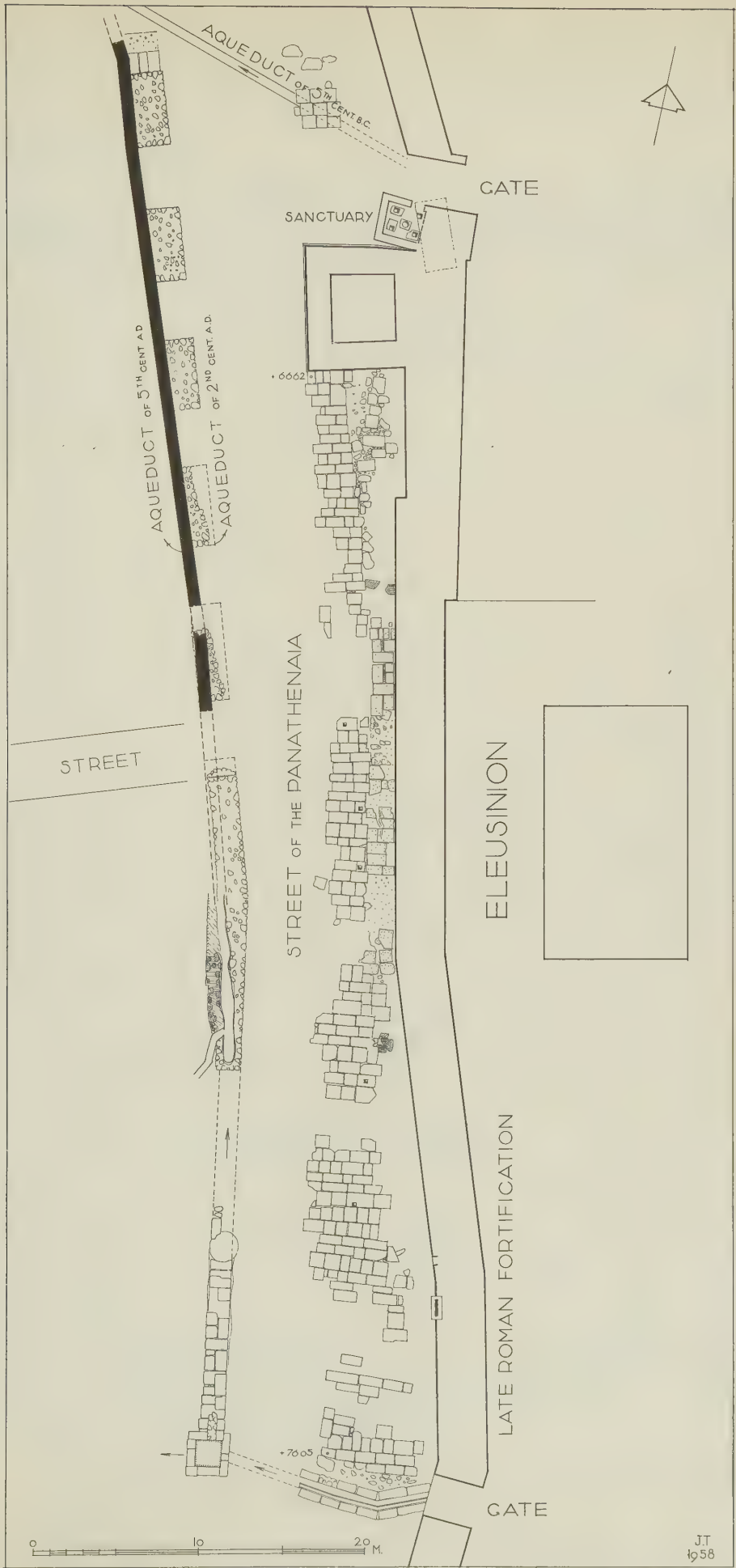
Panathenaic Way and Late Roman Fortification on North Slope of Acropolis
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



a. Tower in Late Roman Fortification with Sanctuary at lower left



b. Rubble Repair of Byzantine date in Late Roman Fortification



Street of the Panathenaia on North Slope of Acropolis

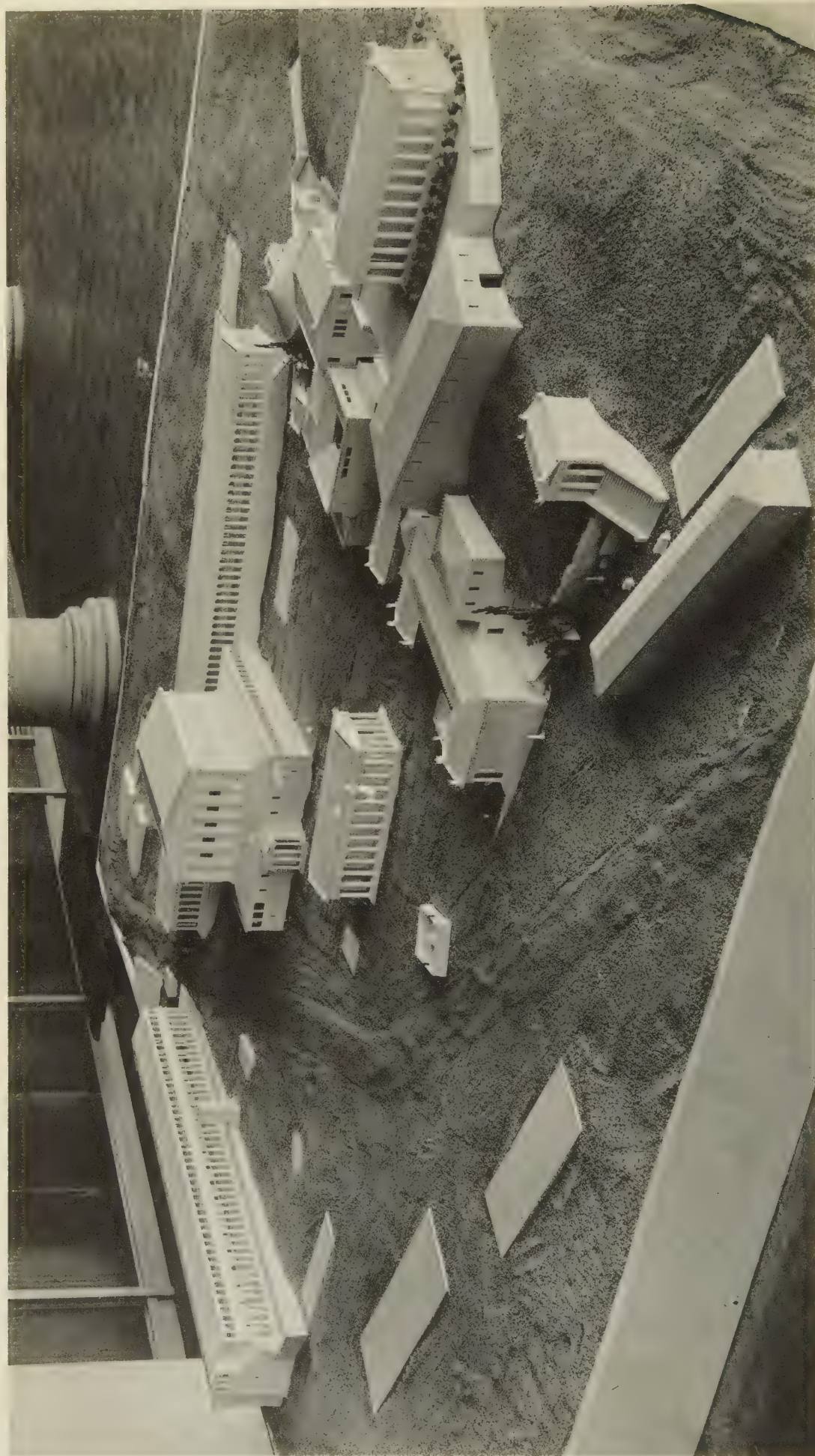
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. Actual State
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. Restored as of 4th century B.C.
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Model of the Agora in the 2nd century after Christ. View from Northwest

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



a. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. View from Northwest



b. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Foundations. View from Northwest

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



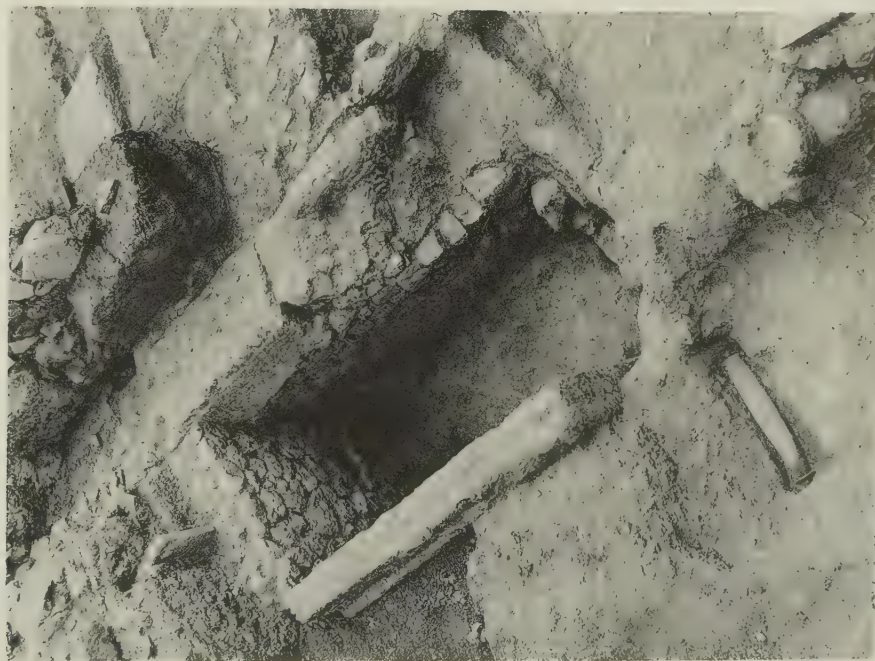
a. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 5th century B.C.



b. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 5th century B. C.



c. Two-roomed House at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 4th century B.C.



a. Stone-lined Pit (Cesspool ?) in Street



b. Stone-lined Pit (Cesspool ?) in Courtyard



c. Apse in House of 5th century after Christ. View from North



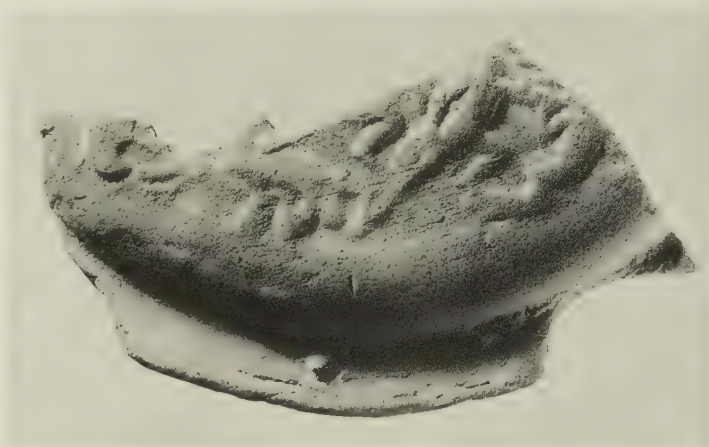
a. Red-figured Cup (P 26245)



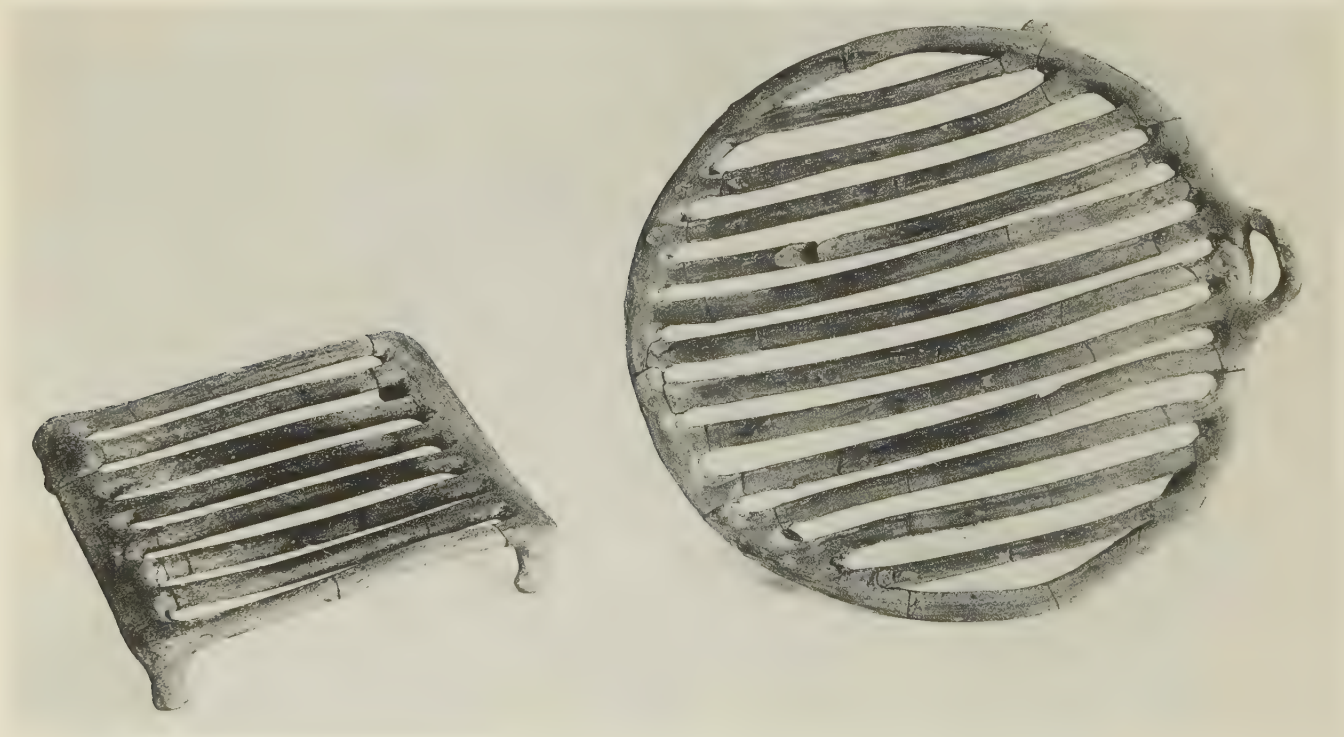
b. Red-figured Cup: Ixion (P 26228)



c. Red-figured Cup (P 26245)



d. Terracotta Replica of Athena Parthenos Shield (T 3577)



e. Terracotta Grills. 4th century B.C. (P 26166, P 26165)

INSCRIPTIONS OF HERMIONE, HYDRA AND KASOS

(PLATES 23-25)

A. HERMIONE¹

1. Found by the late Professor Alexandros Philadelphus in August of 1909 in the course of excavations on the Bisti at Hermione (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1909, p. 174; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 35 ff., pl. I). A transcription in the modern Greek cursive hand, with the note "dedicatory stele found in the medieval wall near Hagios Nikolaos," was jotted on a slip of paper and inserted in his notebook. The inscription has since disappeared. The text below follows the line divisions of the cursive transcription; dotted letters indicate uncertainties in the reading of the handwriting, not of the stone.

Μ(άρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Λικιννιανὸν Σωκράτους τὸν ἱερέα
τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐνδόξως
πολιτευσάμενον καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα
ἐπαξίως τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλία

5 Χρηματίνη τὸν υἱόν

For these names at Hermione, compare the very similar inscription *I.G.*, IV, 717, for M. Aur. Satorneinos, a priest of Ares Enoialios and son of a Likinnianos, honored by his wife, Aurelia Teimarete, and *I.G.*, IV, 713, an honorary decree of the demos dated ἐπὶ στρατηγ[ὼν. . . . |]Τ Μ. Αὐρ. Σωκράτου (*sic*) [. . . . |]ΟΤ Λικιννιανοῦ. For Chrematine, cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 7841d.

2 (Pl. 23). Rectangular limestone base discovered in 1952 under a mound of earth to the east of the school on the south side of the landward end of the Bisti. It was built face-up into the wall of a Byzantine building in whose topmost course at ground level it remained when examined in 1954. Since then the investigations of Mr. E. Stikas in this area have revealed a basilica of the sixth century after Christ.¹

¹ The text of 1 is based on the notes of the late Professor A. Philadelphus' 1909 explorations, which he very kindly entrusted to the writer in 1954. Three of the fragments of 7, together with 3 and 4, were found by Mr. E. Stikas in the course of his excavations of a Byzantine basilica at Hermione in 1955-56 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 271-273). He has most generously sent me photographs and overall dimensions of 3 and 7 and his reading of 4. The other inscriptions, including the lower left fragment of 7, were studied by the writer while in Greece in the summer of 1954 on a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society and in the summer of 1958 on a grant from the Bollingen Foundation. He must also record his gratitude to the Papabasileiou family of Hermione for its many kindnesses.

Height, 1.31 m.; width, from 0.33 m. at top to 0.38 m. at bottom. The inscribed face is stippled. Height of letters, 0.02-0.024 m. (*phi*, 0.045 m.); distance between lines 0.02-0.03 m. Well-cut letters with apices.

Ἐπίκτητον Λου-
κίου Λούκιος Ἐ-
πικτήτου καὶ Θε-
οδώρα Χαριξένου
5 οἱ γονεῖς θεᾶ(ι) Εἰ-
λειθυία(ι) ὑπὲρ εὐ-
χῆς ἐπὶ ἱερείας
Ἀφροδισίας

Two other inscriptions from Hermione have an Epiktetos, son of Loukios, cf. *I.G.*, IV, 726, and *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 16, No. 16a. For the name Loukios, cf. also *I.G.*, IV, 715; for Charixenos, *I.G.*, IV, 714, and for Aur. Charixenos, father and son, *I.G.*, IV, 716. On the cult of Eileithyia in Hermione, cf. Pausanias II, 35, 11; *I.G.*, IV, 699 (parents dedicate the statue of a daughter to the goddess; *iota* of the dative singular omitted, as it is here); and 3, *infra*.

3 (Pl. 23). Found by E. Stikas in the course of his excavations.

Height, 0.70 m.; width, 0.36 m. The upper surface, up to the inscribed area at the top of the stone, is rough picked. Evidently the upper part of the inscription was cut off when the block was re-used for the Byzantine building; in addition, the upper left corner is broken. Light guide lines above and below line 1 can be seen in the photograph. *Omikron* and *omega* are placed in the upper half of the line; the bar of the *alpha* is curved; slight seriph.

The inscription was inscribed *in rasura*; the effacing of the previous inscription was so severe at the left of line 1 that the new letters had to start about two letter spaces to the right. Traces of the former inscription, which may be as early as the fourth century B.C., are still visible in the photograph.

ΕΩ Ἀριστίωνος
Ἐλευθίαι

Line 2: on the form of the goddess' name, cf. Ἐλευθία, *I.G.*, V, 1, 1276 (Lakonian Hippola), 1445 (Messene, cf. 1345a, of unknown origin), and Ἐλευσία, *ibid.*, 236, 867, 868 (all Lakonian), but also Ἐλευθίη on Paros, *I.G.*, XII, 5, 187. *A-mi-ni-so e-re-u-ti-ja* etc. on a Linear B tablet from Knossos (Gg 705, cf. Od 714-16) is interpreted by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick² with reference to the cave of the goddess at

² *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 127, 310, and "Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives," *J.H.S.*, LXXIII, 1953, p. 95.

Amnisos, cf. *Od.* XIX, 188-189 and Strabo, X, p. 476, 8; a form Ἐλευθία or Εἰλευθία is indicated. Here, the *iota* of the dative and the character of the letter forms agree with the more distinctively Peloponnesian Doric form of the name for a date earlier than the other dedications to the goddess at Hermione. Second-first century B.C.?

4. A fragment found by Stikas in his excavations, broken on all sides except the top. Width, 0.20 m.

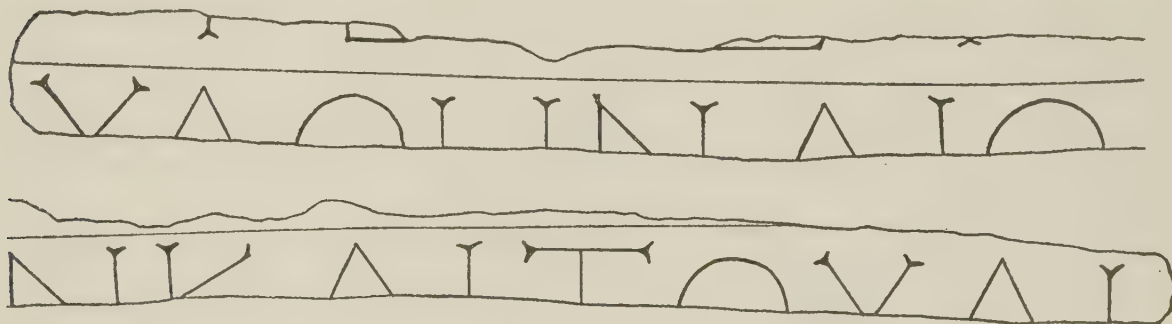
[----]Ν Δαμαράτῳ ΔΑΙ[----]
 [---]ΩΝ ξεναγὸς καὶ [---]
vacat Ω (*vel* Ο)ΙΔΑ *vacat*

Line 1: both the name and the form of the genitive are Lakonian.

It is likely that Hermione was under the control of the Spartan Nabis, son of Damaratos (*S.I.G.*³, 584, line 3), in the years 197-195 B.C. Cf. Livy, XXXII, 38 and XXXIV, 33, 35; *I.G.*, IV, 756 (Troizen); Hiller on *I.G.*, V, 1, 977, on the capture of Mases in Hermionian territory.

5 (Pl. 23). Large marble slab found in the basilica area, severely cut down from an Ionic architrave block carrying a monumental inscription. Parts of two lines preserved, the surface of the upper line being 0.005 m. higher. The original left margin, showing anathyrosis, and the back have been preserved.

Maximum height, 0.067 m.; maximum width, 1.37 m.; thickness, 0.46 m. Large, well-cut letters with apices; at least 0.03 m. for the upper half of *kappa* and *upsilon*. Distance between lines, 0.03 m. The text that follows is a tracing from the squeeze.



Line 1: the third letter visible is an *epsilon*, *zeta*, *xi*, or *sigma*.

Line 2: the traces would permit]Τ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ . . .

The letter forms suggest an Augustan date or the first half of the first century after Christ. The practice of putting an inscription on an architrave seems most popular at this time and the size and quality of the work for Hermione suggest a

more than local act of piety, i. e., some monument connected with imperial cult. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 3120, Asklepios, Hygieia, and Augustus; 3173, Rome and Augustus; 3181, to Asklepios for Tiberius's health; 3182, Dionysos Eleutherios and Nero; 3183, Athena Archegetis and the Theoi Sebastoi; 3186, with reference to an unknown emperor. All of these are on architraves and have imperial connections; cf. also *I.G.*, II², 3175 (on an architrave) for Athena Archegetis through an imperial donation.

Of Hermione's many known cults and monuments, two are likely candidates:

(a) a sanctuary of Hestia with an altar but no statue (Pausanias, II, 35, 1) as with Vesta at Rome. Hestia's cult in imperial Athens and probably elsewhere in Greece owed much to the Roman Vesta and to the cult of emperors; cf. *I.G.*, II², 3185, Hestia, Apollo, the Theoi Sebastoi, etc., and see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927, pp. 153-155, 181, who derives the round plan of the temple of Rome and Augustus (whose dedication was cited above, *I.G.*, II², 3173) from that of Vesta at Rome.

(b) Tyche, whose sanctuary with a colossal statue was said to be the most recent in Hermione at the time of Pausanias's visit (II, 35, 3). Tyche's popularity under the empire cannot be disassociated from that of Fortuna and she lent herself easily to imperial cult, e.g., *I.G.*, IV, 799, Tyche Sebaste (Troizen, cf. 779), and *I.G.*, IV², 1, 88, line 12, τὴν τῶν βασιλέων Τύχην. See further *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. "Tyche," 1333, and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Fortuna," 1268, 1272. Tyche appears on an Hermionian coin with the name of Fulvia Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, on the obverse, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus*, p. 162, pl. XXX, 8.

6 (Pl. 23). On a block of gray marble, found near the basilica, and now built into a wall across from the house of Lazaros Ioannou Oikonomos. The lower left corner is broken. The upper surface shows a band of anathyrosis 0.10 m. wide along the front and right edge; there is a dowel hole 0.03 m. square and 0.03 m. deep with a shallow pour channel, 0.03 m. long, leading to it from the left edge. The inscribed surface is stippled.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.74 m.; thickness, 0.50 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.03 m. Broken-barred *alpha*, slight serifs. First century before Christ or after Christ.

[Σ]ωτηρίωνος

[vac.?] Ἡρα Τελία vac.

The block comes either from the wall of a shrine, a large base for statues, or a large altar. The name and epithet of Hera are roughly centered, and it is clear that at least one other deity was named on the block to the left, under the name of the

dedicator whose patronymic is preserved in line 1. The gods' names were very likely in the dative, cf. [Δὺ Τελ]είω(ι) Ἡρα(ι) Τελεία(ι), Boeotian Orchomenos, *I.G.*, VII, 3217. Here too the other deity may well be Zeus Teleios. For Hera Teleia at Hermione, cf. Aristokles *ap.* Schol. Theokritos, XV, 64 (Müller, *F.H.G.*, II, p. 190, fr. 287; Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, I², No. 33, 3; A. Tresp, *Frag. der griech. Kultschriftsteller* [*R.G.V.V.*, XV, 1; Giessen, 1914], p. 127). Hera's sanctuary is placed by Pausanias (II, 36, 2) on the Pron, the hill overlooking the ancient and modern town, but by Aristokles on Thornax or Kokkyx (Pausanias's Kokkygion), a considerably higher hill behind the Pron, to which Pausanias assigned the sanctuary of Zeus. Traces of a classical site on the northern peak of Thornax, where there is now a chapel of Profitis Elias, were seen by the writer in 1950. However, it seems more likely that this sizeable block came from the near-by Pron, confirming Pausanias as against Aristokles.

Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*, Ἑρμίων) mentions a sanctuary of Hera Parthenos and it is not impossible that she is the deity to the left of Hera Teleia, cf. Hera Pais, Teleia, and Chera at Stymphalos, Pausanias VIII, 22, 2.

7 (Pl. 23). Four contiguous fragments of a thin slab of blue, granular marble, smooth front and back, bottom and top edges preserved. The bottom left fragment was found before the excavations of 1955-56 when the other three pieces were found by Stikas.

Height, 0.535 m.; maximum width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.04 m. Height of letters (cut deeply and evenly), 0.03 m.; hasta of *phi*, 0.09 m.; *alpha* very narrow. Two dots above the *iota* of *ιερω*— in line 3. Seriphs. Distance between lines, 0.03 m. Very light guide lines below the last line. Third-fourth century after Christ.

[-----]ΙΑΣΩΣ[-----]
 [-----Ἡρα]ιστοφά[ν-----]
 [-----] τοῦ ἱερο[-----]
 [τῶν δ]ἑσποινῶ[ν-----]
 5 [-----]ς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας [-----]
 [-----]τήριον <

Line 1: before the *iota* probably M or N, e. g., [Ἑρμ]ία Σωσ[---].

Line 4: the reference is probably to Demeter and Persephone, so prominent at Hermione, though Demeter usually appears alone here, especially as Chthonia (whom she evidently succeeds) or in a trinity with her daughter and Klymenos (cf. Lasos, fr. 1 Bergk, in addition to the inscriptions in *I.G.*, IV). This would be the first indication of the pair, in the Eleusinian manner, unless the reference is, in fact, to Eleusis (cf. Hiller on *I.G.*, IV², 1, 431). For *δέσποιναι* referring to the pair, cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 230, 363, 1151 (all from Lakonia) and V, 2, 525 (Lykosoura, late).

8 (Pl. 23). A new fragment (hereafter A) of the inscription published in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 156, No. 8 (hereafter B), also from the garden of the Papabasileiou family. Broken on all sides and back, except for the slightly rounded lower edge. There is no join with B. It seems more likely that A came to the left of B in view of the relief to B's right, and the two fragments are shown here in this order. Collocation of the two stones shows only the minimum letter spaces, with allowance in line 4 for the larger size of the letters.

Dimensions of A: height, 0.11 m.; maximum width of inscribed surface, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Height of letters, lines 2-3, 0.02 m.; line 4, 0.025 m. Distance between lines 2 and 3, 0.0025 m.; between lines 3 and 4, 0.016 m. (more tightly spaced than in B).

A	B
—[. . . ⁶⁺ . . .]	τοῖς γλυ[πτοῖς vel —κντάτοις
— KA · [· ²⁺ · τοῖς]	δὲ λοιποῖς ————
— ΣΕΙ · ΙΣ [· ³⁺ · μη— vel οὐ]	δέτερον ————
—————	
— ΟΥΤΩ [· ⁴⁺ ·] Μ [· ¹⁻² ·] ΜΥΡ ———	

Line 1: fragment A, above the KA there are traces of the bases of two curved letters, most likely *epsilon* or *sigma*. Fragment B, γλυ[πτοῖς] proposed by the writer, with reference to *S.E.G.*, XI, 344, line 2. Cf. also σῆμα μὲν ἐν στήλῃ γλυπτῇ, W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, I, Berlin, 1955, No. 662. L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.*, 1954, p. 130, No. 116, suggests τοῖς γλυ[κντάτοις γονεῦσι vel sim.].

Line 2: fragment A, the lower part of an upright hasta after the punctuation mark.

Line 3: fragment A, the lower part of an upright hasta after the second *sigma*.

Line 4: Robert, *loc. cit.*, “ τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς interdiction; si quelqu'un enterre ἕτερον il paiera une amende de μύρ[ια δηνάρια.” But in line 4, after the groove between lines 3 and 4, and with the larger letters, should we not expect a change of subject more marked than the amount of the fine?

It may be suggested that the gravestone was that of a gladiator and that the relief showed gladiators in action; the position of the foot (B, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 51, No. 8) certainly requires some violent activity. Cf. L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (*Bibl. de l'Éc. des Hautes Études, Sciences hist. et Philol.*, fasc. 278; Paris, 1940), No. 231, pl. XVII.

9 (Pl. 24). A pedimental grave stele of marble in the house of Evgeneia Georgiou Marogenni, found while building a new house near by. The top and the projecting cyma in front are broken off; the left side is chipped.

Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.24-26 m. (top to bottom); thickness, 0.072-0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m.

['A- vel 'O-] μόδαμε χαῖρε

Whichever name is correct, it is new. Ἀμοκλῆς, Ἀμοτέλης may show Carian influence, cf. Bechtel, *Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, Halle, 1917, p. 40. δμόδαμος is an adjective in Pindar, *Ol.*, 9, line 44.

10 (Pl. 23, photographed with a charcoal wash)= *I.G.*, IV, 700. This inscription on a section of a circular altar, dedicated to Helios probably in the late third century after Christ, has been recently rediscovered built into the outer wall of the church of the Taxiarchis, the Archangel Michael. It is now possible to give a more correct text which eliminates the difficulties noted by Fraenkel in *I.G.* Gray limestone, stippled surface.

Height, 0.86 m.; width, 0.85 m. About 0.15 m. of the stone is visible above the inscription, 0.60 m. below, 0.075 m. to the left, 0.04-0.055 m. to the right. Height of letters, 0.04-0.05 m.

Ἡελίω(ι) βασιλῇι θεῶ(ι) Ὑπερείوني βωμὸν
σηκοῖς παρ Μητρὸς εἷσατο ἀθανάτων

In the second century after Christ Pausanias knew of a temple of Helios in Hermione (II, 34, 10). Judging by the letter forms this altar is probably close in date to those dedicated to Zeus, Helios, and All the Gods at Epidauros in A.D. 297, *I.G.*, IV², 1, 424; 425; cf. also 529, a base with a dedication to Helios.

Line 2: σηκοῖς may refer to the usual οἰκία of the Μήτηρ θεῶν, cf. Troizen, *I.G.*, IV, 757b, line 11. For an Hermionian coin with Cybele, see B. Head, *Historia Numorum*,² Oxford, 1911, p. 442. A small marble statuette of a seated "Mother of the Gods" of the common type is in the possession of Aikaterine Oikonomou.

11 (Pl. 23). Christian epitaph on a rough limestone plaque in the garden of the Papabasileiou family (cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 154 ff.).

Height, 0.178 m.; width, 0.359 m.; thickness, 0.26 m. Height of letters, 0.023 m.

† Κοιμητήριον ἔνθα κατα-
κίτε Ἰωάννης ὁ τὴν μακαρίαν
κὲ εὐλαβῇ μνήμην υἱὸς
Ἐπιτυχνάου τοῦ τὴν εὐλαβ[ῇ]
μνήμην Πιτυνουσιάτου †

Line 5: Πιτυνουσιάτου may provide confirmation for the identification of modern

Spetsas, an island to the south of the Hermionid, with ancient Πιτυούσσα (Pausanias, II, 34, 8; cf. E. Meyer, *R.E.*, *Pityussa*, cols. 1885-6). For a settlement on Spetsas in early Christian times, see Soteriou, *Πρακτικά*, 1937, pp. 97-108; 1938, pp. 124-129; 1940, pp. 32-37.

12. Christian epitaph on a rough plaque of greenish marble, roughly worked. In the same location as No. **11**.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Height of letters, 0.01-0.02 m.

✠ Κοιμητήριον
Σερείου τοῦ
μακαριωτά-
του ✠

Line 2: Σερείου = Σεργίου.

13 (Pl. 24). A Christian gravestone from the same place as **8**, **11**, and **12**. White marble, broken top and left.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. Height of letters (irregular and shallow), *ca.* 0.013 m.

[-ε]σ[κ]εύασε
[-] Ω καὶ τῆς
[-] ΝΘΩ αὐτοῦ
[-] Υ ψυχί

B. HYDRA

14-19 are built into the wall supporting an outside staircase on the terrace of the house of K. Pantelis Kontouriotis. The house belonged to the famous captain of the Greek War of Independence, Lazaros Kountouriotis. The inscriptions, along with other marble reliefs (two of which are inscribed but now illegible grave reliefs), are said to have been collected by Kountouriotis on his voyages. None are earlier than the Hellenistic age.

Two other inscriptions found on Hydra have already been published.³ Both were gravestones and were probably brought to Hydra in modern times. There is nothing to connect any of the inscriptions found on Hydra with the ancient site at Βληχώ or Χώριζα, on a hill about a half hour west of the modern town, above a stream mouth and across from the second of two rocky islets. There are traces of a ring wall half way

³ *S.E.G.*, I, Nos. 79 and 80; *I.G.*, II², 6019 and 12244, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, p. 3, No. 7 (from P. Kupitoris, *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν*, 1859, p. 1071 [non vidi]).

up the hill; to the northeast of the small acropolis a retaining wall shows polygonal characteristics. I have seen fragments of Mycenaean and early classical pottery on the hillside above the lower wall. For the purchase of Hydra (Hydrea in antiquity) from Hermione by Samian exiles, see Herodotos, III, 57-59. Previous visitors have found reason to bring this settlement down into early Hellenistic times as well, and have spoken of a settlement in late antiquity on the site of the modern town.⁴ There are also reports of old houses, ancient pots, Byzantine gold coins, and bronze coins "of every period" at Episkope, on a ridge about two hours west of the modern town, overlooking the Myrtoan sea. There have been finds of coins in various parts of the island, and especially hoards of Byzantine bronze coins at Hagios Andreas, a half hour west of the town.⁵

14 (Pl. 24, photographed with a charcoal wash). Small marble gravestone bearing an elegiac couplet.

Height, 0.183 m.; width, 0.445 m. Height of letters, 0.010-0.015 m.; distance between lines, 0.005-0.007 m. The letters of line 4 are more widely spaced than in the upper lines, about 0.02 m. apart compared to less than 0.01 m. Slight serifs, broken-barred *alpha*.

Αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὴν, Ἀ[υ]σί-
ξεγε, ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σῶμα
ἔμπυρον ᾧδε χθών· φύσσε
δέ σε Ἀρχέπολις

The detection of the name Lysixenos, and the resulting interpretation of the epigram, I owe to Professor Werner Peek. Archepolis of Tegea dedicated a statue of his son Lysixenos by the Argive sculptor Labreas at Epidauros, *I.G.*, IV², 1, 318. Labreas can be dated by *I.G.*, IV², 1, 244 to the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.

15 (Pl. 24). Marble grave stele with relief, broken at top. Seated woman at left clasps hand of man standing at right; to the right of the man, a boy; below the woman's seat a servant girl carrying box in left hand, jug in right.

Maximum height, 0.417 m.; width, 0.335 m. Height of letters (serifs, broken-barred *alpha*), about 0.02 m.

Λαοδίκη χρηστὴ
χαῖρε

⁴ A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 38. Sir James Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, London, 1913, p. 293, cites the Guide-Joanne, 2, p. 107, for worked flints and stone axes of neolithic age.

⁵ Cf. C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, II, Leipzig, 1868, p. 99; A. Lignos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νήσου Ὑδρας*, I, Athens, 1946, p. 4.

16 (Pl. 25). Pedimental grave stele, marble, with relief. Under arch an older woman seated at left clasping hand of man standing at right; below the woman's seat, servant girl carrying box.

Height, 0.605 m.; width, 0.35 m. Height of letters (seriphs, broken-barred *alpha*), 0.01-0.02 m.

Λαοδίκη Ξανθίππ-
ου Λαοδίκισσα χρηστή
χαῖρε

17 (Pl. 25). Marble grave stele with relief, gable broken off at top. Under an arch a man in tunic seated at left on pile of stones, and boy at right holding oar.

Height, 0.71 m.; width, 0.43 m. Height of letters (seriphs, broken-barred *alpha*), 0.018-0.030 m.

Νίκανδρε Δημο-
κράτου Ἀθηναῖε

18 (Pl. 25). Pedimental grave stele of marble.

Height, 0.62 m.; maximum width, 0.456 m. Height of letters (seriphs, broken-barred *alpha*), 0.02-0.03 m.

Μανία χρηστή
χαῖρε

19 (Pl. 24). Pedimental grave stele of marble.

Height, 0.405 m.; width, 0.22 m. Letters (seriphs, broken-barred *alpha*), irregularly cut; height of letters, 0.015-0.022 m.

Μάη Ἐρύμνου
Νικομήδευ χρη-
στὲ χαῖρε

Line 1: unless we should read Μά<ν>η, Μάης from the Anatolian goddess Mâ? Cf. MAHΣ on Rhodian coins of second-first centuries B.C., Barclay Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, . . . Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.*, London, 1897, p. 255, Nos. 268-270. The name Ἐρυμνος does not appear to be attested, but cf. Ἐρύμνων, Ἐρυμνεύς, etc.

The inscriptions on two other grave stelae, both with reliefs, are no longer legible, being worn and covered, at the time of my visit, with yellow paint:

20 (Pl. 24). Broken at top. Relief framed by two columns, a seated woman at left faces two standing men and a child at right. All the faces are lost. Four line inscription below relief.

Height, 0.59 m.; width, 0.52 m.

21 (Pl. 24). Pedimental stele with relief. Under arch seated figure at left clasps hand of man standing at right; child (servant girl?) to left of seated figure. Three or four line inscription below relief.

C. KASOS

22 (Pl. 25). At Emporion, probably the ancient port, in the vineyard of Manolis Mastandreas which was the site of a large, early Christian church, a marble grave-stone, re-used as a capital for the church. Broken at top.

Maximum height, 0.63 m.; width, 0.535 m.; thickness, 0.235 m. Height of letters (serifs), 0.02-0.025 m. Distance between lines 1 and 2, 0.015 m.; 2 and 3, 0.025 m. Only 0.29 m. of the height is smoothed for the inscription. A mark of punctuation before the first letter in line 2.

Δεξὼ Ἐξαιτίδα
ο γύνα δὲ
Ἰπποκλεῦς

Line 1: Cf. the genitive Δεξοῦς, *I.G.*, II², 2334, line 11. Cf. Ἐξαιρος, *S.I.G.*³, 169, line 19 (Iasos).

23. At Polin, just below the ancient town site which consisted of a prominent acropolis with the town around it (sherds from at least the fifth century B.C. to the Roman period). Serving as a step in the path near the house of Mangaphoula Zodis, a rectangular piece of gray limestone, possibly broken top, right, and bottom, with large letters much worn.

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.313 m.; thickness, 0.145 m. Height of letters, 0.065-0.075 m. Distance between lines, 0.02 m. The bar of the *alpha* is straight; the *theta* has a dot, not a bar; the *sigma* is of the earlier, open type with the top and bottom bars not parallel.

Θεα-
ρίς

The stone is comparable to the majority of the inscriptions known from the island which are thought to have served as the covers for the containers of ashes, but all the others are round, *I.G.*, XII, 1, 1044-59; 1055 is still to be seen in a street in the village.

D. KARPATOS

Correction to "Inscriptions of Karpathos," No. 4, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 124:

Professor Werner Peek points out that the third verse of this epigram (lines 4 and 5) must read

Τειμόδικε πινυταῖς [εὖ πε-]
πυκασμένε φρεσίν

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AN EPHEBIC DEDICATION FROM RHAMNOUS

(PLATE 25)

THE inscription under discussion (Fig. 1; Pl. 25)¹ was found on January 17, 1958, by Elizabeth Staples McLeod in the Fortress of Rhamnous in one of the little rooms northwest of the theater and just south of the citadel wall. It was transferred to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, where it was given the number 13200.

It is the upper right corner of a pillar crowned by a cavetto capital, of a white sugary marble; it is completely covered with the reddish brown patina left by the earth of Attica, showing that the breaks at the bottom and left are not modern.

H. pres. 0.307 m.; W. pres. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.216 m.

Originally a projecting moulding went around the top of the abacus, but it has been completely broken off. The shaft rises vertically front and rear, but tapers inward slightly on the right side. The top is left rough-picked with a claw chisel; the sides and back are more smoothly finished. On the top, near the center of the broken left edge, is part of a dowel hole by which the dedication was secured.

The inscription on the abacus begins 0.077 m. down from the top; but the surface between this first preserved line and the moulding at the top is slightly recessed, indicating that three lines have been carefully erased. H. of letters on abacus, 0.007 m.; on shaft, 0.005 m.

334/3-	[[τῶι ἥρωι ὁ ταξίαρχος τῆς Ἀκαμαν-]]	NON-
307/6	[[τίδος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ]]	STOICH.
B.C.	[[οἱ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ]]	ca. 25
	[σῶφροσύνης στεφ]ανωθέντες ὑπὸ	
5	[τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το]ῦ δήμου vac	
	<hr/>	
	[ταξίαρχ]ος	NON-
	[-----]κου Θορίκιος	STOICH.
	[λοχαγ]οί	ca. 27
	[-----]ου Προσπάλτιο[s]	
10	[-----]᾽Α]γνούσιος	
	[-----]ος Χολαργεύς	
	[-----]κρ]άτους Θορίκιος	

¹ This note owes much to the generous assistance and valuable suggestions of Eugene Vanderpool. The photograph was taken by John L. Caskey.

- [----- K] ἐφαλήθεν
 [----- ο] υ[ς] Χολαργεύς
 15 [----- Σ] φήττιος
 [-----]ς Θορίκιος
 [----- ἐκ K] ἐραμείων
 [----- -Θ] ορίκιος
 vac

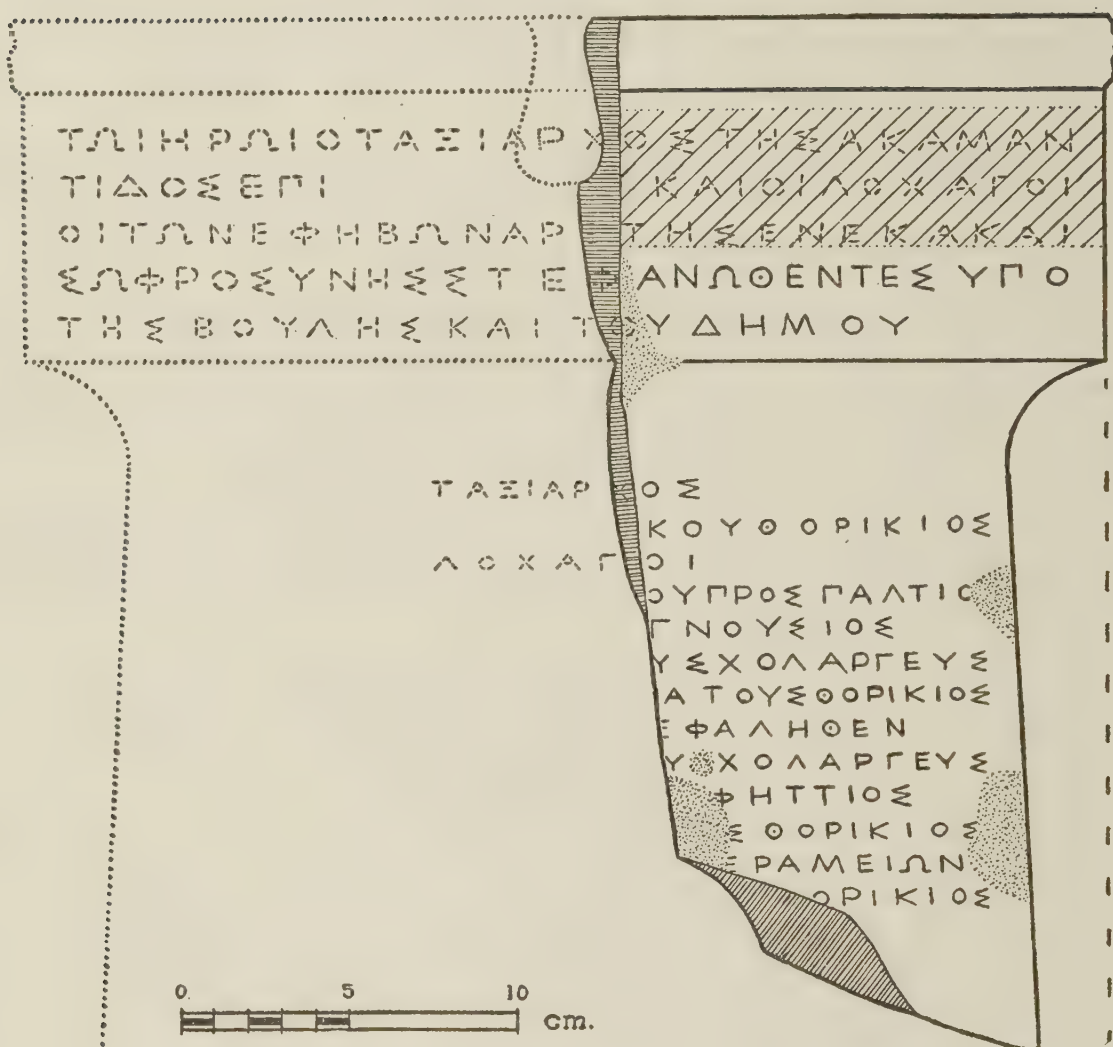


FIG. 1

Readers will note in the photograph clear evidence of an upright stroke in line 5 after *δήμον*; despite its position and size, this is a chance scratch.

This is a dedication by members of the tribe Akamantis. A *terminus ante quem* is 307/6 B.C., for in this year the deme Hagnous was transferred to the newly created tribe Demetrias.²

An inscription such as this, found in a frontier fort,³ containing a list of names from a single tribe, is most naturally interpreted as dealing with the ephebate; for Aristotle says (*Ath. Pol.*, 42, 4) that the ephebes *περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρέβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις*. Furthermore, many garrison inscriptions have been found at Rhamnous. But the number of names is too small to represent the complete roster of the ephebes of Akamantis. The headings in lines 6 and 8 must be restored so as to give the titles of tribal ephebic officers.

The three *epimeletai* and the *sophronistes* (*Ath. Pol.*, 42, 2) are excluded from consideration by the letters surviving in the inscription. But it is known that the *taxiarchos* (*Ath. Pol.*, 61, 3) appointed a number of *lochagoi* from among the ephebes.⁴

We have here then a dedication by the *taxiarchos* and the ten ephebic *lochagoi* of Akamantis. This brings to seven the number of known inscriptions mentioning *lochagoi* of the ephebes, all dating from the last third of the fourth century, i. e. the "First Period" of ephebic inscriptions (334/3-306/5), in which the inscriptions were set up by tribes.⁵ The others are:

1. from Eleusis; soon to be published in 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., but briefly described by Travlos, *Πρακτικά*, 1954, pp. 70-71; ⁶ Kekropis, 333/2.
2. from the Athenian Agora; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66; Leontis, 333/2.
3. *I.G.*, II², 2976 as restored by Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 238-239; Pandionis, 333/2.
4. from the Athenian Agora; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 273-278; Oineis, ca. 330.
5. probably from Rhamnous; Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, pp. 21-22; re-

² Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes*, Baltimore, 1943, p. 9.

³ For a discussion of the importance of Rhamnous and a corpus of the inscriptions found there, see Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris, 1954.

⁴ The existence of ephebic *lochagoi* as distinct from citizen *lochagoi* was first proved by the inscription from the Amphiareion near Oropos published by Leonardos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1918, pp. 73-100. That they too were appointed by the taxiarch was postulated by Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 234. For other references see Pritchett, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 276, note 11, and add Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 199 and Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵ Reinmuth, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 213-214; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 226.

⁶ The preliminary notice by Orlandos, *Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, 1954, pp. 9-10, differs in some details from the description by Travlos; it mentions five *lochagoi* instead of seven.

edited by Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris, 1954, pp. 107-110; Pandionis, *ca.* 330.

6. from the Amphiareion; Leonardos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, pp. 73-100; Leontis, 324/3.

The number of "cadet captains" varies; there were

- 7 in Kekropis in 333/2
- 5 in Leontis in 333/2
- 7 in Pandionis in 333/2
- 6 in Oineis *ca.* 330
- at least 5 in Pandionis *ca.* 330
- 11 in Leontis in 324/3

The number apparently bears little relation to the number of ephebes in the tribe.⁷ The taxiarch doubtless selected his *lochagoi* on the basis of merit rather than on the proportional representation of the demes within the tribe. Thus, in the present inscription, Thorikos provides three of the ten *lochagoi*, and Cholargos another two; similarly, of the eleven in the Amphiareion inscription, four are from Sounion and two from Phrearrhioi; four of six in Oineis are from Acharnai; four of seven in Pandionis are from Paiania.⁸

This inscription is without exact analogues, the most illuminating parallel being the inscription from the Athenian Agora, I 3068,⁹ which records

- 9 ----- δεδόχθαι τ[ῆι Λεω]ν
- 10 τίδι -----
- 20 ----- [ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τα
- 21 ξίαρχον [τῆς φ]υλῆς Φιλοκλέα Φ[ιλ]

⁷ So Pritchett, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 276, note 12; for the contrary view, see Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, p. 225.

⁸ Complete summary:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Kekropis, 333/2: statistics not available. | 5. Pandionis, <i>ca.</i> 330: |
| 2. Leontis, 333/2: | Kydathenaion 2 |
| Sounion, Potamos 2 each | Ky[---] 1 |
| Cholleidai 1 | Prasiai, Paiania 1 each. |
| 3. Pandionis, 333/2: | 6. Leontis, 324/3: |
| Paiania 4 | Sounion 4 |
| Oa 1 | Phrearrhioi 2 |
| not known 2 | Oion, Potamos hypenethen, Potamos |
| 4. Oineis, <i>ca.</i> 330: | Deiradiotes, Skambonidai, Leukonoe |
| Acharnai 4 | 1 each. |
| Boutadai, Thria 1 each. | |

⁹ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 59, No. 8, col. I, lines 9-10, 20-33.

- 22 οθέου Σ[ουνι]ᾶ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγο[ύς] --
 28 -- κ[αὶ στ]εφανῶσαι χρυσῶι [στεφ]
 29 ἀν[ωι ἔκα]στον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πεν[τακο]
 30 [σίων δρα]χμῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ σω[φροσ]
 31 [ύνης ἔνε]κα, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [κα]ὶ
 32 [ἀνάθημα] ἀναθεῖναι [ἐν] τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι
 33 [τοῦ ἥρω --]--.

This inscription also includes separate resolutions to crown (1) all the ephebes, (2) the *sophronistes*, (4) the *didaskaloi*; but the third clause (quoted *supra*) is the only one which provides for the setting up of a dedication. It seems clear that the Rhamnuntine inscription under discussion is on the base for just such a dedication.

The first five lines can be restored *exempli gratia* on the basis of the heading of the Agora inscription above referred to; the content of the erased three lines is in general clear, though its details and the reasons for its erasure remain vague. Five lines give ample room for inclusion of all the formulae usually found in such dedications. One irregularity is noted: the *reason* for the crowning, which usually follows *στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου*,¹⁰ here must have preceded.

It is well known that tribal inscriptions were frequently set up in the sanctuary of the eponymous hero in Athens;¹¹ there is some very slight evidence that there were shrines of the eponymous heroes elsewhere in Attica which served the same purpose. It is certain that there was a sanctuary of Hippothoön near Eleusis,¹² the area of the

¹⁰ E. g., *I.G.*, II², 1699, 1749-1751, 2790-2792, 2818, 2821, 2822, 2824, 2827, 2832, 2838; *S.E.G.*, XIV, 112, 114.

¹¹ In sanctuary of Pandion, *I.G.*, II², 1138, 1140, 1144, 1148, 1152, 1157, 1748; cf. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 239; on this shrine, which was on the Acropolis, see Immerwahr, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 341-343; a priest of Pandion is mentioned, *I.G.*, II², 2828.

In sanctuary of Leos, *I.G.*, II², 1742, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 62.

In sanctuary of Kekrops, *I.G.*, II², 1156, 1158; on this shrine, which was on the Acropolis, see *I.G.*, I², 372, line 9.

In sanctuary of Hippothoön, *I.G.*, II², 1163 (which may, however, be the copy set up in the Asklepieion).

In sanctuary of Aias, *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 87, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 231, lines 140-141; on this shrine and the problem of its identification with the Eurysakeion, see Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, 1957, pp. 90-91.

On the cult of the Eponymoi, see Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*³, pp. 974-975; R. Schlaifer, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 245-247; D. D. Feaver, *Yale Cl. Stud.*, XV, 1957, pp. 134-136. We have evidence for other such sanctuaries in Athens, such as the shrine of Erechtheus on the Acropolis (*e.g.* Paus. I, 26, 5), the heroön of Aigeus (Paus. I, 22, 5; Harp. and Suid. *s.v.* Αἰγέιον; *Anecd. Bekk.* I, 354, 8 ff.; on its location, see Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 322-323); an altar to Akamas was found near the Dipylon Gate (*I.G.*, II², 4983), in the deme Kerameikos, tribe Akamantis (Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, p. 288).

¹² Paus. I, 38, 4; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ζάρηξ; Hesych. *s.v.* Ἱπποθοώντειον, usually cited as a testimony

coastal trittys of Hippothontis; perhaps *I.G.*, II², 1149 and 1153 (both now in Eleusis) came originally from this shrine. Presumably there was a shrine of the hero Leos near the present Daphni (*I.G.*, II², 2818), perhaps in the inland trittys of Leontis.¹³ There is no evidence for any such heroön in the area of Rhamnous; but even if there were, the site is within the ambit of Aiantis, not Akamantis. It is possible that such garrison towns as Rhamnous had provision for eponymous heroes other than their own, as a convenience to the many ephebes who were stationed in the town.

The names in the present inscription are of course too fragmentary to restore. One might optimistically suggest that the *lochagos* of line 12 is a son of *Ναυσικράτης Θορίκιος* (*I.G.*, II², 6234; *P.A.*, 10561). The Rhamnuntine prosopography in Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, lists no individuals with the demotics of this inscription beyond a general of *ca.* 260/40 (p. 121, no. 9) and four benefactors of the Amphiareion of *ca.* 229 (p. 146, no. 34).

In line 17, [ἐκ Κ]εραμείων occurs instead of the more usual ἐκ Κεραμείων.

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for this sanctuary, in reality sheds no topographical light. A priest of Hippothoön is mentioned in an Eleusinian inscription, *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 290-291.

¹³ See map in Milchhoefer, *Untersuchungen über die Demeordnung des Kleisthenes*, Berlin, 1892. But cf. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, Oxford, 1933, p. 59, note.

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

II B. THE ALTAR WELL

(PLATES 26-30)

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

THE deposit from the "Altar Well" was found in 1946 to the west of the Areopagus, near the Great Drain that led down to the Agora.¹ Nothing survived of the small house or industrial establishment which had been served by the well. The deposit from it is one of the very few from the Agora excavations that contain both good pottery and a number of figurine fragments sufficiently interesting to warrant publication. It therefore falls naturally into the series of Agora deposits of Hellenistic figurines on which I hope to base a fuller understanding of the character and chronology of Athenian terracottas. Previous studies of groups of earlier date have already appeared under convenient names by which they will be designated without further reference in the following pages, namely, the Coroplast's Dump, the Hedgehog Well and the Demeter Cistern, and Group B.²

CHRONOLOGY³

The filling of the well was deposited in three distinct layers. The first period of use "may be placed within the first quarter of the third century B.C.," according to Dr. Edwards. He adduces as evidence two lamps of characteristic type and several fragments of kantharoi with handles with exaggerated spurs. Only one figurine fragment was found in this layer, a mask (No. 30).

The debris from the second period of use contained no figurines.

The final filling, which yielded the bulk of our deposit, "covers a wide period.

¹ Deposit B 20:7 (see *Athenian Agora*, IV, p. 234 for explanation of deposit numbers). This well was excavated by Rodney S. Young. Its position is shown on the plan in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 136, fig. 1 in the region of wavy rock lines just to the right of the tank marked 64.30 and below the Roman north-to-south wall. This article profits by the photographs taken by Alison Frantz and by suggestions and help from many colleagues, especially Evelyn Harrison and G. Roger Edwards.

² These deposits were treated in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff. (Coroplast's Dump, Deposit S 19:3); XXIII, 1954, pp. 72 ff. (Hedgehog Well, Deposit O 18:1 and Demeter Cistern, Deposit F 16:1), and XXVI, 1957, pp. 108 ff. (Group B, Deposit H 16:1).

³ This account of the chronology based on the pottery is taken from a letter from G. R. Edwards, dated April 5, 1956. Since the pottery is to be published elsewhere, no illustrations are included here.

There is a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century. The most distinctive and probably the latest pieces in it are a number of Megarian bowls and fragments thereof. Several of these would seem to be of the very earliest types, bowls with floral decoration and others with imbricate leaves, of a high standard of workmanship; others are of the figured variety. The considerable number of bowls represented in the filling would indicate that the filling occurred at a time when the production of Megarian bowls was beginning to get into full swing. There is reason to believe that their production began near the middle of the third century B.C., and that these bowls began to gain popularity in the third quarter; it is probably to that time that the filling should be assigned. This dating would seem to be in accord with the archaeological evidence, making allowance for the second period of use filling, for which independently there is no certain indication of date." A coin from this level is attributed to Athens, 307-283 B.C. The lamps vary considerably in date. One, of Howland Type 43 C, is placed late in the third quarter and into the fourth quarter of the third century.⁴ The stamped amphora handles range as follows: Rhodian (early to mid third), Thasian (mid third [?]), Knidian (early).⁵ All this evidence implies that our terracottas were thrown away in the third quarter of the third century, but that most of them are likely to have been made considerably earlier. Thus they overlap those from Group B of the late fourth century and also show close relations with others from the Demeter Cistern of the third quarter of the fourth century.

TECHNIQUE

The clay is in general like that employed in the previous groups, a yellow-buff in color, fired at times to pinkish or even to light red. The exceptional colors stand out clearly. The mask (No. 30) from the earliest deposit is smoked gray. The color of an Eros (No. 2) is peculiar and is probably due to stain; that of the boy's head (No. 6) and of a boot (No. 4) are more the normal tan-buff that appears frequently in the Satyr Cistern.⁶ The clear tan-buff of the drapery (No. 15) finds a likeness in the Satyr head of that Cistern (T 2072) and in the bit of drapery from Group B (No. 11). The clay of the small altar which gives this deposit its name (No. 33) is patently Corinthian. One piece only is made of an unusual fabric (No. 11), hard-baked and like an egg-shell in fineness. The color and appearance of the clay, however, are enough like those of the others to indicate that it too is Attic.

One group of pieces from this deposit is strikingly individual in being much

⁴ The lamps are classed by Richard Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, pp. 59, 74, 135 as types 23 C, 25 B Prime and 43 C respectively.

⁵ In the order mentioned in the text: SS 9654, 9660, 9663; SS 9659, 9683; SS 9709. I owe this dating to an analysis made by V. R. Grace dated August 10, 1949.

⁶ Deposit N 21 : 4, a mid-third century group to be published next in our series.

thicker and heavier than the rest (Nos. 13-14).⁷ The surface has been much eaten by acids and is sandy, but seems Attic. A few similar pieces have been found in a large deposit to be published later, known as the Terracotta Factory.⁸ Two of these (T 2816 and T 2800) are obviously "patrices" or archetypes from which moulds were to be made. It is significant that not one of the fragments of this kind from the Altar Well shows even a trace of slip. The unusually thick walls and the fact that these pieces, though themselves mouldmade, have been retouched by hand, make them excellent candidates for interpretation as patrices. The likelihood is that they were mouldmade pieces of popular types reworked for use in making new moulds.⁹ Since a number of moulds were found in the well along with these figurines, the existence of a coroplast's factory near by seems highly probable and supports our hypothesis.

Little other technical evidence survives. Of the preserved backs only one is modelled (No. 1). The only vent is triangular (or irregular) (No. 7) except the very large opening on No. 11. The backs of the human heads are not modelled, except for No. 6, on which the boy's hair is slightly indicated.

The bases are varied; they will be discussed in the commentary.¹⁰

The sizable fragments of moulds from this deposit, of which in addition to the eight listed below about twenty scraps are uncatalogued, compare well with those of the Coroplast's Dump. Several are of the soft buff or reddish buff fabric with carelessly indented backs that we have reason to date in the fourth century; they are also well worn (Nos. 20, 31, 32). Others are made of a firmer fabric, fired yellow, but their backs are not very well finished (Nos. 17, 20, 21). Only one (No. 10) resembles the latest from the Coroplast's Dump and Group B in being of a firm, pinkish buff fabric carefully rounded behind. Almost all these moulds bear grooves to hold cord for fastening the moulds together and only one shows traces of having been held together by means of tabs of clay, which seems to be a later method of fastening.¹¹

The condition of the figurines is, in general, poor, as might well be expected from the fact that they were found with pottery much of which was over fifty years old when it was discarded. Only four pieces retain sharp edges, plastic detail or color, namely, the boot (No. 4), a draped fragment (No. 15), a female figure and an Eros from a relief vase (Nos. 40, 42). In style, most of these certainly seem to be among the latest pieces from the deposit.

⁷ The walls vary from 0.01 to 0.015 m. in thickness, as opposed to the more usual 0.005 m. and 0.002 m. on No. 15.

⁸ T 2893, 2895 a-b, 2800, 2816, from Deposit C 20: 2.

⁹ For the process, see R. V. Nicholls, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 220. Evidence of similar procedure in the making of lamp moulds has been observed by Judith Perlzweig.

¹⁰ See below p. 144.

¹¹ Cf. A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 124.

The four fragments from relief vases will be discussed after the figurines, for they seem to have been made by coroplasts.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

No "doll" fragment worth publishing appears in this group, but one large articulated arm not inventoried and a smaller one with mitten hand (T 2675) belong in this category. The "dolls" with articulated arms and legs seem to have passed their peak of popularity by the beginning of the third century, to be superseded by the seated nude type with articulated arms only.

MALE FIGURES: Nos. 1-6

Male figures are also few. No. 1, which from the curve of its back appears to have been seated, has a narrow but strong chest, in which the rib cage is muscular and compressed. The bony structure is well presented, not in terms of linear pattern, but clothed with flesh. It compares well with a smaller figure from the Pnyx (No. 57).¹² A torso from Corinth, more emphatically modelled on the same lines, probably dates in the late fourth to early third century.¹³ The pose suggests that the youth sat in relaxation or perhaps he was drinking. He may well be a Dionysos, the favorite young male of the period. We cannot derive any clear understanding of the type, but we can appreciate the sculptural feeling. This reflects the spirit of the crisply enunciated bronze reliefs of the earliest third century.¹⁴

The midpart of an Eros (No. 2) who held a bit of drapery at his left side, must have been similar to Erotes wearing twists of drapery around the hips (Pl. 26)¹⁵ and others, more babyish, from the chamber-tomb at Eretria.¹⁶ Its closest parallel is an Eros from the Pnyx (No. 58).¹⁷ It is interesting to add this other example, which presumably dates in the period after 300 B.C., showing Eros still boyish if not lean, rather than a plump "putto" in "correct" flying position.¹⁸ Dated examples from Halae¹⁹ show how well established was the boyish floating type *ca.* 300 B.C. The

¹² *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 122, 145, fig. 59.

¹³ G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 29, No. 321.

¹⁴ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* XIV, 1942, p. 65, pl. 27, KS 92; cf. p. 140, fig. 66, KS 78 (p. 57 dated *ca.* 275 B.C.; this is more fleshy).

¹⁵ T 880, 882, from the Agora Cistern, Deposit E 14:1, dated 275-225 B.C.

¹⁶ A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. I; cf. A. Köster, *Die griechische Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pls. 77 ff., J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terrecuites grecques*, Paris, 1936, pl. 52.

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 145, fig. 59; cf. A. Levi, *Le Terrecotte figurate del Museo nazionale di Napoli*, Florence, 1926, p. 52, No. 53 (Tarentum).

¹⁸ G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* XV, 1942 (hereafter Kleiner), pp. 173 ff. suggests that early examples did not react properly to suspension in the air, but this is not true of Coroplast's Dump No. 11.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, pls. XXII, V-h-2, XXIV, V-h-3. These seem to be among the latest terracottas, dating *ca.* 280 B.C., found in this cemetery.

Agora series suggests that the baby type was not created in terracotta until nearer the middle of the third century.²⁰

The limited appeal of this most sentimental of Greek coroplastic creations is surprising. Eros is rare, for instance, in Corinth²¹ and Alexandria,²² two cities where the god of love was not without followers. Athens, which seems to have created the type, exported it to Boeotia,²³ whence it spread to south Italy and Sicily²⁴ and Asia Minor.²⁵ In those areas flocks of baby Erotes fluttered around the ladies and were responsible in no small way for the sentimentality of Roman taste when it fell under the spell of the *Graeculi* from those regions.

The curious costume shown on No. 3, which is virtually a chiton doubly *exomis* and gathered in the center of the chest by a clasp or brooch, is occasionally worn by Artemis, Maenads, and other figures in active movement.²⁶ More rarely, it appears on males.²⁷ The modelling of the chest of our piece is vague, but seems possibly female; or the figure may have been of hermaphroditic or Dionysiac character.²⁸ In this connection we should note that our No. 4 is a leg wearing an elaborately modelled high soft leather boot with flaps.²⁹ It differs from the stage boot in having an open toe. Considering that the scale and fabric of these two pieces are similar, we may well assign them to a sizable statuette of Dionysiac character. Since, moreover, the leg modelled completely in the round is not common on standing male figures of this period, it seems more probable that our piece represents a Dionysiac Eros, floating in the air, such as are common in Myrina.³⁰

Another foot (No. 5), apparently from a female flying figure, should be men-

²⁰ Kleiner (p. 175) noted that the first plump baby Eros appears on a coin dated 300-289 B.C., but he correctly placed the flowering of the type *ca.* 250 B.C.

²¹ A wing shown as *Corinth*, XII, pl. 31, No. 354 suggests that the flying Eros type was used, but only one baby Eros from the Corinthia is known to me (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 56, b), which was presumably held, not floating.

²² No flying Erotes appear in E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, or among the many denizens of the Alexandria Museum publications. The only visible example in that immense collection, No. 19896, was sequestered and therefore may well have not come from Egypt.

²³ *TK* II, pp. 320 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.; cf. P. Willeumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XXXVI, 1-3; G. Libertini, *Centuripe*, Catania, 1926, pl. XXV.

²⁵ *TK* II, p. 328, 5 ff., p. 333 etc.

²⁶ D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934 (hereafter *Boston Myrinas*), No. 41; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, I, London, 1954, No. 1271 with references.

²⁷ *Jahrb.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 147, pl. 9; note 2 gives full bibliography.

²⁸ Cf. A. Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 72, Nos. 709, 711.

²⁹ A. Alföldi, *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 50 f. identifies this boot as the Persian *ἐνμαρίς*.

³⁰ Cf. *TK* II, p. 338, 5-6, p. 339, 1-3 (Professor C. H. Morgan has kindly informed me that No. 5 is now in the Mead Art Gallery, Amherst, Mass.).

tioned here. It wears a pointed closed shoe with a thick sole (probably of cork) which was popular, chiefly among the ladies, during the third century.³¹ But it could also conceivably be worn by a floating Eros.

MALE HEAD: No. 6

The one preserved male head from this deposit gives us a touchstone for the boyish type of the early third century. It is too large for our little Eros and must have come from the figure of a boy of the type that played with the "Tanagra" girls, for example one in the National Museum in Athens³² of the same scale and character. These boys have small features, characterized by marked grooves in the forehead and under the lower lip, eyes squinting, a grooved neck and short hair treated with lightly impressionistic curls. A thick stippled wreath sits well back on the head. Such wreaths were made up of small flowers and tied on the head by ribbons that often hang down on the shoulders. They make an appearance before 348 B.C. in Olynthos, on large-sized heads,³³ but do not reach their heyday of popularity until the third century B.C. The facial type, the wreath set back on the head and the whole aspect of this head are like those of advanced Tanagras and indicate a date well down in the third century, probably in its third quarter.

FEMALE FIGURES: SEMIDRAPED: Nos. 7-8

This type of female figure, nude to the hips, must originally have represented Aphrodite. But by the third century many such figures are evidently no more than mortals, who take on, for artistic purposes, the attributes of the goddess. Many variants exist in all media. In terracotta, they stand or sit preparing for the bath or relaxing in private. Our No. 7 is an excellent example of the simplest type. She stands with right leg markedly relaxed, but though she does not lean, the chiasmos in her body still follows fourth century tradition. Her right arm was extended forward, but not to play a cithara as in examples from Centuripe.³⁴ The slim body rises from its sheath of drapery and contrasts with it—the revelation is enough in itself to create its effect. This is the first phase in the development of this distinctly Hellenistic motif. Like an example in Berlin³⁵ which stands cross-legged, it presents itself in simple frontality and its drapery, muffling the legs, falls in greater simplicity with scarcely any folds. A heavy roll around the hips and more sharply articulated

³¹ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 379 f. with references.

³² J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines de terre cuite*, Paris, 1880, No. 352, pl. V, 1; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXIV, V-j-9 (Halai).

³³ E. g., *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 54 ff. on head-vases.

³⁴ Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXIII, 2, 3; cf. Kleiner, pl. 4, c-e.

³⁵ Inv. 8041, Köster, *Griechische Terrakotten*, pl. 89 (Myrina).

folds in four areas of contrasting structural patterns divert the eye on the Berlin piece. The Centuripe examples just cited are more sophisticated, built into a pyramidal composition, enhanced by raising the leg, turning the torso and elaborating the drapery. Perhaps the finest variation on this theme is a beautiful piece also in Berlin,³⁶ a work of subtle balances and skilful contrasts; one feels vividly the difference between our early third century piece and this truly sculptural creation of about a hundred years later. This "Aphrodite" raises her cloak with her right hand in a gesture of revelation. Our No. 8 follows this same motive, but its slighter body seems considerably earlier. The flat, high-set breasts of both our pieces as well as their direct presentation remind one of the girlish figures in copies of the Niobid group.³⁷

FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING DRAPED: Nos. 9-18

Our first draped female type (No. 9) is a representative of a large class of which the Agora specimens are shown on Plate 27. These figures are often called "archaistic idols."³⁸ On analogy with many other examples, we can safely restore on ours a head wearing a polos and long locks of hair on the shoulders.³⁹ The garment is a long clinging peplos, girded high, with overfold to the hips and marked central fold in the lower part; this is worn over the chiton that shows beneath it.⁴⁰

These little figures appear on vases as early as the last quarter of the fifth century and on statues such as the Aphrodite from Corneto or the Artemis of Larnaka.⁴¹ They stand on bases, posts or pillars and seem much more like figures of votaries or dancing temple attendants⁴² than, as has been suggested, archaic statues of the deity who leans on them.⁴³ Muthmann shows that this interpretation is contradicted by the fact that different deities and even males lean on identical figures.⁴⁴ Since these supports appear to be merely the female counterparts of herms and Priapus figures (which later supersede them), why should they not be stylized repre-

³⁶ Inv. 8151, *ibid.*, pl. 88 (Myrina); cf. *Boston Myrinas*, No. 6.

³⁷ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1954, fig. 255.

³⁸ W. Déonna, "Aphrodite accoudée," *L'Antiquité classique*, XIX, 1950, p. 53.

³⁹ *TK* II, p. 84, 7, p. 85, 1, 8, etc.; E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (hereafter *Néc.*), pls. VII, 6, XXVIII, 1, XLIV, 6; A. Philadelphus, *Πήλινα Ειδώλια ἐκ Μυρίνης*, Athens, 1928, pl. XIV, No. 4999.

⁴⁰ For this combination of chiton and peplos, see Hans Weber, "Griechische Frauentrachten im vierten Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende," *Beiträge zur Trachtgeschichte Griechenlands*, Wurzburg, 1938, pp. 114, 142. Examples occur on Attic grave reliefs, the Mantinea Basis, etc.

⁴¹ Déonna, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴² Certain examples, like that of the Artemis of Larnaka, hold out the drapery as though in the dance, reminding us of the dancing children from the Sanctuary of Demeter in Priene (Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 160, figs. 142-143). I hope to deal with this topic more fully in my forthcoming publication of the terracottas of Ilion.

⁴³ Déonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

⁴⁴ F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen*, Heidelberg, 1951, pp. 18 ff.

sentations of actual statues of votaries that were seen by the artists and coroplasts in the sanctuaries? There is no reason to believe that these artists were not showing a contemporary type as they do in their other supports upon which figures lean. Since the pose is obviously that of the votary or temple attendant, these statuettes might well represent small offerings set up in the sanctuaries,⁴⁵ as on the Acropolis and elsewhere, by pious girls who had served the goddess. Other votaries too, as was often the custom,⁴⁶ might have dedicated their statues in the form of priestesses or temple attendants, thereby identifying themselves with these holy women. These little figures, deliberately archaized by the artist in order to show clearly that they are images in contrast to the living figure beside them,⁴⁷ would logically serve as supports for Aphrodite and other goddesses who were concerned with the needs of women.

The history of this type in terracotta can be traced down through the centuries in a series of Agora examples shown on Plate 27. The central one certainly represented a statuette standing against something; the others may have acted as supports. The type remains virtually unchanged for over 200 years. Our earliest piece (T 2942) comes from a fourth century filling.⁴⁸ Long locks remain on the shoulders; the girding is fairly low. Compared with it the piece from the Altar Well looks somewhat more sophisticated. Closer are examples from Corinth of the fourth and third centuries.⁴⁹ Sedately they clasp an offering (a kernos) to the breast and touch their drapery with their left hands. They are obviously descendants of the earlier, familiar Corinthian votaries who wear a tall polos and carry two offerings.⁵⁰ Our next Athenian representative (T 3186) comes from a disturbed Hellenistic filling;⁵¹ she is obviously more advanced than the girl from the Altar Well. She differs more markedly from her Corinthian cousins of the mid third century.⁵² In Corinth the broad, stocky proportions continue, stolidly rendered. The Athenian example, which is, however, probably later, is extravagantly elongated and her drapery more clinging. Still later, probably in the second century B.C., a more decorative and sharply modelled piece from the North Slope⁵³ serves as a transition to the most highly characterized of our Agora

⁴⁵ E. Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald*, IV, 1954/5, p. 385 points out that cult statues are not shown on high columns or posts. All such figures, which include numerous examples of our type, are votives.

⁴⁶ J. H. and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 230 f.

⁴⁷ I owe this suggestion to my husband who compares the representations of statues in the pediments of the Argive Heraion and of Epidauros; their archaistic style effectively differentiates them from the "living" figures of the pedimental composition.

⁴⁸ From Area D 18, H. 0.056 m.

⁴⁹ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 8, No. 114 (holding a kernos), pl. 20, Nos. 236-238.

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 6-7, Nos. 89 ff.

⁵¹ From the filling of the Middle Stoa, H. 0.054 m.

⁵² *Corinth*, XII, pl. 20, Nos. 239-244.

⁵³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 212, fig. 15 f.

figures (T 1629), from a deposit of the late second to early first centuries B.C.⁵⁴ She is the modest counterpart of the painted and even more extravagantly archaizing figures on late Panathenaic amphorae. Her pinched waist, swelling hips and elongated proportions recall those on the Lagina frieze,⁵⁵ as do the sharply-cut folds, rigid and emphatic. Late and odd as this may be, the Athenian votary still stands unchanged before us, clasping a tiny fawn to her breast as piously and as hieratically as did her ancestors of the days of Peisistratos. The amazing conservatism of Greek figurines is thus once again brought to our attention. We need not be surprised also to note two minor echoes of this ancient class (T 1966, T 2256).⁵⁶ These have lost every vestige of artistic significance, but serve once more to remind us of the vitality of one of the oldest of artistic motifs.

A rather fine fragment in the sculptural manner is the mould, No. 10. The upper part of a female figure wears a chiton which still has sufficient fullness to drop in a triangular fold between the breasts. This fold appears on most Attic grave reliefs, even the more advanced, but it disappears when the narrow Hellenistic chiton becomes popular. The himation is drawn across the left breast with a broad, emphasized edge from which tension folds fan out. This new style, in which design is built up of opposing rather than harmonious elements, can be seen beginning on reliefs of the mid fourth century and gaining intensity toward its end.⁵⁷ Our mould (to judge also from its technique) expresses the mood predominant at the end of the fourth century.

A very delicate torso, No. 11, belongs, in contrast, to that phase of third century style which speaks in the lowest voice of the quietest topics. No mass of drapery, no deep opposing folds, but a muffled torso stands in utter simplicity, wrapped in an almost foldless mantle. The garment makes itself felt by a few taut lines. This restraint is that of the finest Tanagras, those dated by Kleiner to the end of the fourth century.⁵⁸ Technically, our piece would seem to be a trifle later. It is most interesting to find in Athens so perfect an example of the "Tanagra" style at the time of its greatest flower. This piece has the thin, crisp quality of a bronze and seems to echo metal-work. In that it presages a bronze masterpiece, the Baker Dancer,⁵⁹ which will, some fifty years later, dramatize the same theme and set the tranquil pose into spinning motion.

Unfortunately no complete figure of the "Tanagra" class survives in this deposit,

⁵⁴ Deposit N 20:4. It is interesting to compare these degenerate pieces with a more ambitious example from Sardis, from a grave of the first century B.C. (*A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9).

⁵⁵ Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 704-707.

⁵⁶ From Hellenistic fillings of no specific date.

⁵⁷ H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4^{ten} Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, pl. 19, 2; H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 54. Cf. Kleiner, pls. 11c and 22a (more conservative Tanagras).

⁵⁸ Kleiner, pl. 5.

⁵⁹ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 371 ff., particularly fig. 14.

but a series of lower parts of figures indicates how the styles changed within a relatively short time. The smallest and obviously the earliest member is No. 12, which is a typical "Tanagra" of the stylistic phase that is represented in the Coroplast's Dump by Nos. 19 and 20. The folds fall simply, but they are plastically felt and modelled; the base is early. The piece can not date much later than *ca.* 320 B.C.

With Nos. 13 and 14, the drapery is rendered in another, a monumental sculptural style which, as Kleiner has already noted,⁶⁰ coexisted in Athens with the miniature style which we call "Tanagran." The representatives from the Altar Well are typical and serve to establish the style in its setting in Athens. It differs from the Tanagran not only in its larger and more plastic handling of drapery folds, but in its stronger feeling for the body beneath, which dominates the drapery in the old classical manner. This effect is attained by an intensification of fifth-century techniques, by contrasting bold untreated areas over the structural volumes of the body with deeply shadowed and emphatic folds. No longer is the front of a figure virtually flattened into one plane, but the movement swings forward and sideways making free use of the third dimension. No. 13, with its powerful left leg, its independent, flaring tubular folds, its strong pleat in the himation, instantly suggests not so much terracotta parallels⁶¹ as those in major sculpture. The Artemis Larnaka and other copies of late fourth century statues often ascribed to Praxiteles⁶² show these elements that soon go on, in early third century statues, to develop simplified forms. Since this style is barely hinted at even on late Attic grave reliefs,⁶³ which are almost all in the manner of No. 12, we must assume that it developed after 320 B.C. and probably did not last long into the third century.

No. 14 shows a more advanced stage, in which tubular folds, flaring a little more mechanically, fall into groups, like musical phrases. These contrast sharply with the untreated plain surface of the himation which hangs lightly over them. "Untreated" is, however, not strictly a correct description, for, in a raking light, this edge of himation can be seen to yield sensitively, if very slightly, to the contours of the sturdy folds of the chiton beneath it. In other words, we have the first appearance of transparent drapery over drapery. This significant piece has already been related to other examples of its class.⁶⁴ These highly organized and emphatically treated folds produce an entirely different effect from the homogeneous rhythm of our No. 12 and

⁶⁰ Kleiner, pp. 132 ff.

⁶¹ Kleiner, pls. 5b, 13d (Kleiner dates pl. 13d in the mid third century, which seems a little late on our evidence).

⁶² E. g., Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 40-42; cf. C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, IV, 2, p. 383, fig. 168 (Demeter Grimani).

⁶³ Diepolder, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pl. 54 shows an intimation of the style.

⁶⁴ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376, fig. 7. I now incline to place fig. 7 earlier than fig. 6, but obviously they are not far apart in date, although they represent different styles.

of most late fourth century figurines⁶⁵ and sculpture, as, for instance, on the Mantinea Basis. Our No. 15 is even more subtle. It has already been likened to the bronze Baker Dancer.⁶⁶ Every centimeter of the surface of this piece bespeaks thought and sensitive care in modelling which remind us of the same delicacy on the drapery fragment from Group B (No. 11). The movement is not vertical, but it flares from an off-center axis which is set on the deeply shadowed right leg. The legs are, in fact, not felt as supports, but merely as hidden axes in the design. The flaring diagonal courses of the main folds are not firm; they bend, waver, and strike off in other directions at the bottom. This liveliness is enhanced by the variations in the width and character of each fold, as they turn their faces this way and that so that the hem of the garment traces an irregular plan. The surface of these box-pleat folds, moreover, is covered with delicate nicks so that the clay takes on the feeling of textile. It is tragic that our deposit did not contain more pieces of this quality. No. 16 is a mould in somewhat the same style.

The relative chronology of this series of draped fragments seems clear; their absolute dating can be approximated from parallels. Kleiner, on varied evidence, has placed the Tanagras which are closest to our No. 15 after the middle of the third century.⁶⁷ This seems reasonable. Since our well was not closed until the third quarter of that century, the latest fragments (Nos. 15-16) were, most probably, made close to 250 B.C. or a shade thereafter. We find thus a reasonable sequence for the stylistic development: the simple Tanagra, No. 12, would then date *ca.* 320 B.C., the sculptural No. 13 at the turn of the century, so that the merging, as it were, of the two styles in No. 14 would come at *ca.* 275 B.C. and its enrichment just after the mid century (Nos. 15-16).

No. 17 is sadly fragmentary. It shows the lower part of a woman wearing a thin chiton with overfold to the thighs, who moves forward rapidly. It would be interesting to know whether the figure originally had wings and could be called a Nike. A little of the base is preserved to indicate that the figure was not suspended. We had best therefore call it a Dancer. The evolution of this rapidly moving type will be discussed when our first good Nike is published. It suffices here to note how the streaming S-folds that vividly traced this movement on fourth century terracottas have subsided and how dull the slight fluttering of the edge of the chiton appears, for instance, beside the rushing of skirts on examples from Group B (Nos. 7-9) or even on the following mould.

A finer treatment of a figure in rapid motion is given by the mould, No. 18. It shows a woman rushing sideways in haste, the right foot just visible, extended for-

⁶⁵ E. g., Kleiner, pls. 2a, 5, 8a (late fourth century), pls. 8b, 9b-c, 10c (early third century).

⁶⁶ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376.

⁶⁷ The treatment of the himation is comparable to that on the Leukon Terracottas, dated in the third quarter of the third century, Kleiner, pp. 16 f., pl. 6a-b.

ward from the drapery. The pose is reminiscent of those of statues of a running Niobid, but in reverse.⁶⁸ On our mould, the motion lines move more obliquely in patterns no longer based on the simple S-curve, as in Group B, No. 7, for the lines are less systematic and more nervous. We must therefore place this mould slightly later than that of Group B. It seems, however, to retain far more of the Classical spirit than the mechanical fragment just mentioned (No. 17).

FEMALE FIGURES: SEATED, DRAPED: Nos. 19-21

Seated figures, though probably numerous at the time of the Altar Well, are not so well preserved. One sadly battered piece, No. 19, belongs to the finest class of Tanagras. The lady sits with her legs crossed, wearing her delicate garments with an air of dignity and repose. This is a more sophisticated version of the tiny mould from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 42), but not much different in feeling. It probably dates also in the late fourth century. There are also two very fragmentary bits from the lap of seated figures, possibly goddesses; one, a mould (No. 20), holds a phiale and what may well be the head of a lion cub; the other (No. 21) holds a tympanon. These are reminiscent of the scrap (No. 5a) seen from the right side in the photograph from the Demeter Cistern. The tiny piece, No. 21, is technically close to Coroplast's Dump No. 42. These both therefore probably survive from the third quarter of the fourth century and relate to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Nothing can be said of their style.

DRAPED FRAGMENTS

An unusually large number of fragments from this deposit has been left uncatalogued because they are so small and so insignificant as to offer nothing whatever on the plates of a book. To the student, however, they are tantalizing, for they speak of all we miss in our hopelessly shattered collections and they give a better basis for generalization. At least it can be said of the drapery scraps and of the moulds for drapery that the style is consistent. The general tenor is quiet; the folds run their courses evenly, with rounded profiles, varying somewhat in width. A few bits show slight movement. This quiet subsidence of the purely classic tradition must, to judge from the extremely worn state of all these bits, belong to the later years of the fourth century. For the swing toward new directions, we must turn to the larger pieces discussed above.

The fragments also show, like a few catalogued pieces, that the scale of figures varies considerably. Most are of the usual "Tanagra" size, *ca.* 0.15-0.25 m. in height, but certain scraps indicate much bigger statuettes; e. g., the fragment of a

⁶⁸ Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 264-265; *Cat. Terracottas Brit. Mus.*, I, pl. 93, no. 709, cf. no. 1271.

right breast on a scale of a height of *ca.* 0.33 m. and an arm and hand extended (holding a phiale?) of scale considerably larger still.

FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 22-26

Although this group contains more female heads than the others we have published except the Coroplast's Dump, it gives us little evidence because the features are badly blurred.

These heads are commonplace types already recognized as normal in the early third century. No. 22 is a long oval in shape; the sober face is much damaged. Nos. 23-24 are more childish in character; they are tilted slightly upward, which gives them animation. The neck of No. 24 is bent sharply to the right, but the head is set vertically upon it, a lively, if unnatural position.⁶⁹

The hair on these heads is worn simply parted, with curls hanging down the sides of the neck in a manner not encountered in our earlier groups or in early Tanagras. On No. 22 a pair of leaves is set at the back and two round fruits over the forehead, such as occur also on early Tanagras.⁷⁰ No. 24 wears a plain wool fillet.⁷¹ No. 23's fillet is pitted, probably to represent flowers as on No. 27.⁷² The size of the wreath and the plastic treatment of the hair of No. 23 indicate that it is among the most advanced pieces from the well. It should be noted that, in addition to hanging curls, this girl wears a double flaring knot rising from the crown behind the wreath.⁷³ This is further development of the lampadion coiffure often shown on figures of courtesans or "dolls" of the fourth century B.C.,⁷⁴ which soon develops into a "bow."

It is interesting to note how these coiffures and these facial types compare with their contemporaries from other sites. They bear only a general similarity to heads from Chatby, which seem to retain for a long time the fourth century canon—the larger, more piquant features, and simpler hair styles.⁷⁵ From Corinth come a few heads of the early third century that show the same round face with very slight features, naturalistically rendered without any of the emphasis or plastic feeling

⁶⁹ E. g., other early examples, Kleiner, pls. 22a, 23a-b (dated fourth to early third centuries). Cf. A. W. Lawrence, *J.E.A.*, XI, 1925, p. 184, "a trick of tilting the head into some strained position in order to heighten the expression."

⁷⁰ Kleiner, pl. 22; *Arch. Anz.*, 1954, col. 280, fig. 16. I plan to discuss the chronology of wreaths in my forthcoming study of the terracottas from Ilion.

⁷¹ This type of wreath appears on Coroplast's Dump, No. 33.

⁷² The earliest dated example known to me from the Agora is T 1967, from a mid fourth century cistern, Deposit O 22:1. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XIII gives two examples from Halai dated 335-280 B.C.

⁷³ This coiffure also appears on an uncatalogued larger fragment from this well.

⁷⁴ E. g., British Museum C 243, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 90, pl. 21.

⁷⁵ E. g., *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIII, which presents no striking parallels.

that appears in examples from that site which are dated in the later third century.⁷⁶ Boeotia, as might be expected, provides the best parallels in its charming faces of children with undifferentiated features.⁷⁷

Another example (No. 25) on a larger scale lies out of the ordinary run of children's heads. Wreath, face and curls have all been cast in one mould, which was dull, so that the features are not easily distinguishable. The small blurred eyes and full cheeks are, however, not dissimilar in feeling to those of the preceding heads. A tall top-knot or bow of hair has been broken from the crown. In style, it resembles another Agora head, T 2132, that was found in a second century context. Our piece indicates that more ambitious variants on a scale of *ca.* 0.36 m. were being made at a time when smaller figures were the norm. Its clumsy style seems also out of key with that of the other heads and bits of drapery from this well. In style this head is close to that of a dancer from Corinth.⁷⁸

The delicate mould of a head (No. 26), with its sharp tiny features in an oval face beneath a wreath of leaves, is typically "Tanagran." The back was made in a separate mould. Many delicate heads of the late fourth century resemble it, not only in the piquant features, but in the slightly tipped carriage of the head on a long neck, with its downcast glance and hint of a smile.⁷⁹ This is the "Tanagra" style *par excellence* and here again we find that a mould was made in Athens.

ACTORS' HEADS: Nos. 27-28

The two actors' heads are good examples on a larger scale and of more varied nature than those from the Coroplast's Dump.⁸⁰ No. 27 is thrust forward in inquiry, wearing a wedge-beard and stippled wreath. This type is close to that of moulds which were found in Corinth in deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century.⁸¹ Webster classifies⁸² the type as that of an elderly and "rather embittered" man. This fellow wearing a banquet-wreath is undoubtedly a free-man, animatedly discussing some plot or secret.

The other head (No. 28) is more unusual. It is bald, wearing a Dionysiac wreath of leaves and a flowing beard which was apparently made by adding long locks to a

⁷⁶ E. g., *Corinth*, XII, pl. 21, No. 247, pl. 31, No. 355; cf. pl. 31, No. 353 (late third century), pl. 32, No. 357 (*ca.* 250 B.C.).

⁷⁷ E. g., from Halae, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXII, V-h-2; pl. XXIV, various examples (*ca.* 335-280 B.C.); from Boeotia, Sieveking, *Loeb Collection*, I, pl. 63.

⁷⁸ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 21, No. 248 (third century B.C.).

⁷⁹ E. g., Tanagras: Met. Mus. 06.1113, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 34; Kleiner, pls. 5b, 11d; grave reliefs: Diepolder, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pls. 51, 2, 52, 1.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 143.

⁸¹ *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 35, Nos. 43-46.

⁸² *Greek Theatre Production*, London, 1956, pp. 63 f., 119, pl. 11, c. Cf. Agora T 2065 from a deposit of the late fourth to early third century.

mould that originally showed a rounded "megaphone" mouth.⁸³ The eyes are small and deepset. This is the typical head of the Grand Old Man, Papposilenos, who often carries the child Dionysos.⁸⁴ Our head, with counterparts from Corinth and Pergamon,⁸⁵ is an early and lively variant of a type that becomes very popular in later days. Our heads presumably were made during the years around 300 B.C. or a little later.

MASKS: Nos. 29-30

The large female face (No. 29) most probably comes from a mask, although it might derive from a bust of the type found in the Coroplast's Dump.⁸⁶ The face is that of a sober young woman, with large eyes, of which the upper lid is clearly accented, but the eyeballs are not pierced. The general type may be likened to several theatrical masks from South Italy.⁸⁷ The closest parallel, however, is an example from Corinth,⁸⁸ which has much the same sober expression as ours and also dates in the early third century. These are both a little later than the fine but peculiar mask from the Hedgehog Well of ca. 320 B.C.⁸⁹ The exact significance of these votive masks is uncertain. They may represent theatrical masks, like those painted on Gnathia vases,⁹⁰ but this is by no means certain when the mouth and eyes are closed. The markedly triangular forehead, the large eyes and the bowed mouth all suggest that our piece was made during the latter part of the fourth century. In these details and particularly in the broad surfaces and shallow set eyes, it finds itself more at home among works of the Praxitelean circle, such as the formal copies of the Knidian Aphrodite or Apollo Lykeios, than with those of the later Praxitelean School, such as the heads from Kos.⁹¹

In the bottom of our well, that is in the deposit of the first quarter of the third century, was found another mask fragment, No. 30. A close parallel (T 88, Pl. 29) comes from a context of the last quarter of the fourth century. Both resemble a complete mask in Berlin which represents an Oriental potentate in the Persian tiara.⁹²

⁸³ Other examples will be published in the Agora Catalogue of Terracottas. Professor Harald Ingholt refers me to R. E. M. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXIII, 1949, p. 11, pl. VII, for similar practices in making Indian stuccoes. Miss Grandjouan reports the same technique for lamp moulds.

⁸⁴ *TK II*, pp. 400 ff. E.g., Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pls. 88, 89, 94.

⁸⁵ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 30, No. 333; *Pergamon*, I, p. 259, No. 12. A close parallel is exhibited in the Tarentine Museum.

⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, No. 51; *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 140.

⁸⁷ E.g., Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXXVI, 3-5.

⁸⁸ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

⁸⁹ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 19, No. 10.

⁹⁰ Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, pl. 11, a, b, d.

⁹¹ Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 17-25 compared with figs. 33 ff.

⁹² T 88 from Deposit H 6:9. P. H. 0.067 m. Berlin mask, Bieber, *Denkmäler*, pl. 65, 1 (less delicately modelled). Cf. *Pergamon*, I, p. 261, No. 18 (Herakles). Weak late echoes of this type have been found in Corinth, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 41, Nos. 443-444 (first century A.D.).

All these examples show a powerful, bearded face with large aquiline nose ending in a projecting tip, staring eyes, and sharply arched brows beneath a furrowed forehead. This is the mask of the Great King or potentate, of Oedipus or Darius.⁹³ A fine terracotta (T 862, Pl. 29) representing such a personage at a dramatic moment of tragedy was found in an Agora context of the mid third century.⁹⁴ These Agora pieces vivify the stock type of the earlier fourth century as seen at Olynthos.⁹⁵ It is interesting to observe how the same Persian head with the same long-tipped hooked nose appears on coins showing Persian satraps.⁹⁶

A few other scraps of larger masks or protomes were found, but are not worth cataloguing.

ANIMALS: Nos. 31-32

Although the mould, No. 31, is worn, the impression shows the sensitively modelled head and dewlap of a bull with curls on its forehead, a mild, round eye, and a soft muzzle. In feeling, however, and presumably in date, it is closer to the calf from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 37). Only a few such fine terracottas of bulls survive, of which the most impressive and ambitious comes from Priene.⁹⁷ The technique and style of our mould belong to the late fourth century.

Another mould, No. 32, represents the neck of a shaggy animal. The fleece, which is shown in long, thin tufts, too flat for those of a sheep, and the hanging hair at the right of the positive both suggest that the animal was a goat, like those ridden by children. These types appear both as figurines and as plastic lekythoi.⁹⁸

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: Nos. 33-37

A fragmentary miniature altar or *arula* (No. 33) is the most unusual and striking object found in this deposit and therefore has been selected to designate the well as the "Altar Well." It is made of Corinthian clay.⁹⁹ Recently a small group of these *arulae* has been discovered at Corinth¹⁰⁰ and a not dissimilar but much later example from Italy may also have come from there.¹⁰¹ The development of our type,

⁹³ Cf. the types in A. Alföldi, *Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, pls. IV-VII (but none has the aquiline nose).

⁹⁴ T 862 from Deposit E 14: 1 (cf. note 15), P. H. 0.08 m.

⁹⁵ E. g., *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 43, No. 390.

⁹⁶ Cf. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 243, 247. I owe this reference to Miss Evelyn Harrison. Even on the reliefs from Persepolis the Persians have large noses with accented curve.

⁹⁷ *Priene*, p. 362, fig. 451.

⁹⁸ E. g., *TK* II, p. 304, 4, p. 305, 8, 9.

⁹⁹ I was supported in my ascription of the clay by the late Mrs. Stillwell.

¹⁰⁰ O. Broneer, "The Corinthian Altar Painter," *Hesperia* XVI, 1947, pp. 214 ff.; "Terracotta Altars from Corinth," *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 370 ff.; *Corinth*, XII, pp. 130 f., pl. 65; *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 272 f., pl. 59.

¹⁰¹ *M.A.A.R.*, II, 1918, pl. 19, c. Full bibliography on *arulae*, C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, St. Louis, 1949, pp. 171 ff.

which bore crown and base mouldings with Lesbian leaf ornament, can be traced from the early through the late fifth century B.C.¹⁰² The leaf grows wider with time and the area between is treated as a marked loop with sharp tongues in the interstices. Our piece most closely resembles the fifth century example from the Corinthian Kerameikos,¹⁰³ but probably itself dates in the early fourth century.¹⁰⁴ The traces of a horse in relief prancing to the left suggest that the subject was a horseman, a descendant of the riders on the early fifth century *arulae*.¹⁰⁵ Probably these altars were used in the service of a hero cult, of which many traces survive from the Corinthian Agora.¹⁰⁶ It would be interesting to know whether our fragment travelled to Athens in the hands of the pious or merely in the role of a souvenir.

Another architectural votive is No. 34, a miniature fluted column with a flattened echinos capital. The possible uses for such columns have been discussed previously.¹⁰⁷

The wheel fragment, No. 35, is unusual at this period. Solid clay wheels occur for the numerous early chariots and carriages,¹⁰⁸ but by the fourth century the subject has apparently died out of the terracotta repertory. Yet this specimen must belong to that date, because it shows the typical four spokes and narrow rim characteristic of that period.¹⁰⁹ We may suppose that this piece was intended as a votive of the type very common in metal¹¹⁰ and shown hanging as a symbol on fourth century vases.¹¹¹

The little object, No. 36, with gable ends and on small feet represents one of those jewel-boxes that appear in the hands of lovely ladies on Kertch vases.¹¹² A tiny figure is painted on the end of a similar miniature chest which is carried by an attendant on a tomb painting at Kazanlak in Bulgaria.¹¹³ No. 36 shows an attachment at its back for its use as an adjunct for a freestanding figurine or possibly a plastic lekythos.

¹⁰² The order would seem to be: *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pls. L, 5 and LII, 1; *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65; *Hesperia* VI, 1937, p. 313, No. 239, figs. 43, 44. Another unpublished Agora fragment (T 2146) from Deposit C 18: 11, an early fifth century context, confirms this sequence.

¹⁰³ *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65.

¹⁰⁴ I owe this chronology to Miss Lucy Shoe, who, however, warns against attempting to date terracotta mouldings so closely as is possible with stone.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. LII, 1 and the horseman plaques of later date, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 111, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105 ff. and O. Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *ibid.*, pp. 128 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 151, No. 69; XXIII, 1954, p. 82, No. 12.

¹⁰⁸ *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 198 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 343 f.

¹¹⁰ *Délos*, *op. cit.*, pls. XCVII, 864 etc.; cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 512 f. with full bibliography.

¹¹¹ E. g. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Grieksche Ceramiek*, Rotterdam, 1936, pl. XL, fig. 114.

¹¹² K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den kertcher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pls. 16, 50. Cf. also R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, III, 2, Leipzig, 1913, pl. XVII.

¹¹³ V. Micoff, *Le tombeau antique près de Kazanlak*, Sofia, 1954, pl. XXXII.

BASES: Nos. 37-39

Fragments of bases of three types show the range characteristic of the fourth and third centuries B.C. No. 37 is a block with an accented lower moulding; this appears to be a fourth century variant of the plain block base that prevailed in the fifth century.¹¹⁴ Another more elaborate variant is the stepped base No. 38, not just a single small block set on a plinth, as in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 83), but an elaborately grooved creation.¹¹⁵ These elaborations of sculptural bases yield in popularity to the flat plinth base of Tanagra fashion, of which No. 39 is a good example, although rare in having black glaze painted along its edges. This feature suggests that it may have been intended for a plastic lekythos. The flat plinth base obviously was copied from the form employed for small metal statuettes and is another indication of the influence of bronze work on terracottas at this period.

PLASTIC APPLIED RELIEFS: Nos. 40-43

Several fragments in this group derive from a small class of reliefs that were applied to the surface of vases, not, as in the case of the ordinary plastic lekythos, forming an integral part of the body of the vase. These reliefs were made into shallow plaquettes by the use of a mould and much additional hand modelling and retouching. No. 40 shows a back that must have been attached to a curved surface which bore black glaze. Nos. 41 and 42 are also thin; their backs broke away clean from the background. These reliefs were not glazed, but treated like those on lekythoi with attached reliefs,¹¹⁶ slipped with white and touched with matt colors. Gilding was also used on No. 42, on the necklace and on the object held in the hand. Our figures are much larger than the plaquettes taken from metal prototypes that decorate later relief vases.¹¹⁷ They belong to a peculiar class of *lebes gamikos* of which numerous other examples have recently been found in the excavations of M. Meliades on the South Slope of the Acropolis.¹¹⁸

The style of No. 40 is unusual. The head is carried on a tilted long neck like that of No. 27, but the features are different. The head is egg-shaped; the forehead is domed, the cheeks full, and the large eyes with markedly curving, wide-open lids are shallow. The lids do not meet at the inner corners. The mouth is smaller than on the head from the Demeter Cistern (No. 7) that might otherwise be compared

¹¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXI, V-e-3 (early fourth century); Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb*, I, pl. 44.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 60.

¹¹⁶ E. g. *Handbook of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1953, pl. 95 d, f; Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX, Nos. 142-144.

¹¹⁷ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 423 ff.

¹¹⁸ I. Meliades, *Πρακτικά*, 1957, p. 51.

with No. 40. Though the upper lip is wider than the nostrils, the lower lip is narrower and pouts forward, set off by a groove beneath it. The chin is also set off, jutting firmly forward, with a dimple set into it. This is our first instance of the dimple that becomes very popular during the third century.¹¹⁹ This facial type is so carefully rendered and so distinctive that it can be compared with coins and with metal and stone prototypes, such as a head of Arsinoe II, dated *ca.* 270 B.C.¹²⁰ This date is confirmed by the high girding, the impressionistic treatment of the drapery, and the dress with its plunging deep-V neckline. The condition of this fragment also tends to suggest that it is among the latest in our group, probably in the second quarter of the third century.

The deep-V neckline is a fashion that often appears on Hellenistic figurines, though rarely in other media. At all periods, of course, the neckline often droops between its fastening on the shoulders into a V-shaped fold. But this type of plunging V-neck is evidently cut low deliberately and appears only on the sleeveless, narrow Hellenistic garments. Sometimes the point reaches almost to the girdle. This deep V appears often on the upper garment or "peplos" when it is worn over a chiton and often on the chiton when it alone is worn.¹²¹ The single chiton began to work its way back into favor during the third century. It is sometimes heavy and sometimes of thin, clinging material, presumably linen. This is an interesting variation from the muffling that was in general most popular at this period.¹²²

Rizzo, in discussing two painted portraits from Centuripe that wear this garment and date in the third century B.C., calls attention to the fact that this cannot be the classic chiton. It is obviously narrow and draws up to the back of the neck in such a way as to show that it was composed of two narrow lengths sewn together down the center.¹²³ The later examples are much tighter than the earlier.¹²⁴ Still later, decorative borders are woven along the edge of the neck on the selvedge and joined down the center of the front to form a wide band¹²⁵ called *παρυφή*. This decoration derives

¹¹⁹ A. W. Lawrence, *J.E.A.*, XI, 1925, pp. 182, 184. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, pl. XX (late fourth century); *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-39, pl. 20, No. 58 (late fourth century). Cf. A. Westholm, *Temples of Soli*, Stockholm, 1936, pls. III, IV, No. 438 (early third century). The jutting chin appears first on coins of Berenike I (Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 306-307).

¹²⁰ *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 199 ff., pl. 54. Cf. Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, KS 104, pp. 71, 73, fig. 36 (*ca.* 300 B.C.).

¹²¹ See above note 40.

¹²² A good example from the Agora (T 139, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8) owes its too early dating to lack of recognition of this garment.

¹²³ A. Rizzo, *Monumenti della Pittura antica: Centuripae*, I, p. 31, pls. A, B.

¹²⁴ E. g., H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in British Museum*, C 522, pl. XXXV; *Boston Myrinas*, No. 89. Cf. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, p. 20, pl. XIII.

¹²⁵ E. g., Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XX, 3, XXIX, 3; *Priene*, p. 354, fig. 428. For fine metal examples, P. Amandry, *Collection Stathatos, Bijoux antiques*, Strasbourg, 1953, pls. XXXVIII ff., Nos. 234-235, and parallels there cited.

from Hittite and Persian garments, but is not applied to the deep-V neck until late Hellenistic and Roman times.¹²⁶

The origin of this narrow garment is obviously Egyptian. A tight-fitting chiton with a deep-V neck reaching almost to the waist is well-known on Egyptian monuments from early times; it continued on indefinitely, as on the reliefs of Nefer-Sechem-Psamtik from a period when the Greeks could obviously have been influenced by it.¹²⁷ When the Greeks settled in Alexandria, they presumably used the Egyptian native linen to make their clothes and as it was woven in narrow lengths, the Egyptian type of neck and tight chiton would naturally develop, even if it never reached so tight a form as the Egyptian (or as artistic convention so represents it). The earliest dated Greek example known to me appears on a jug showing Arsinoe II, which dates 275-270 B.C.¹²⁸ A good many examples appear in Alexandrian cemeteries.¹²⁹ They come also from South Italy,¹³⁰ from the chamber tomb at Eretria, noted by Kleiner as typically Alexandrian,¹³¹ and even from Tanagra.¹³² This same fashion occurs on many pieces from Ilion, Myrina, Kharayeb in Syria, Tarsus, Seleucia and in an ever-widening circle into Roman times.¹³³ It is rare, however, on marble statues, of which the most interesting examples are the Niobids.¹³⁴ Like many other Alexandrian fashions, it spread, probably soon after the Greeks settled in Egypt,¹³⁵ all over the classical world.

¹²⁶ *Boston Myrinas*, No. 1; Déonna, *L'Antiquité classique*, XIX, 1950, pp. 53 f., pl. IV discusses the oriental origin of the garment on an image of a goddess.

¹²⁷ *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Le Musée de Caire*, 1949, fig. 191.

¹²⁸ Jug bearing both name and relief: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the British Museum*, pl. V, K77 (note that this jug is erroneously labelled K76 on the plate). Several other fragmentary reliefs so closely resemble this as to imply that they represent Arsinoe: e.g. D. K. Hill, *Rev. Arch.*, XIII, 1954, p. 45, fig. 1. I hope to be able to make a corpus of these jugs in a special study.

¹²⁹ From Chatby: Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pls. LXII, 156, LXVI, 172, 174, LXX, 188 etc. (but not of the very earliest style, as on pl. LXV, 169, 171); Breccia, *Mons.*, I, pls. O, XLVII, 4. From Hadra: *ibid.*, pl. LIII, 5, No. 117).

¹³⁰ Levi, *Terrecotte di Napoli*, pl. II, 2 (Canosa) and examples in the Museum of Tarentum.

¹³¹ Kleiner, p. 20, illustrated, H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, New York, 1909, p. 318, fig. 237.

¹³² At least listed as "Tanagra," *TK II*, p. 14, 5, p. 60, 1, p. 71, 2, 3.

¹³³ Ilion: on figures of Kybele, an hetaira and worshipper to be published in my forthcoming volume on the terracottas from Ilion. Myrina: *TK II*, p. 56, 5, 6; *Boston Myrinas*, Nos. 89-90; *Néc.*, pl. I, 1, 5, pl. IX, 2 (Bust), pl. XXIV, 2. Kharayeb: M. Chehab, *Les Terrecuites de Kharayeb*, Paris, 1953-4, pls. XLIV, 2, LI, 5. Tarsus: H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, No. 182, 206 (?). Seleucia: W. Van Ingen, *Terracottas from Seleucia*, p. 34.

¹³⁴ Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pls. X, 1, XXV, 1.

¹³⁵ Negative evidence also supports this dating, for the V-necked chiton alone does not appear on Attic grave reliefs or bronze mirror reliefs (except Züchner, *Klappspiegel*, p. 40, fig. 18, KS 52, dated ca. 300 B.C.). It is significant that the coins of Berenike I show clearly a round neckline, those of Arsinoe II a pointed neckline. Cf. Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 306, 308.

Though No. 41 has suffered badly with time, it still shows delicate modelling of the body and hand and fine folds of drapery. The touches of gold on necklace and bracelet speak for its high quality. The back is smooth and flat, clearly made for attachment. We can assume, therefore, that it also was intended for a relief vase of a smaller scale and more conventional shape than No. 40. Presumably the figure was seated, holding a gilded alabastron or ornament. A plastic lekythos of conventional form gives us the closest parallel for the type—Aphrodite, seated beside a censer, holding a jewel-box, and accompanied by one standing and one floating Eros.¹³⁶ Our piece surely represents Aphrodite in a slightly different pose. It seems to show the prototype of what later became a baroque composition.

Another fragment, No. 42, appears also to belong to this class. It represents a childish naked Eros, running or flying upward toward his right with arms extended. He reminds us of the little Eros perched on a stele from Group B (No. 4), but he is an older boy and his slim, hard body is much more like that of the Eros mould from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 11). This similarity suggests a fourth century date. Since another close parallel comes from Halai, dating *ca.* 335-280 B.C.,¹³⁷ we can safely place our piece in the later years of the fourth century. The fact that the figure is only a thin plaquette with a flat back, like that of the preceding piece, implies that it also comes from a relief vase of a composition dealing with Aphrodite and Eros; it is however too large to fit our No. 41.

One more fragment, No. 43, seems to have been made for attachment to a vase. This is a small colonnaded structure. It is finished behind for attachment in such a way that four columns appear on the front and one on the return at the spectator's left. The colonnade was therefore intended to project from the background. Its horizontal top with corner akroterion suggests identification as an altar, such as occasionally occurs as a background for dancers.¹³⁸ The fact that this piece bears no trace of breakage from the background suggests that it was never actually used.

CONCLUSIONS

The preponderance of figurines from the Altar Well, like those from Group B, concerns subjects drawn from daily life. Even the few figures of the deities, Aphrodite (Nos. 7-8) and Eros (Nos. 2, 42) are so conventional that they seem to have lost their religious feeling and to have become decorative motifs. The two small fragments which seem to represent the Mother of the Gods holding her phiale (Nos. 20-21) are, however, true votive types, which are concerned with a cult that was

¹³⁶ *TK II*, p. 199, 4 = Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 347, fig. 5 (in Berlin). H. 0.26 m.

The scale of this vase is smaller than that of our fragment.

¹³⁷ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, pl. XXII, V-h-2.

¹³⁸ *Priene*, p. 363, fig. 433; cf. fig. 571; *TK II*, p. 143, 6.

apparently gaining force at this time. The little *arula*, presumably used for a pinch of incense in some tiny house shrine or niche, also bears witness to the importance of domestic cults. We find this group, therefore, an admirably representative selection to illustrate the interests of ordinary citizens during the earliest phase of the Hellenistic period. It shows primarily a preoccupation with quiet subjects of the world of manners but also a growing interest in the world of major arts, now being imitated in cheap materials for the delectation of the humblest citizens, and with just a hint of the penetration of Oriental cults into their homes.

Stylistically, the figurines from this well show wide variations, as is to be expected from Dr. Edwards' comment on the wide range covered by the pottery from the final filling.¹³⁹ His analysis, "a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century," in general diagnoses the proportions of datable coroplastic material from this well.

The earliest fragment, possibly of the late fifth, probably of the first half of the fourth century, is the little *arula* (No. 33). Several pieces, on analogy with material from the Coroplast's Dump, appear to belong in the third quarter of that century: the little "Tanagra" (No. 12) and the two scraps of Cybele type (Nos. 20, 21). Many others fall, so far as evidence is available, into the latter part of that period or in the last quarter: several draped female types (Nos. 10, 13, 18, 19) and two heads (26, 29), animal figures (Nos. 31, 32) and plastic reliefs (Nos. 41, 42). In this period, around 300 B.C. and probably a little after it, the largest number of pieces of which the style is clear enough to be analysed appears to belong. Among them we note most of the ordinary, rather unimaginative types: the male torso (No. 1), draped females (Nos. 14, 17), female heads (Nos. 22-25), actors' heads (Nos. 27, 28), and the one fragment from the lowest deposit, the tragic mask (No. 30). This, from its context, cannot have been made later than the first quarter of the third century, but its parallels, which have been analysed above,¹⁴⁰ suggest that it may well be a trifle earlier.

It is interesting and possibly significant for the history of sculpture that the most original, most ambitious and artistically attractive specimens all appear to date later than the first quarter of the third century. The well-modelled torso of the little Eros (No. 2), the Aphrodites (Nos. 7, 8), and the more subtly modelled draped female figures (Nos. 9, 11, 14, 40) all indicate a new phase in coroplastic style. These are, if not direct imitations of bronzes, at least modelled in the manner of sculpture. They are small, cheap works of art rather than votives. Conventional pieces continued, of course, to be made, among them ordinary figures of women and men, which we have for various reasons attributed to the previous quarter century. But owing to their traditional types they cannot be closely dated. We have suggested

¹³⁹ See above pp. 127-128.

¹⁴⁰ See above pp. 141-142.

that the male head (No. 26) is the latest of these, and other fragments, such as the boot from a Dionysiac floating figure (No. 4), presumably also belong in the second quarter of the century. To the period just after the middle of the century, when our well was sealed, we have tentatively assigned only two pieces—the draped fragments, of which the advanced treatment can scarcely be much earlier (Nos. 15, 16).

The most unusual piece in our deposit is No. 15, with its close resemblance to the Baker Dancer and to bronzes in general, a piece that does honor to its creator and makes us regret once more the tragic condition of most Athenian terracottas. It indubitably shows transparent drapery over drapery, which has already been adumbrated in No. 14, a slightly earlier or at least less sophisticated piece. This is in itself the most important evidence for the general chronology of sculptural styles to be derived from the study of this group of figurines. Kleiner had previously indicated that transparent fine linen was already of interest to Alexandrian coroplasts of the third century.¹⁴¹ The Baker Dancer reveals how much the theme fascinated the metal-workers of that city.¹⁴² But to find transparent drapery over drapery treated twice on figurines from the same deposit in Athens is startling indeed. By the mid third century or shortly before, then, and presumably in metal-work now lost to us, this brilliant device for enlivening and enriching the surface patterns of drapery must have been developed by artists well acquainted with transparent linen. We must assume, therefore, that the style originated in the home of fine linen, Alexandria. From Alexandria, the theme then travelled to Athens and to thence to Boeotia¹⁴³ and to Asia Minor, where, during the second century, it reached a brilliant apogee in *tours-de-force* in marble and in many sculptural terracottas. But the medium most congenial to such treatment is undoubtedly metal and in the vanished masterpieces of silver and bronze alone could we trace the whole story.

CATALOGUE

Male Figures

1 (T 2687) Male Torso. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay. Back modelled.

Nude male torso preserved from neck to waist except arms.

2 (T 2686) Male Fragment. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.048 m. Brownish buff clay.

Fragment from a nude boyish figure preserved from waist to knee, a little drapery against left side.

3 (T 2678) Draped Male Torso. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay.

Fragment from chest with drapery crossing in center.

¹⁴¹ Kleiner, pp. 178, 186.

¹⁴² Cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 375 ff.

¹⁴³ Kleiner, p. 87, noted that transparency rarely occurs on true Tanagras. S. Besques-Mollard, *Mon. Piot*, XLV, 1951, pp. 53 ff. detects a slight transparency on Tanagra types of the second quarter of the third century.

4 (T 2689) Booted Leg. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.06 m. Buff clay.

Male leg wearing high boot, preserved from knee to ankle.

5 (T 2674) Foot. Pl. 26.

P. L. 0.041 m. Soft reddish clay.

Left foot in soft pointed shoe with thick sole.

6 (T 2274) Male Head. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.037 m. W. 0.029 m. Tan clay. Face somewhat chipped.

Boy's head, wearing thick, stippled wreath.

*Female Figures***7** (T 2271) Semidraped Female. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.104 m., W. 0.04 m. Buff to red clay. Back unworked.

Triangular vent; traces of attachment for base. Head missing.

Standing female figure, extending her right hand forward and holding against her left side a heavy himation that is wrapped around her legs.

8 (T 2688) Female Torso. Pl. 26.

P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay.

Female torso preserved from neck to waist; left arm broken away above elbow; right lifts himation behind her. A cord crosses body from right shoulder to waist between the breasts.

9 (T 2684) Draped Girl. Pl. 27.

P. H. 0.076 m. Buff clay. Traces of reddish paint on flesh.

A girlish figure wears an archaistic costume, peplos over chiton; she held an object to her breast with her right hand and lifts her skirt with her left.

10 (T 2667) Mould: Draped Female. Pl. 27.

P. H. 0.082 m. Soft buff-red clay; back smoothed.

Mould for the left side of a draped female figure preserved from neck to thigh.

11 (T 2679-80) Upper Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.

P. H. 0.053 m., W. 0.045 m. Very fine buff clay; very thin walls. Large opening in back.

The upper part of a draped female figure, her right arm bent across body, her left extended sideways, beneath a closely wrapped himation.

12 (T 2676) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.

P. H. 0.048 m. Buff clay, back unworked. Low base cast with figure.

Lower part of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.

13 (T 2683) Fragment: Draped Female. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.062 m. Buff gritty clay, very thick walls.

Fragment, broken on all sides, from left side of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.

14 (T 2682) Fragments: Draped Female. Pl. 27.

(a) Front: P. H. 0.089 m. (b) Back: P. H. 0.075 m. Buff gritty clay; very thick walls.

Fragments from front and back of standing female figure (or similar figures) wearing chiton and himation; left foot in forked, thick-soled shoe.

15 (T 2282) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.081 m., P. W. 0.065 m. Buff clay baked hard. Pale blue paint on drapery; dark red border on himation.

Lower part of standing female figure, wearing chiton and himation and forked sandals.

16 (T 2670) Mould: Drapery. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back with cord-mark. Much worn.

Fragment of mould for lower part of drapery on standing female figure.

17 (T 2685) Dancer. Pl. 27.

P. H. 0.081 m. Soft buff-red clay.

Central part and right leg of moving female figure.

18 (T 2665) Mould: Lower Part of Draped Figure. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.074 m. Pinkish buff clay; back irregular. Much worn and chipped.

Mould showing (in positive) a female figure in flying drapery moving rapidly to her left.

19 (T 2681) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.049 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back.

Seated female figure, from waist down; right leg extended forward, wearing chiton and himation draped over knees.

20 (T 2668) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.043 m. Gritty buff clay; indented back.

Fragmentary mould showing lap of seated draped female holding phiale in her right hand and traces of object (lion?) in her lap.

21 (T 2669) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.042 m. Soft buff clay; back indented. Worn.

Fragment from mould of a draped seated female holding up tympanon in her left hand.

22 (T 2270) Female Head. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.036 m. Buff clay. Right eye and cheek damaged.

Female head wearing curls down her neck and an ivy wreath.

23 (T 2275) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay. Knot broken away.

Girl's head wearing top-knot and curls down her neck and thick, stippled wreath.

24 (T 2279) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay.

Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick roll.

25 (T 2272) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.

P. H. 0.045 m. Buff to red clay; cracked.

Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick stippled wreath.

26 (T 2277) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 29.

Max. dim. 0.038 m. Buff clay, back indented. Worn. Complete.

Mould for front of female head with round face, wearing a wreath of leaves.

*Theatrical Figures***27** (T 2273) Comic Actor Head. Pl. 29.

P. H. 0.032 m. Buff clay. Solid. Broken off at neck.

Actor's head wearing pointed beard, *speira* and thick, stippled wreath.

28 (T 2278) Actor's Head: Silenos. Pl. 29.

P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay, smoked.

Head of bald bearded actor as Silenos, with megaphone type of mouth, wearing wreath of leaves.

29 (T 2673) Mask: Female. Pl. 29.

P. H. 0.064 m. Soft buff clay.

Mask of a large-featured female with a little hair over her forehead.

30 (T 2292) Tragic Mask: Male. Pl. 29.

From lowest deposit in well. P. H. 0.048 m. Soft brownish buff clay. Pinkish flesh, red paint around eyes. Chipped.

Fragmentary tragic mask of frowning male face with beaked nose; eyes, nostrils and mouth pierced.

*Animals***31** (T 2664) Mould: Bull's Head. Pl. 29.

P. L. 0.073 m. Soft red clay, back rounded. Worn. Broken along neck.

Fragmentary mould for a bull's head to right in the positive.

32 (T 2671) Mould: Animal. Pl. 29.

P. L. 0.062 m. Soft buff clay. Back indented. Worn. Only top preserved.

Fragmentary mould representing neck and shoulders of a shaggy animal.

*Miscellaneous***33** (T 2284) Altar Fragment. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.063 m., P. W. 0.089 m., T. 0.028 m. Buff clay with gravelly grits; fine greenish surface. Hollow.

Lower corner of a small altar with base moulding of Lesbian cymation in relief beneath a fascia. Trace of relief (probably extended leg of a horse) preserved on two sides.

34 (T 2692) Column. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay. Solid. Finished smoothly on top.

Small column with flattened echinos capital preserved; numerous shallow flutings.

35 (T 2691) Wheel. Pl. 30.

P. W. 0.041 m. Buff to red clay; traces of black paint on rim.

Fragment of a four-spoked wheel, one quadrant mostly preserved.

36 (T 2281) Chest. Pl. 30.

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.032 m., T. 0.02 m. Traces of black glaze and attachment at back.

Small chest covered by gable roof with central ornament. One foot remains.

*Bases***37** (T 2853) Base. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.032 m. Buff-red clay.

Front of a base with wide lower moulding and traces of a figure on top.

38 (T 2852) Base. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.031 m. Buff clay.

Corner of a stepped base, broken at top and back.

39 (T 2851) Base. Pl. 30.

P. W. 0.06 m. Buff clay. Black glaze on edge.

Corner of a plinth base with traces of upper part.

*Plastic Reliefs***40** (T 2276) Head and Torso. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.085 m., T. 0.017 m. Hard buff clay. Traces of pink on flesh and black glaze behind. Much retouching. Head split behind.

The head and upper part of a female figure wearing a chiton, high-girt with deep-V neck; traces of wreath on her head.

41 (T 2283) Female Torso. Pl. 30.

Max. dim. 0.057 m. Hard clay, much discolored. Traces of pale blue against breast, gold leaf on object in hand and on necklace and bracelet. Flat behind.

Torso of a female with drapery over her right arm, from which her hand emerges to hold an object.

42 (T 2280) Eros Flying. Pl. 30.

P. H. 0.055 m. Buff clay. Pinkish flesh. Flat back.

Torso of Eros with spread wings and arms extended forward, stretching upward.

43 (T 2269) Altar. Pl. 30.

H. 0.055 m., W. 0.031 m. Buff-red clay. Intact except for left akroterion broken off. Back finished for attachment at an angle to the background; slight protrusion beneath.

Small altar decorated with four Ionic columns on a base across front, with return of one column on left side.

A BRONZE PAIL OF ATHENA ALALKOMENIA

(PLATES 31-34)

THE remarkable archaic Greek bronze vessel published here (Pl. 31, a) was purchased in Mantinea in Arcadia in the spring of 1957 and donated to the Museum in Tegea where other antiquities from the same region have their abode. It had been found by a local shepherd some distance to the north of the ruins of Mantinea but, unfortunately, the exact location of the discovery could not be ascertained.¹

The major part of the vessel is preserved, including about half of its upper profiled edge and one attachment for the handle which passed through its upper ring. The whole of this ring is still filled with iron and it is evident that the missing handle was made of this material.

The carefully proportioned body has a height of 0.241 m. to the upper edge of the lip. Its largest diameter, 0.215 m., is slightly smaller than the total height and exactly the same both at the outer edge of the lip and at the greatest width of the body which, in turn, occurs precisely half way between that edge and the bottom of the vessel, 0.12 m. distant from both. The upper face of the lip inclines outward slightly to allow overspilling liquid to run off, as it were, from an architectural cornice. The proportion of diameter to height, the rounded bottom and the contraction of the width under the lip combine to give the impression of an elastic curvilinear rhythm to the generally ovoid form.

The vessel is made in two parts of hammered sheet bronze (0.001 m. thick), the bottom section (exactly one-fourth, 0.06 m., of the height) overlapping the main body and being fastened to it by bronze rivets whose flat sheet heads once completely blended with its smooth surface. Its rim is plastically treated with a vertical face

¹ On the occasion of a visit to Mantinea in April 1957, we saw the vessel lying in a field near the northern enclosure wall of a farmhouse at the northwestern corner of the classical town. A very old shepherd brought it to us from this spot where he had deposited it after having found it "long ago" in the northern part of the district of Mantinea and "far away," as he said pointing to that region. Enquiries to determine a more precise indication of its provenance led nowhere. It was my impression that the man really did not remember either the exact site or the circumstances of the discovery, as he was not aware that the object was antique or had any value. He had taken it with him, battered as it was, because a metal container might come in handy at some time.

I am indebted as always to my wife, who shared the discovery and did cautious initial cleaning of the vessel, for help and advice. Christos Karousos kindly supervised its complete cleaning in the Athens National Museum and provided me with drawings made by A. Papaliopoulos. The handsome photographs in this article were made by Alison Frantz. For the photograph of the pail from Olympia (Pl. 34, a) I am indebted to E. Kunze and for permission to publish it to the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

(0.004 m. high) receding obliquely downward from the lip (0.007 m. wide) at an angle of 60 degrees. Under this face, a slightly higher cyma recta rises steeply between two horizontal projections.

The handle attachment (0.083 m. high, 0.093 m. wide) was carefully cast to fit exactly the profiles of the rim and the curve of the upper part of the vessel and to rest on the surface of the lip (Pl. 31, b). The attachment, so far as it overlaps the vessel, is precisely one-third its height. The handle attachment was thus designed and made for this particular vessel, doubtless in the same workshop. The ring (0.048 m. in outer diameter and 0.006 m. in thickness) is equipped with a short bar which projects inward to prevent the heavy handle from falling down on the vessel. The handle attachment is riveted to the body through two holes provided at the center of the engraved volutes which form part of its decoration. The rivets are of the same type as those used in the lower part of the body with flat, very large sheet heads which interfere with its ornamentation and are not correctly placed. One wonders—where everything else was so carefully made—whether the handle had not come off at one time in antiquity and been rather crudely riveted on again.

The three-lobed handle attachment has engraved decoration, with a massive palmette in the lower lobe and two volutes above, while the upper center shows an angularly stylized "lotus" flower. The attachment has its own projecting upper profile decorated with an Ionic cymation (egg and dart) between two rows of pearls. A corresponding and identical attachment, of course, existed on the opposite side, and its projecting bar prevented the handle from hitting the other half of the vase.

This vessel is a welcome addition to our very limited knowledge of the pails and buckets used in ancient Greece.² It is, indeed, a rare example of the *ἀντλείον* or *κάδος*, the two generic names, seemingly, for such containers used to draw water from a well, spring or fountain basin.³ The specific name for this particular type, unlike those provided with flat bottoms or feet common in Northern Greece and Italy, seems to have been *gaulos*,⁴ inasmuch as that term is also used for a beehive to which its shape, when inverted, is similar. There are, to my knowledge, only two other early

² For general discussions of various types of pails, see: Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, IV, pp. 1357 ff.; K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronsen*, Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, 1890; Leonard, *R.E.*, s.v. *situla*; B. Schroeder, *Griechische Bronzeaimer*, 74th *Winckelmanns-Program*, Berlin, 1914; E. Pernice in F. Winter, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, IV, Berlin, 1925, pp. 21 ff. For the "non-Greek" Italic type: F. v. Duhn in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XII, Berlin, 1928, pp. 182 ff.

³ *Ἀντλείον* from *ἀντλείν*, to draw water from wells as people did in their homes in Athens: Aristophanes, *Proagon*, Meineke frag. 9, Koch frag. 470; Epilykos, *Koraliskos*, Meineke and Koch frag. 5. *Κάδος*: Menander, *Messenia*, Körte frag. 269 (Meineke, *Anatithemene* or *Messenia* frag. 1, Koch, *Anatithemene* or *Messenia* frag. 30); Leonard, *R.E.*, loc. cit. For further references see D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 187 note 4, 188 note 12.

⁴ *Γαυλός*: Herodotos, VI, 119. When the *γαυλός* was used as a milkpail (*Od.* IX, 223), it must have been tied onto the animal or put onto a stand while the milking was done.

Greek examples known thus far. The oldest of the three is probably one found in Delphi,⁵ of slightly smaller dimensions, which also had an iron handle (without attachments) passing through holes beneath its unarticulated upper lip. Probably later in development, but still more primitive than the pail from Mantinea, is the only intact Greek bucket of this form preserved, one found in an early archaic layer at Olympia (Pl. 34, a).⁶ It is almost identical in size with our pail. Its simple unmoulded projecting lip, handle attachments and fittings, though still without decoration, are ancestors of the more ornate forms of the vessel from Mantinea. Here, too, the handle passes through rings with inner stops but, unlike those from Delphi and Mantinea, it is made of bronze instead of iron. Such handles as well as the attachments preserved in other instances where the vessel itself is lacking show, as Furtwängler has pointed out, that the type was very common in Olympia.⁷ One such attachment with handle ring, in Olympia, retains a palmette decoration,⁸ simpler and cruder than that from Mantinea (Pl. 33, a). We should restore our pail with a similar handle forged in iron and provided with an upper ring for the fastening of a rope or chain. Metal chains at this point are preserved, in some instances, on pails found in Etruria and iron chains used in bronze *situlae* are documented by Vitruvius.⁹ How such a vessel was used to draw water is seen in the representation of an Etruscan version of the story of Amymone on a fourth-century B.C. Etruscan bronze *situla* of ovoid type. Here a pail is suspended on a rope which passes through a hole in the handle and, at the other end, is wound around a cylindrical object, undoubtedly of wood which releases the pail into the depths as it is turned around and, conversely, draws it upward (Pl. 33, b).¹⁰

The type of vessel represented by the three archaic pails of Delphi, Olympia and Mantinea was used elsewhere, too, as the discovery of a fragmentary handle attachment with ring in the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos¹¹ shows (Pl. 33, c). While its palmette is broken away, the horizontal bar above it, though without ornament, has upper and lower mouldings that correspond to the ornamentation of this member on the pail from Mantinea. This example may have been exported from a Peloponnesian

⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, Paris, 1908, p. 92, No. 432 (Inv. 3067), fig. 312. Ht. 0.21 m.

⁶ A. Furtwängler, *Bronzen von Olympia: Kleine Schriften*, I, Munich, 1912, p. 395; *Olympia*, IV, Berlin, 1890, p. 139, No. 868, fig.; Daremberg-Saglio, IV, fig. 4477. Ht. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.25 m. (the scale 1:3 given in the illustration in *Olympia*, loc. cit., is obviously wrong).

⁷ *Olympia*, IV, Nos. 869 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140, No. 874, pl. 51.

⁹ G. Gozzadini, *Di ultime scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto, nel Bolognese*, Bologna, 1870, pl. 14, figs. 6, 8; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, fig. 11; A. De Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1915, pl. 102, No. 2826 (from Montefiascone); Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, pl. 102c, Nos. 4, 10. Vitruvius, X, 4, 4.

¹⁰ *Gazette archéologique*, VII, 1881-1882, pp. 7 f., pls. 1-2.

¹¹ Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, col. 226, No. 778, fig. 26, dated before 525 B.C.

workshop, as export of such pails to Magna Graecia and Etruria may also have occurred, if handles of the type reported to exist in the Naples Museum¹² really belonged to pails of our form. This, however, seems to be uncertain inasmuch as such handles could have been used on vessels of other shape, too. But descendants of our type of bucket do occur in Etruria in the fifth century B.C., if smaller in size and varied in shape and decoration: two pails found in Bologna¹³ and Montefiascone¹⁴ are more oval and elongated, while one from Marzabotto has a pointed lower end.¹⁵ Closest to the Greek prototype is a small pail from Bologna¹⁶ which, like those of Montefiascone and Marzabotto still preserves part of a chain and thus was actually used to draw water (Pl. 33, d). Its small size and use of bearded masks as handle attachments suggest that this variety of descendant of the Greek *gaulos* was called *vávros*, the "dwarf," and, in Latin, *barbutus*, the "bearded one," terms described as equivalent.¹⁷ Such nomenclature indicates that the type was quite commonly used, in spite of the fact that in Greece it did not find its way into tombs—why should the deceased be provided with a vessel with which to draw water?—and occurs only in sanctuaries. A later example of the *gaulos* appears on a relief from the Mausoleum of Gjölbaski-Trysa, where a young man draws water from a well in an unclear context.¹⁸

Otherwise, examples of the ovoid pails survive in Etruria beyond the classical age, especially the variant with a pointed lower end.¹⁹ From the Ptolemaic age on in Egypt²⁰ and still later elsewhere, another more elongated and cylindrical descendant of the Greek *situla* with rounded bottom occurs in the cult of the Egyptian Gods. But more direct rounded, footless and more globular descendants of the archaic *gaulos* of Greece are found, too, down to the late Roman Republic (Pl. 33, e)²¹ and this form

¹² Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 395. B. Schroeder, *loc. cit.*, rightly leaves these handles unrelated to specific forms. A handle of this type passing through rings equipped with stops is used, e. g., on a handsome fifth-century B.C. pail in the shape of a bronze amphora with a lid from Gela in the Museum at Syracuse (*Mon. Ant.*, XVII, 1906, cols. 451-452, fig. 321).

¹³ Zannoni, *op. cit.*, pl. 73, No. 16 (bottom missing but obviously rounded and footless).

¹⁴ De Ridder, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ Gozzadini, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, No. 6.

¹⁶ Zannoni, *op. cit.*, pl. 102e, No. 4. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 7, has already related this to the Greek prototype. For the use of mask attachments, see *ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁷ Festus, 184, 25 f. Lindsay and 185, 8 Lindsay. Varro, *L.L.*, V, 119, Leonard, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 1, fig.; F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroons von Gjölbaski-Trysa*, Vienna, 1950, p. 58, B 7, pl. 19.

¹⁹ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 14, fig. 11, 4; p. 20, fig. 19, note 9. *Situla* from Perugia, 4th-3rd century B.C., L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, II, Florence, 1912, pl. 121. The famous *situla* from Bolsena belongs to the third century B.C.; H. Heydemann, *3. Hallisches Winckelmanns-Program*, 1879, pl. 4, fig. 3, p. 99, No. 63; Milani, *op. cit.*, pl. 24; E. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. 315, fig. 7.

²⁰ F. v. Bissing, *Metallgefäße* (Cairo, *Cat. gén.*), pp. 9 ff., Nos. 3447 ff.

²¹ *Situla* from Boscoreale in Berlin: Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff., fig. 22. It seems questionable whether one should call this an archaistic revival. It is more likely that the old type continued

re-emerges in the second century after Christ in a Gallo-Roman bronze pail recently discovered at Tillemont (Pl. 33, f).²²

The bucket from Mantinea, thus, is the most elaborate representative of a long line of development that started in archaic mainland Greece. In another respect, too, it adds to our knowledge. It is the first example of an archaic Greek bronze vessel which is composed of two separate parts riveted together. Furtwängler, in his still fundamental discussion of Greek bronze vessels,²³ saw in this technique a distinctive Italic feature and denied that it ever occurred in Greece. But the riveting together of a vessel made in separate hammered sections is now documented in Greece for the Bronze age²⁴ and the bucket from Mantinea shows that this technique continued in use in the archaic period. Under the circumstances, its use in a prototype of the Italic *situla* found in a Greek city in Sicily²⁵ points to the introduction of the technique into Italy by Greek craftsmen of the archaic age.

For the date of our bronze vessel within the archaic period, to which it obviously belongs, only the ornament of the attachment offers specific indication (Pl. 31, b). Its combination of palmette, volutes and flower is commonly known in the second half of the sixth century B.C. alike in the decoration of vases and architectural terracottas.

without interruption through the intervening period. An object in the Naples Museum in which Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, recognized a neoclassical revivalist pail remains enigmatic: *Museo Borbonico*, IV, pl. 12, fig. 1. Enquiries about this object made with the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania elicited the following bewildering statement: "L'oggetto infatti non solo non è fotografato, ma non è nemmeno tra quelli compresi nella Collezione dei Piccoli Bronzi. Finora ogni ricerca nei depositi è risultata vana, ma si pensa che questo vaso possa essere, insieme ad altri, nella sezione tecnologica, sita nel cosiddetto Braccio Nuovo. Presentamente però l'accesso a questi locali è impossibile, causa il parziale crollo del soffitto."

The upper part, including the lip, palmette handle attachments, rings with stops and handle with upper ring for the chain, seems to correspond to our type. The palmette, to judge from the drawing, is of good fifth-century style and the lip is decorated with an egg and dart. But the vessel as drawn ends slightly beneath its largest diameter in a flat bottom on clumsy feet, an unheard-of shape, if this ending is original. One wonders whether this is not an original Greek fifth century B.C. pail of our type and whether it has been tampered with in later antiquity or in modern times.

²² *Fasti Archaeologici*, VI, 1951 (1953), p. 434, fig. 162. This rather baroque transformation of entirely unclassical or archaistic character with fluting and a handle wiggling like a snake attests the unbroken development of a basic type. It is possible that buckets used by the Roman army had that old Greek form. But in the representations of buckets used for drawing water appearing on Trajan's Column (Scenes IV and XII), the lower end is not visible and could have had either a foot or a flat bottom, continuing another type of Greek pail which already occurs in the archaic period: *C.V.A.*, Belgium, Brussels, I, III c, pl. 1, 3; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 221, No. 60 (Onesimos).

²³ *Kleine Schriften*, p. 396. Where later writers on *situlae* who have referred to this statement got the idea that Greek archaic pails were cast, not hammered (Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.*, Leonard, *loc. cit.*), I do not know. Furtwängler is not responsible for such nonsense.

²⁴ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, pp. 12 f., fig. 2; *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 283, fig. 8.

²⁵ *Situla* from Leontini: *Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, XXXVIII, pp. 30 ff.

But I have been unable to find an exact analogy for the arrangement, proportion and type of upper flower in Greek ornament of the period. What distinguishes it is the peculiar, angular, simplified flower with an arrow-shaped center between two laurel leaf forms, though this is undoubtedly a transformation of a three-lobed bud or flower. This feature, as well as the large size of the volutes in proportion to the palmette, is somewhat anticipated in painted imitations of metal attachments beneath the handles of Rhodian amphoras of the Fikellura group between 570 and 540 B.C.²⁶ But in relief attachments and their painted imitations on vases, the volutes invariably move downward over the palmette, while on the bronze pail they roll outward in the opposite sense, as they often do on architectural terracottas. A not too distant antecedent of our palmette with its slightly articulated outline within the continuous outer contour of the attachment and its separation of the volutes and the wide, double-lined arc between them is found in the relief imitation under the vertical handle of a Chalcidian hydria datable *ca.* 540-530 B.C. (Pl. 34, b).²⁷ On the other hand, painted imitations of palmette attachments on Attic vases of the decade between 520 and 510²⁸ show palmettes close to the type of the bronze pail (Pl. 33, g) and at times rudiments of the bud between the volutes.²⁹ Therefore, our bronze pail should probably be dated about 520 B.C.

If the bronze pail from Mantinea is an important example of a rare form of archaic vessel, its importance is enhanced by the dedicatory inscription preserved on one side of its lip (Pl. 32). This inscription is carefully incised in archaic lettering. Its beginning, at the left, is destroyed along with the portion of the lip. But its end, at the right, near the extant handle-ring is intact, and that it ended here is evident from the lack of any further trace of letters on the well preserved surface (0.085 m. long) of the lip on its other side beyond the handle. Inasmuch as the text, as we shall see, ends at the right with an abbreviation and the spacing is rather wide at the left, it seems certain that it began at the left close to the handle and had a total length of *ca.* 0.24 m., of which more than two thirds (0.17 m.) is preserved:

.....ΙΛΟΣΥΝΕΘΥΣΕΤΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΛΨΟ

The σ has the form Σ , the θ has a cross and for κ , koppa is used. Only the upper part

²⁶ Examples: *C.V.A.*, Great Britain, 9, Oxford, 2, pl. 6, fig. 2 (dated by Beazley between 575 and 550 B.C.); similar *ibid.*, Great Britain, 13, British Museum, 8, pl. 5, figs. 1-2; *ibid.*, Italy, 9, Rhodes 1, II D, pl. 4, figs. 1-2, both dated between 550 and 525 B.C.

²⁷ A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 22, No. 9; P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 17, fig. a. For the obvious metal prototype, see Rumpf, p. 140.

²⁸ See, for example, *C.V.A.*, Germany, 12, Munich 4, pl. 188, fig. 3, No. 2300 and Germany, 3, Munich 1, pl. 52, fig. 6, *ca.* 510 B.C., with remnants of the upper flowers; *ibid.*, United States of America, 10, San Francisco collections, 1, pl. 9, 1 f., with wavy contour, while our palmette still has the solid outer lines of the earlier tradition (Smith, *ibid.*, p. 27). All slightly later than ours.

²⁹ See the preceding note.

of the second letter which theoretically could be an α or δ is preserved, and the upper bar of the tenth letter. Seven or eight letters are missing at the left and two more in the otherwise preserved text. But the reading leaves no doubt about them:

.....ιλος ὑνέθυσε τ' Ἀθαναία τ' Ἀλαλκο(μενία)

The dialect form ὑνέθυσε = ἀνέθυσε, equivalent to ἀνέθηκε, is known from other Arcadian inscriptions³⁰ as is the form Ἀθαναία.³¹ -ιλος is evidently the end of the dedicator's name which I do not venture to restore.

The bronze pail, thus, was dedicated to Athena in a local sanctuary by a man whose name ended in -ilos. This sanctuary undoubtedly was situated to the north of the archaic city of Mantinea—the general region in which the vase was discovered—where Pausanias, many centuries later, still saw a spring of Alalkomenia, πηγή Ἀλαλκομενίας (VIII, 12, 7).³² I have, accordingly, restored the form Ἀλαλκο(μενία) for the epithet of Athena at the end of the dedication. We learn from this inscription that in Mantinea in the archaic age Alalkomenia was an epithet of Athena, while previously it has been believed that it was the name of a different and independent deity.³³ We also know that the spring mentioned by Pausanias was situated in or near her sanctuary, so that the surname of the goddess still adhered to it when, in his time (to judge from his silence), the sanctuary had been abandoned.

The coincidence that we possess a pail of the type used to draw water that was dedicated in a sanctuary connected with a spring leads to the conclusion that this vessel was given for use in the rites of that sanctuary. The use of water pails in sanctuaries in connection with sacrificial rites is documented in Greece as early as the Mycenaean age (on the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triada) and the discovery of such pails or fragments of them in the sanctuaries at Delphi, at Olympia and of Athena at Lindos attests the same practice. In a later source, Plautus' *Rudens* (lines 438, 459 ff., 467 ff.), we have a graphic illustration of their function.³⁴ Here, what is called in the Latin translation an *urna*³⁵ is part of the equipment of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. The priestess, in order to obtain water for the rites, dispatches a woman

³⁰ ὑνέθυ[σε] = ἀνέθυσε *I.G.*, V, 2, 554-555 and [ἀνέ]θυσε(?) *ibid.*, 101.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 280.

³² On the location of the spring within this general region, see G. Fougères, *Mantinee (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises, 78)*, Paris, 1898, pp. 269 ff.; J. G. Fraser in *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, IV, London, 1898, p. 222; Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, ed. Hitzig-Blümner, III, 1, Leipzig, 1907, p. 153.

³³ Fougères, *loc. cit.*; *R.E.*, s.v. *Mantineia*, col. 1332, No. 6 (Bölte).

³⁴ I am indebted to my colleague Lionel Casson for calling my attention to this passage and pointing out its striking analogies.

³⁵ The translation "pitcher" given by the translator of the Loeb edition is nonsensical. A pitcher cannot be used to draw water from what is described as a deep well. The Greek text may have read ἀντλήιον for which there seems to be no Latin equivalent.

with a pail to a deep well situated near by but not in the sanctuary itself. The pail is sacred to the goddess (*sacram urnam Veneris*, lines 473, 475) and, what is more, it bears an inscription—which may be a dedicatory inscription or simply read something like *ἱερὸς εἰμὶ Ἀφροδίτης*³⁶—designating it as divine property and making its theft a very perilous enterprise because the pail would “sing out” to whom it really belonged: *nam haec litteratast eaque cantat cuius sit* (lines 477-478). The pail from Mantinea inscribed with a dedication to Athena Alalkomenia and used to draw water from a spring near to or in her sanctuary furnishes a visual illustration of Plautus’ amusing comic scene or, rather, of his Greek source. The remote ancestors of the Arcadian shepherd who could not see the dirt-covered inscription and could not have read it, even if he had seen it, or have understood that he was taking away divine property from the site would have been forced to respect that divine ownership even if they found the pail negligently abandoned at the spring.

As our inscription shows, Athena Alalkomenia was worshipped in Arcadia in the archaic period and the spring near Mantinea was related to her and not to an independent goddess, Alalkomene, brought by hypothetical immigrants from Alalkomenai in Boeotia.³⁷

As in regard to the relationship between Athena and the name of her town, Athens, modern scholars have now accepted the derivation of the name of the town Alalkomenai in Boeotia from the name of the goddess who was called by Homer Athena Alalkomeneis³⁸ and who was worshipped in Chios as Athena Alalkomene,³⁹ so we now meet her in Mantinea as Athena Alalkomenia (cf. also, Ἀλαλκομένηα as an epithet of Athena in Photios’ *Bib.*, p. 144b l. 24 Bekker; Ἀλαλκομενία in Steph. Byz. and as the name of a “heroine,” Paus. IX, 33, 5; Ἀλαλκομενίη as epithet of Hera, *Et. Mag.*, 568). This epithet, as Aristarchos had already recognized, refers to the armed Palladion goddess who is “defender” of cities.⁴⁰ In fact, the Boeotian sanctu-

³⁶ For inscriptions which designate ownership by the divinity of a sanctuary without indication of the dedicator references will be given in my forthcoming volume 2, part II of *Samothrace, Excavations* (Bollingen Series, LX).

³⁷ As Fougères, *loc. cit.* tried to prove.

³⁸ This stand was already taken with specific reference to the Spring of Mantinea by C. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Mynier*, Breslau, 1844, p. 208, note 1, who also was the first to see essential aspects of the problem of Athens (*Kleine Schriften*, II, Breslau, 1848, pp. 135 ff.). The discussion of H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, pp. 235 ff. remains fundamental. See also *R.E.* s.v. Alalkomenai, Alalkomeneis, Alakomenia, Alalkomenion (curiously, without reference to Mantinea); L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I, Oxford, 1896, p. 308; Roscher in *Ausführliches Mythologisches Lexikon*, I, col. 685 A.; G. Finsler, *Homer*, Berlin, 1914, p. 222; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2nd ed., I, Basel, 1956, pp. 230, 235, note 2; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, Munich, 1941, pp. 487 f.; K. Kerényi, “Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion,” *Albae Vigiliae*, N.F., Heft 12, Ascona, p. 28.

³⁹ *B.C.H.*, I, p. 281.

⁴⁰ For the derivation from ἀλαλκεῖν and ἀλκή see note 38.

ary claimed to possess the original Palladion and we may assume that the goddess of Mantinea was visualized by her worshippers as this type of active warrior goddess, a type early documented, too, in the archaic art of Arcadia.⁴¹

The various forms of the epithet all have the same meaning and, as an epithet, it might be transferred in special cases to other divinities such as Hera (*Et. Mag.*: Ἀλαλκομενίη) or Zeus (*ibid.*, Ἀλαλκομενιεύς), or to a hero, Ἀλαλκομένιος or a Praxidike (Ἀλαλκομενία, Suidas).

But there is no reason to accept a repeatedly voiced theory that this eloquent name originally designated an independent divinity only later absorbed by Athena.⁴² Outside Boeotia, the epithet is documented for Athena only and as such it occurs in the wide area from Arcadia to Chios. It seems to be a proper epiklesis of hers, invoking her as armed protectress of cities. Already occurring in Homer's *Iliad* and found, too, in regions not touched by the Doric invasions, but Greek in derivation and meaning, the epithet Alalkomenia and its related forms may well be an "Achaean" surname of the Palladion goddess who was already worshipped at that time on the Acropolis of Mycenae and who was generally called by her pre-Greek name, Athena or Athanaia. From the latter was derived the name of the city of Athens. Her epithet created the names of Alalkomenia and Alalkomenion in Boeotia and of the Alalkomenian spring in Mantinea.

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⁴¹ *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, pl. 12.

⁴² Fougères, *loc. cit.*; Usener, *op. cit.*; Nilsson, *loc. cit.*

A GRAFFITO FROM AMYKLAI

(PLATE 34)

THE graffito described below (Pl. 34) was found by chance at the Amyklaion near Sparta in November, 1957, and is now in the study collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. It is a fragment of Laconian roof tile of reddish clay with brown glaze on the concave surface and the preserved portion of the original right edge. Twelve lines of letters are preserved, incised with some care in the glaze.

Height (relative to the writing), 0.122 m.; width, 0.073 m.; thickness, 0.008-0.018 m.

vacat

[---]αντ[---]

[---]θενει[---]

vacat

[---]ννμια

[---]οπα

5 [---]σα

[---]λεανις

[---]δροτελι

[---]πιρικον

[---]αχια

10 [---]λυτις

[---]μα

[---]ατια

A few restorations can be offered *exempli gratia*. Line 1: perhaps [Ἄκαμ]αν-τ[ία], as in *I.G.*, V, 1, 209. Line 2: possibly [Εὐρυσ]θένει[α]; *B.S.A.*, XXX, 1928-30, pp. 243 f., or [Δαμοσ]θένει[α] (*I.G.*, V, 1, 509, 576, and *stemma*, p. 131). Line 3: [Εὐο?]ννμία; cf. Εὐόννμα, *B.S.A.*, XXVI, 1923-25, pp. 271 f., no. 5, and Εὐόννμος, *I.G.*, V, 1, 983 (perhaps also *B.S.A.*, XXX, 1928-30, p. 250, nos. 8, 9: -μια, -νμια). Line 4: [Καλλι]όπα, cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 1191. Line 5: [---]σα. The stroke of the first letter bears a strong resemblance to the lower bar of *sigma* in lines 6 and 10. Line 6: perhaps [Κ]λεανίς; cf. Κλεαινίς, *I.G.*, XII, 1, 217, 877; Κλεωνίς, *I.G.*, IV, 630b (and possibly *B.S.A.*, XXX, 1928-30, p. 250, no. 6: ΚΛΕ-). Line 7: [Ἄν]δροτελί<ς> *vel sim.*; the final sigma was apparently omitted through carelessness. Line 8: [Ἐ?]πί-

νικον. This must be one of the rare instances of a neuter woman's name which is not an hypercoristic in -ιον.¹ Line 9: [Δεξιμ]αχία; cf. Δεξιμαχος, with 16 entries in the index to *I.G.*, V, 1. Line 10: [Θεο?]λυτίς, a possible variant of Θεολύτη (Athenaeus, XI, 471 A; XIII, 570 E, 587 E; cf. Θεόλυτος, Thucydides, II, 102; Athenaeus, VII, 296 A; XI, 470 B; Θεύλυτος, *I.G.*, XII, 1, 225). Line 11: possibly [Ἀριστοδά]μα, since Ἀριστόδαμος is found at least ten times in Spartan inscriptions (index to *I.G.*, V, 1, s.v.). Line 12: perhaps [Δαμοκρ]ατία, as in *I.G.*, V, 1, 141, 572, 581. Below the first preserved letter of line 12 are two scratches which could be the upper part of a pointed letter (*alpha, delta, lambda*), but may be only damage near the line of fracture.

The tile cannot be dated exactly; similar tiles are known from at least the late fourth century B.C. into Roman Imperial times. Dating by letter forms, moreover, is far from exact, especially in the case of graffiti, but enough other graffiti have been found at Sparta to provide an approximate chronology. If Woodward's dates are accepted for the dedications of Chilonis (270-200 B.C.), Damaris (ca. 250 B.C.), and Eurystheneia (ca. 300 B.C.),² we should place the writing of the Amyklai graffito sometime in the second half of the third century B.C.

Four other inscribed sherds were found at the Amyklaion by Tsountas,³ and two more have been published recently by Amyx.⁴ All were surface finds at the site of the sanctuary, and all seem to have been inscribed with proper names.⁵ Sherds were often used as writing material in antiquity, and names are the most common inscriptions found on them. The largest single class of such inscriptions, the Athenian ostraka, can hardly be expected to shed any light on the graffiti from Amyklai, but closer parallels are provided by the inscribed sherds from the Athenian Agora published by Vanderpool,⁶ and two from Gortyn published by Miss Guarducci.⁷ The present example, which consists of a list of women's names, has no precise parallel so far as I have found, although an unpublished graffito from the Athenian Agora contains the names of five men and two women.⁸ In Sparta, however, catalogues and lists of names are by far the most common inscriptions on stone.

¹ Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen*, Göttingen, 1902, pp. 49-51; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, München, 1950, p. 37.

² *B.S.A.*, XXIV, 1919-21, pp. 110 ff.; XXX, 1928-30, pp. 243 f., especially fig. 2, nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10.

³ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, p. 4 (= *I.G.*, V, 1, 1574, p. xxii). I have been unable to discover the present location of these four sherds; they are not listed in Tod and Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, Oxford, 1906, as are most of the finds from Tsountas' excavations of 1890.

⁴ *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 168 f.

⁵ Tsountas' nos. 3 and 4 seem to have been inscribed with more than one name, although they may have had a name and patronymic as does the Kallikrates sherd published by Amyx.

⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Studies in Honor of T. L. Shear*, 1949, pp. 405 ff.

⁷ *Annuario*, N.S. XIV-XVI, 1952-54, pp. 167 ff.

⁸ P 15209; second quarter of the fifth century B.C.

The finding place of this sherd strongly suggests a ritual or other religious significance. The sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai was the scene of the Spartan Hyakinthia, the importance of which is so strikingly attested by Herodotos (IX, 7; 11) and Xenophon (*Hell.* IV, 5, 11), while Polybios (V, 19, 8) calls the shrine *σχεδὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ Λακωνικὴν ἱερῶν*. Although the details of the ritual celebrated at the Hyakinthia and especially the division of honors paid to the hero Hyakinthos and to Apollo are subjects of learned controversy,⁹ it is abundantly clear that women played an important part in the festival. The fullest extant account of the Hyakinthia (Polykrates *apud* Athenaeus, IV, 4, 139 C-F) mentions processions with some maidens riding in gaily decorated wicker wagons, and others in two-horse chariots in which they raced. Pausanias (III, 16, 2) reports that the Spartan women wove a chiton each year for the image of Apollo at Amyklai, and it is likely that this was carried to the sanctuary (along the Hyakinthian Way) as a part of the Hyakinthia. Euripides (*Helen*, lines 1465 ff.) knew of a nocturnal observance with women's dances at Amyklai, and this is presumably to be connected with the dance during the Hyakinthia from which St. Jerome (*Adv. Iovinianum* I, 308) relates that 15 maidens were abducted one night. Perhaps the all-night festival at Amyklai for women mentioned by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 775 D) was a part of the same ritual. Women are associated with the Hyakinthia in inscriptions, each time as *ἀρχηὶς καὶ θεωρὸς διὰ βίου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγῶνος τῶν Ἑακινθίων* (*I.G.*, V, 1, 586, 587). In any case, the prominence of women in the celebration of the Hyakinthia provides a plausible explanation for the discovery at Amyklai of a sherd inscribed with women's names, although the exact connection remains obscure.

There seems to be no satisfactory way to determine whether or not the graffiti at Amyklai were all inscribed for the same (or a similar) purpose. Amyx has already pointed out the difference in age of the examples known to him, but at a sanctuary where the ritual is known to have survived several centuries, this is hardly conclusive. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that some part or parts of the cult ritual required (or were facilitated by) the practice of inscribing the names of certain individuals on sherds.

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⁹ Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 129 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, Oxford, 1907, pp. 264 ff.; Ziehen, *R.E.*, III, A (1929), *s.v. Sparta*, cols. 1518 ff.; Mellink, *Hyakinthos*, Utrecht, 1943, pp. 5-46, esp. 21 ff.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE RUBRIC ΕΚ ΤΩΜ ΜΗ ΠΗΤΗ

IN 403/2 B.C., Athens returned to a democratic form of government.¹ Incident to this change, Nichomachos, continuing his revision of the laws, caused to be inscribed on stone a calendrical list of sacrifices. The list of sacrifices was laid out under rubrics. Among the rubrics was a type beginning with the preposition ἐκ, such as ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα.² The meaning of the rubrics as a whole, i. e. the significance of the preposition ἐκ, will not concern me here.³ The *prima facie* interpretation of the rest of the phrases, after the ἐκ, is relatively clear in every instance except for ἐκ τῶμ μὴ ῥητῇ.

This phrase occurs on a fragment of the inscription first published by A. Hauvette-Besnault in 1879. He offered one or two conjectural interpretations but without any supporting evidence.⁴ U. Koehler republished the text as *I.G.*, II, 844, and referred to Hesychius' explanation of ῥητῇν for ῥητῇ. Of the more recent editors, L. Ziehen in 1906,⁵ J. Kirchner in the editio minor, *I.G.*, II², 1357a, A. Boethius in 1918,⁶ and J. H. Oliver in 1935,⁷ none has offered any explanation of the phrase. On the other hand, modern grammarians have been bolder. K. Meisterhans translated ῥητῇ as an adverb, meaning *palam*,⁸ and B. Delbrueck, although he followed Meisterhans' meaning, considered ῥητῇ as an adjective dependent on an understood βουλῇ.⁹ K. Brugmann reverted to Meisterhans' adverbial construction¹⁰ and E. Schwyzler, the last (1950) to consider the word, implies that he prefers to construe ῥητῇ as an adverb.¹¹ Since the grammarians are not certain of the meaning and construction of ῥητῇ, and as none of the epigraphists except Koehler have offered any well attested explanation, it may be useful to call attention again to the meaning of Hesychius and to explain the phrase as a whole more fully.

¹ The author expresses his thanks to Professor Sterling Dow who posed the question and helped him in writing this paper.

² J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 25.

³ In a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association, 28 December 1956, S. Dow dealt with ἐκ-rubrics, presenting a case for regarding them as indicating sources of law, rather than (as heretofore) funds.

⁴ *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pp. 69-73.

⁵ *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, 1, Leipzig, 1906, no. 16B.

⁶ *Die Pythais*, Uppsala, 1918, pp. 157-159.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 23 and pp. 29-30.

⁸ *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1888, p. 114 and Berlin, 1900, p. 145.

⁹ *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanische Sprachen*, I, Strassburg, 1893, p. 586.

¹⁰ *Griechische Grammatik*, edited by A. Thumb, Munich, 1913, p. 468.

¹¹ *Griechische Grammatik*, II, Munich, 1950, p. 163.

To begin with, if the phrase were written out in full instead of in the condensed form which is usual in such inscriptions, there would be at least a noun or participle, agreeing with τῶμ. To this noun or participle, the word ῥητῇ would be subordinate and it in turn would be modified by the μή which immediately precedes.¹² The negative μή instead of οὐ connotes that the following ῥητῇ is generic and collective and not an isolated, specific item.¹³ One might compare the clause of Plato, *Republic*, 486a, ὅταν κρίνειν μέλλης φύσιν φιλόσοφόν τε καὶ μή. A translation of the phrase so far is 'from those belonging to a class or condition which is not ῥητῇ.'

For the word ῥητῇ, there are two possible constructions: one, that ῥητῇ is an adverb—the final syllable, *eta iota*, being that of the adverb ῥῆ, Thucydides, II, 70, 4 and III, 51, 3; the other, that ῥητῇ is an adjective dependent on an understood noun.¹⁴

As an adverb, ῥητῇ would be formed from the adjective ῥητόν as ἰδίᾳ is from ἴδιον. The meaning of *palam* which Meisterhans attributed to ῥητῇ is presumably derived from the definition of ῥητόν as φανερόν, occurring in Hesychius, Suidas, and Zonaras. Since ῥητῇ as an adverb with or without the meaning *palam* has not been found by any scholar in the Greek preserved to us, it is only logical to consider the adjectival construction.

The noun with which ῥητῇ would agree must be feminine, singular, and of such frequent occurrence with ῥητῇ that, though omitted, it would still vaguely be sensed as present. Of the feminine nouns that were modified by ῥητή, in the *De Lineis Insectabilibus* of the Aristotelian Corpus, 968b, occurs once or twice γραμμή, and likewise in the *Elementa* of Euclid, 10, where its usage was so frequent that it was at times elliptically omitted. However, because as a technical, mathematical idiom, meaning 'rational line,' it is not apposite to this inscription, it is excluded from consideration. Although Polybios, XXXII, 22, 7 used ῥητήν with ἀπόκρισιν and Plato, *Theaetetus*, 202b, ῥητάς with συλλαβάς, no other such collocations have been found, and the two examples just quoted were doubtless fortuitous and infrequent. 'Ρητή modifying προθεσμία, 'statute of limitations' or 'stated limit of time,' I have found three times, but as the three examples are of the fifth¹⁵ and sixth centuries after Christ,¹⁶ and as the meaning, 'statute of limitations' or 'stated limit of time,' is not germane to a list of sacrifices, it is improbable that it is the noun to be understood with ῥητῇ. The only other feminine singular noun that I have found frequently associated with ῥητή is ἡμέρα. Thucydides used ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ three times, IV, 76, 4;

¹² E. Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

¹³ R. Kuehner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, edited by B. Gerth, II, 2, Hannover and Leipzig, 1904, p. 197.

¹⁴ K. Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, and E. Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁵ F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, III, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, no. 7033.

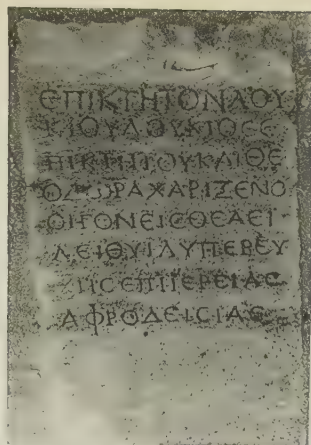
¹⁶ Società Italiana, *Papiri greci e latini*, I, Florence, 1912, no. 76. Seckel and W. Schubart, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos*, Berlin, 1919, 99, 2.

VI, 30, 1; VI, 64, 3; and ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν twice, VIII, 67, 1; VIII, 93, 3; while Xenophon used the last phrase once, *Hellenica*, III, 5, 6. Moreover, Thucydides also wrote ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις, VI, 29, 3, and associated ἡμέρα with the verb ἐρέω in the sentence ἡμέρα δ' αὐτοῖς εἴρητο ἥ ἔδει ἅμα ταῦτα πράσσειν, IV, 77, 1, and Xenophon wrote τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἡμερῶν *Cyropaedia*, VI, 2, 38. Since Pollux, I, 67, stated that ῥητὴ was used with ἡμέρα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν εἰς ἣν ὀρισώμεθα, the frequent association of ἡμέρα with ῥητὴ is beyond dispute. Moreover, ἡμέρα when agreeing with an adjective was often elliptically suppressed. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 541, did so twice in less than one sentence. The ellipse of ἡμέρα in this rubric is to be expected because the shorter form is in accord with the concise, legal style of the inscription. Since the quotidian and legal usage both support the hypothesis that the noun ἡμέρα is to be understood with ῥητῇ, the adjectival construction is to be preferred to the unattested adverbial.

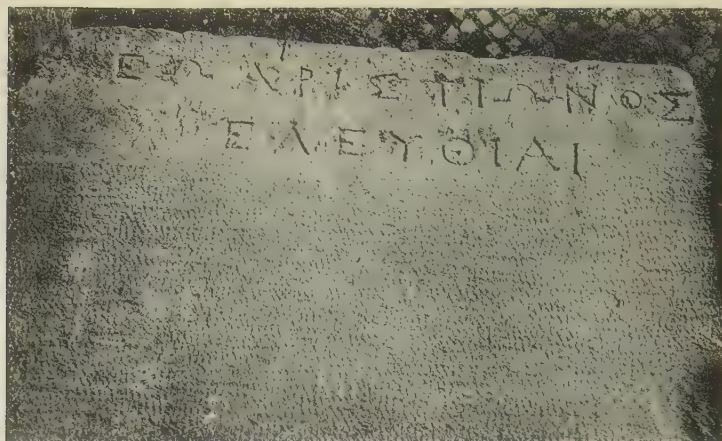
The translation of the phrase then becomes 'from those which do not belong to a stated day.' This translation rests upon a conjecture more probable than any other so far proposed but not proved and is in itself not quickly intelligible. What is meant by a 'stated day'? The answer to this question and the confirmation of the conjecture is furnished by Hesychius' definition of ῥητὴν. Long ago U. Koehler called attention to it, but when Ziehen republished the fragment in *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* and omitted the reference to Hesychius, the other editors followed suit. When I independently came upon Hesychius' definition, it struck me as the true explanation of the rubric. Thus if we interpret ῥητῇ in the light of τὴν ὀρισμένην ἡμέραν τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς θυσίαν, the translation of the phrase becomes 'from those which do not fall on a stated day of sacrifice.' The rubric so understood parallels some of the other rubrics such as ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα and is apposite to a list of sacrifices.

DE COURSEY FALES, JR.

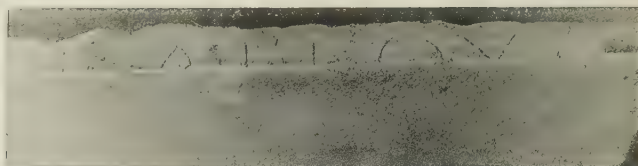
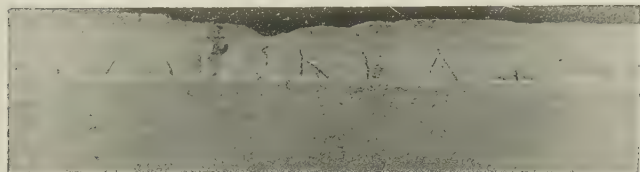
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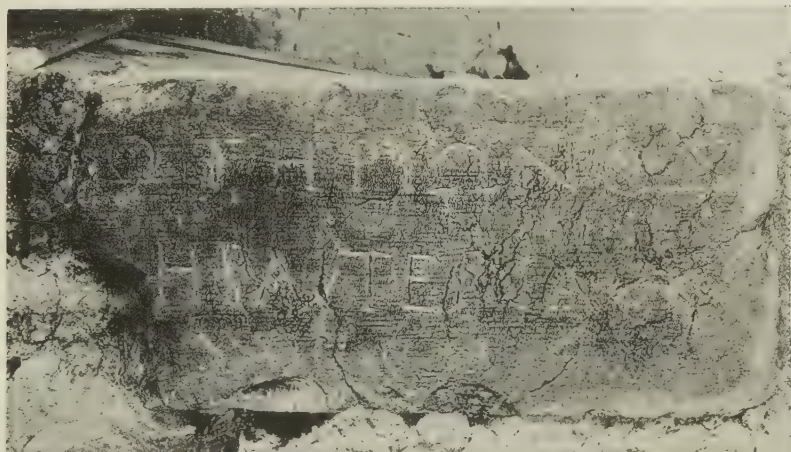
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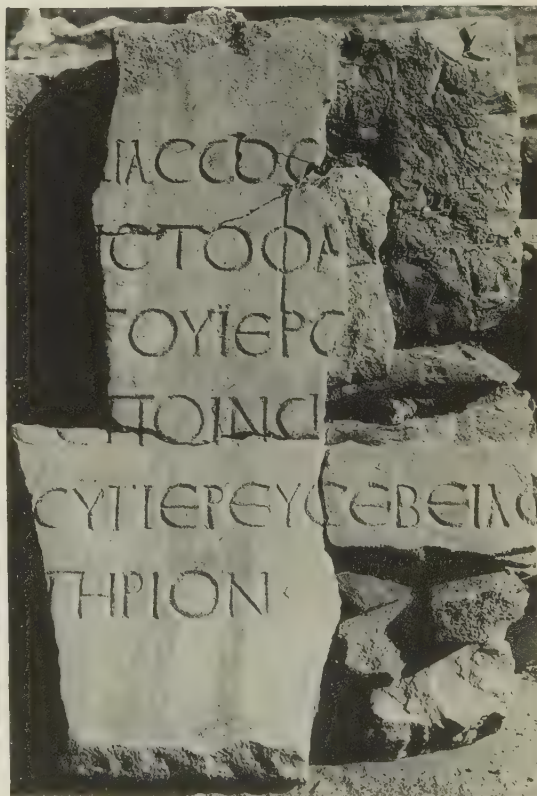
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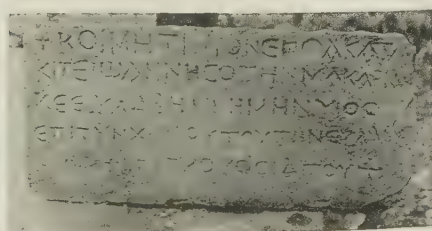
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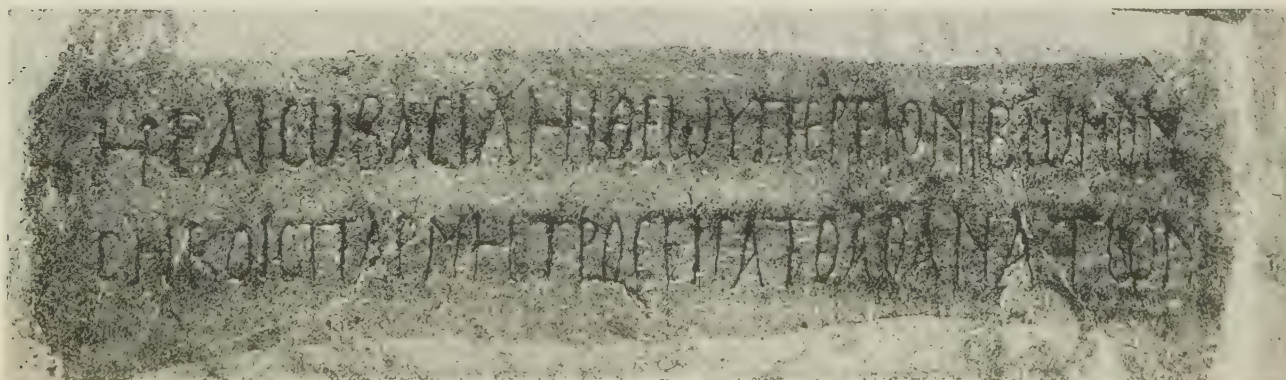
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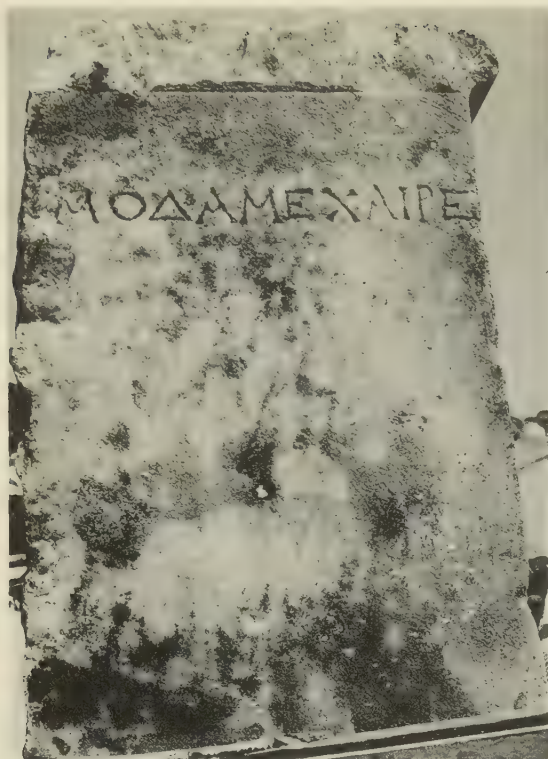
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No. 11



No. 10



No. 9



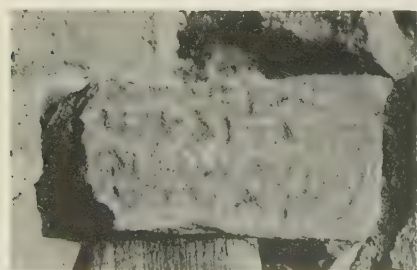
Nos. 19 (top) and 14 (bottom)



No. 15



No. 20



No. 13



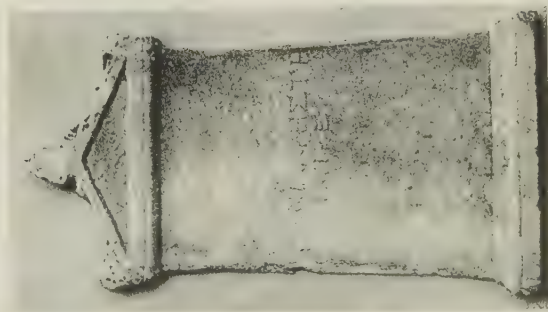
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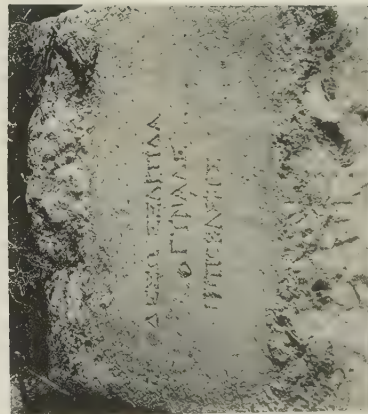
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No. 17



No. 18



No. 22



WALLACE E. McLEOD: AN EPHEBIC DEDICATION FROM RHAMNOUS



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



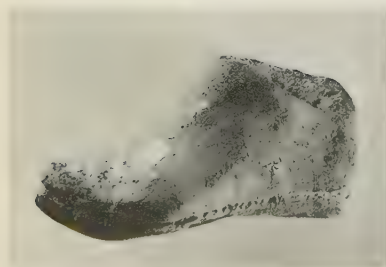
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No. 6



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No. 5



No. 7



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No. 9



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No. 11



No. 12



No. 17



No. 14





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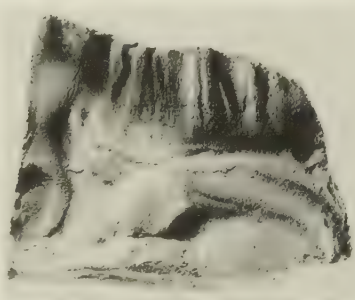
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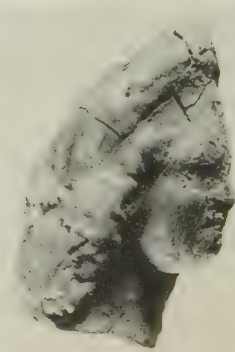
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No. 23



No. 25

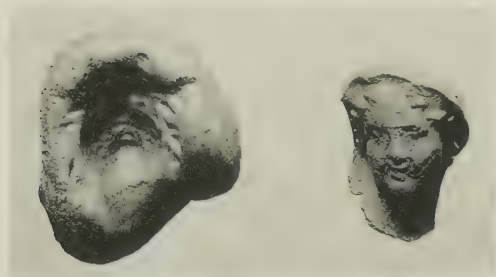
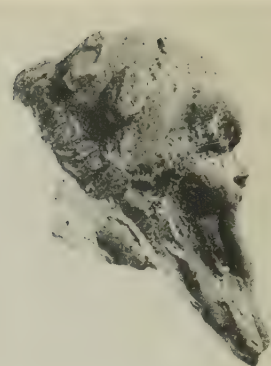




No. 27



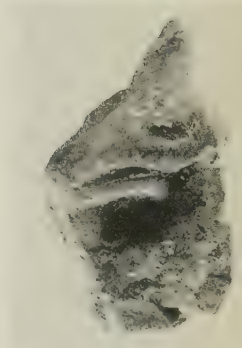
No. 28



No. 26



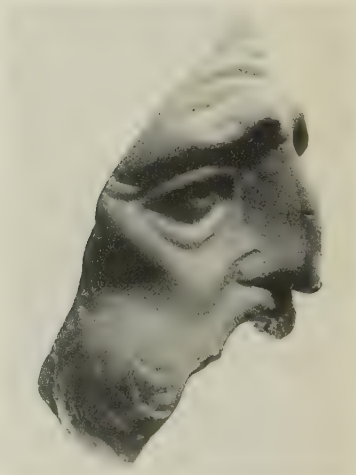
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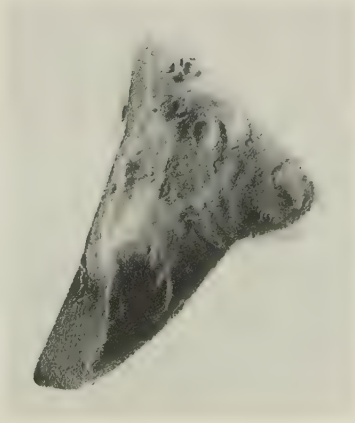
No. 29



T 88



T 862



No. 31



No. 32



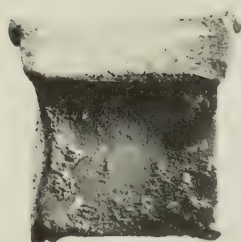
No. 33



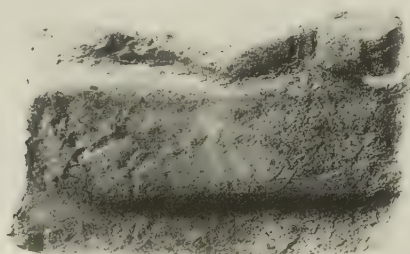
No. 34



No. 35



No. 36



No. 37



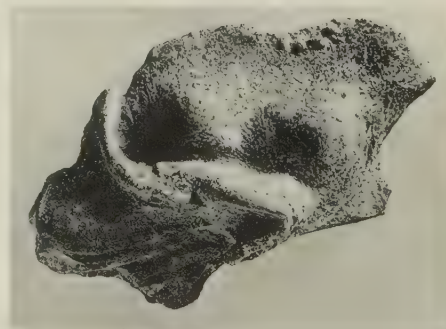
No. 39



No. 40



No. 38



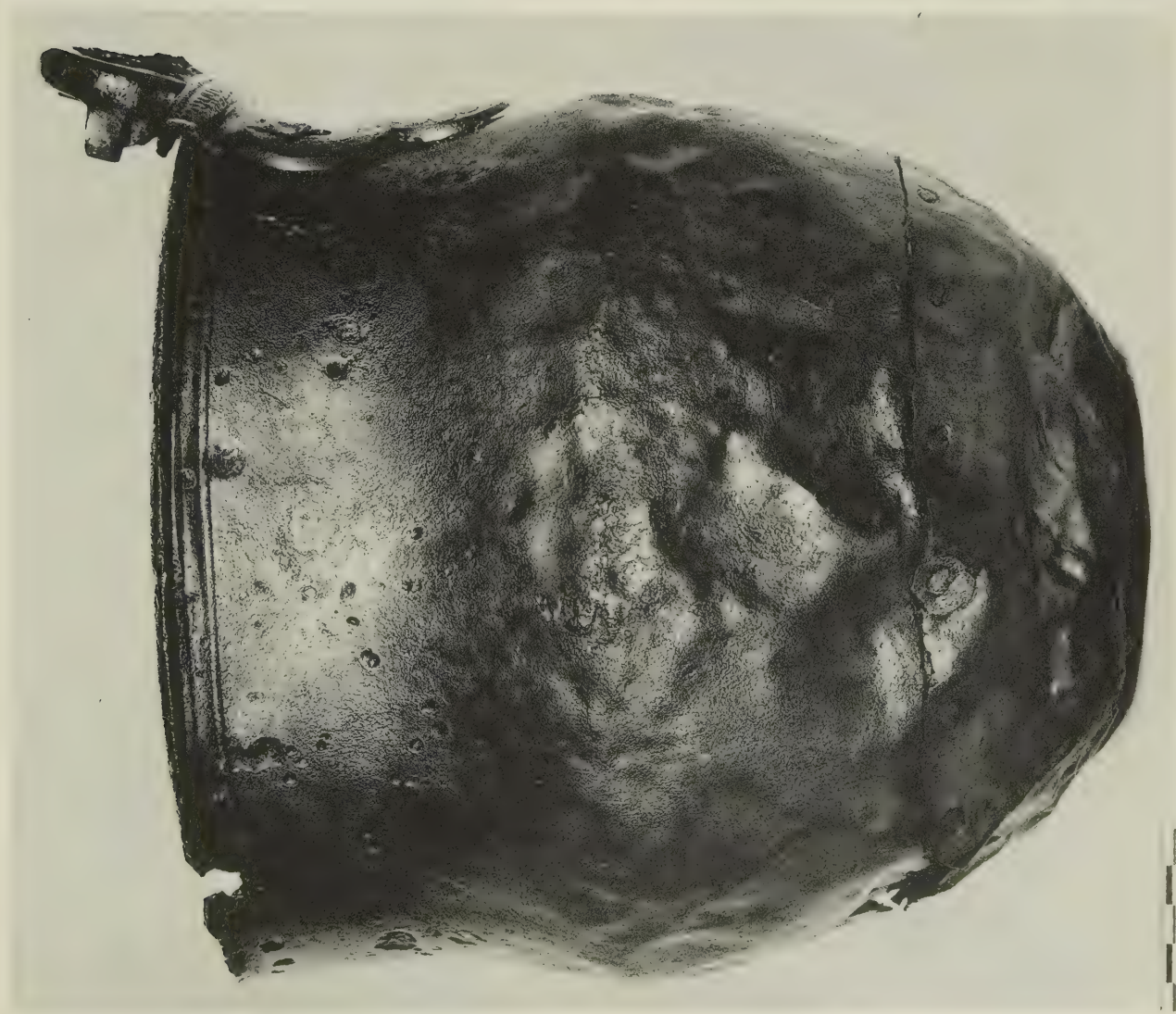
No. 41



No. 42



No. 43

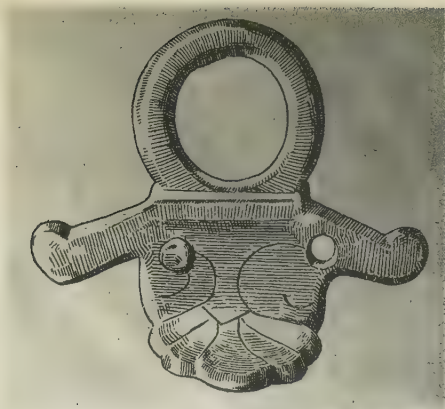


a. Bronze Pail from Mantinea



b. Handle Attachment of Bronze Pail from Mantinea

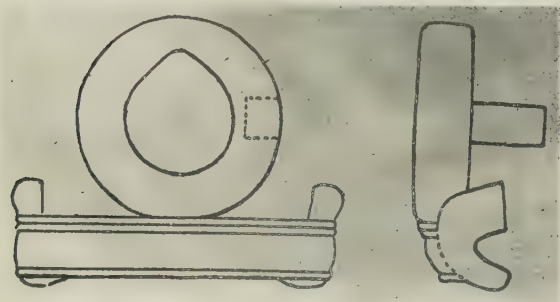
KARL LEHMANN: A BRONZE PAIL OF ATHENA ALKOMENIA



a. Handle Attachment from Olympia



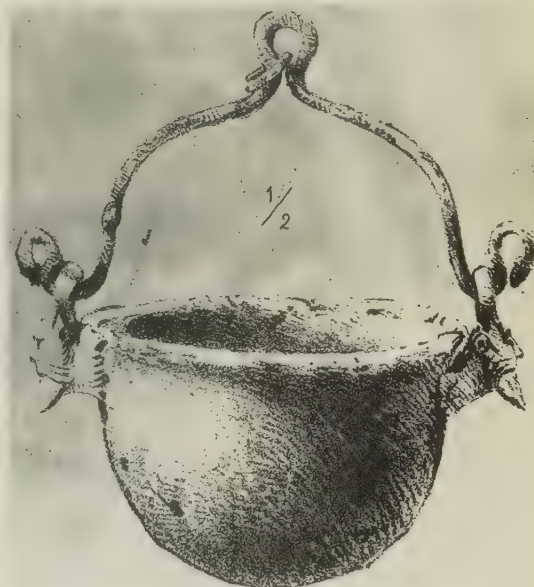
b. The Story of Aymone on an Etruscan Situla



c. Handle Attachment from Lindos



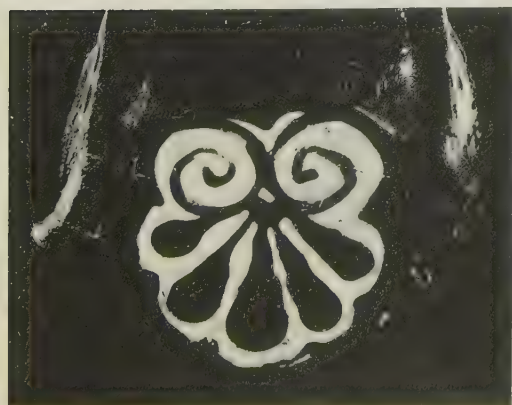
e. Situla from Boscoreale



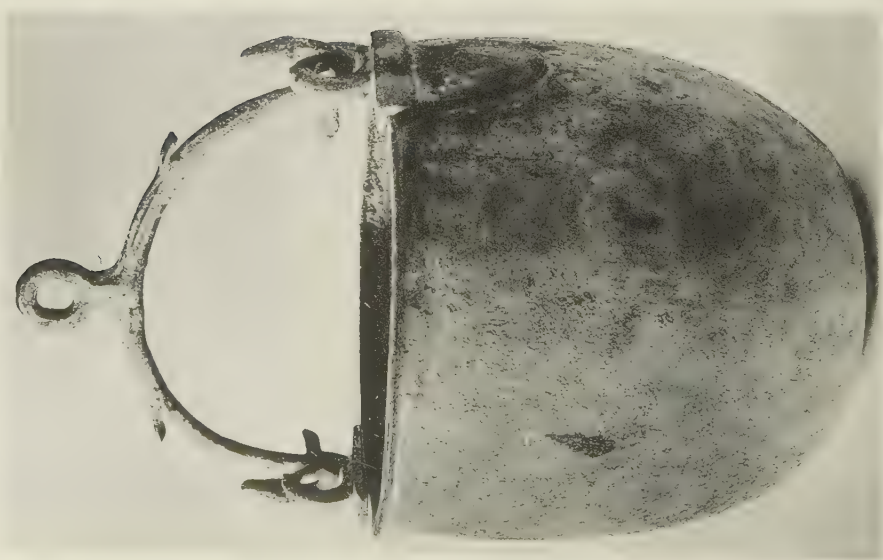
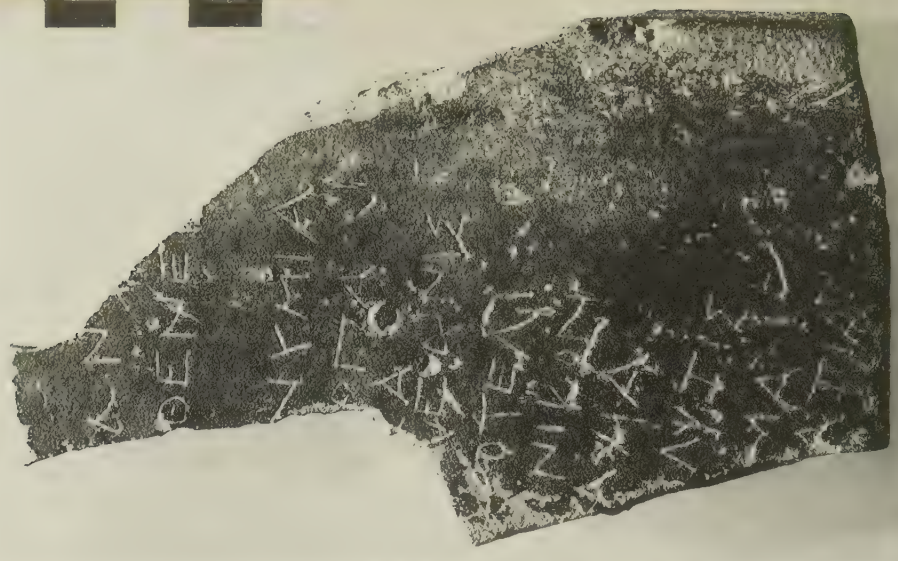
d. Pail from Bologna



f. Gallo-Roman Pail from Tillemont



g. Painted Handle Attachment on Amphora,
Munich 2300



a. Bronze Pail from Olympia



b. Chalkidian Hydria, British Museum B 75

KARL LEHMANN: A BRONZE PAIL OF ATHENA ALALKOMENIA

COLIN N. EDMONSON: A GRAFFITO FROM AMYKLAI

DECREES FROM THE PRECINCT OF ASKLEPIOS AT ATHENS

(PLATES 35-39)

MOST of the following decrees contain specific evidence that they were originally set up in the precinct of Asklepios on the south slope of the Acropolis at Athens.¹ In a few cases the origin must be argued. All except one of the decrees are included in the *Editio Minor*. The stones have been completely re-examined; new or divergent readings are discussed in the commentaries only where uncertainties or problems are involved.² An attempt has also been made to contribute to the interpretation and restoration of the texts; once again it is possible to show the advantage of studying such a group of related inscriptions.³

1 (Pl. 35). E.M. 7170 and 5321. *I.G.*, II², 304 and 604; W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 6, no. 3; M. T. Mitsos, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 264, no. 16.⁴

Three joined fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble. The left and right sides, the bottom, and the back, picked with widely spaced horizontal strokes, are preserved.

Height, 0.86 m.; width, 0.423 m. at the top and 0.427 m. at the bottom; thickness, 0.093 m. at the top and 0.11 m. at the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

¹ This article is a revision and expansion of an American School Paper, written at Athens in the spring of 1955. The work was made possible by the generosity of Markellos Th. Mitsos, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, who placed the stones completely at my disposal. In the same way, Georges Daux, the Director of the École Française d'Athènes, was most helpful in permitting me to study and to include in this group of decrees the inscription No. 8, which is preserved at the French School. I am grateful to Günther Klaffenbach for checking a number of readings on squeezes in the Berlin collection. Special thanks are due to Benjamin D. Meritt, the Annual Professor at the School during 1954-1955, who also made it possible for me to complete this paper at the Institute for Advanced Study during the summer of 1957. Of unusual value have been many stimulating discussions of points in these inscriptions with Antony E. Raubitschek and George A. Stamires. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the Institute itself for the opportunity to use its excellent facilities.

² Letters recorded in the *Editio Minor* but not now seen are underlined in the texts.

³ Several decrees that belong to the same group have not been given special treatment in this paper: *I.G.*, II², 483, 704 (cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 56-57), 772, 1046, and 1163; possibly also 995 and 1171 (= 1124 according to Raubitschek).

⁴ Bibliographical references given in the *Editio Minor* are not repeated. The following works are not listed, since their references to many of these decrees are frequent and easily located with the help of the indices: Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, 1931 and *The Athenian Archon List*, 1939, Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940, and Pritchett and Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, 1947.

The inscription uses a stoichedon pattern of 30 columns; ten lines and ten columns each measure 0.132 m.

a. 337/6 a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30
 [.....¹⁸..... τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικν]
 ὕμενοι ἢ[ν ἐσχέκασιν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κ]
 αὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ[ι ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ κα]
 ἰ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πρ[ό]γον[οι αὐτῶν· δεδόχθ]
 αὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπα[ι]νέσαι αὐτο[ὺς εὐνοί]
 5 ας ἔνεκα καὶ φιλ[ο]τιμίας τῆς εἰ[ς τὸν δ]
 ἥμον τὸν Ἀθηναί[ω]ν καὶ στεφανῶσα[ι ἐκ]
 ἀτερον αὐτῶν χρ[υ]σῶι στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ Χ δ
 ραχμῶν· ἀνα<γ>ράψ[α]ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα
 ἐν στήλῃ λιθίν[ῃ] τὸν γραμματέα τῆς
 10 βουλῆς καὶ στήσ[αι] ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ
 ι τῷ ἐν ἄστει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῇ
 ς στήλης δοῦναι [τ]ὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου
 [δ]ραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ
 ισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. *vacat*

in corona *in corona*
 15 ὁ δῆμος ὁ δῆμος

in corona *in corona*
 ἡ βουλή ἡ βουλή

 ἐπ[ὶ ἱερέως]
 Θεοφά[νονς — — —]
 Ἀχ[αρνέως]

Line 1: Cf. *I.G.*, II², 483, lines 19-20; 566, lines 3-4; and 641, lines 17-19. The first of these decrees honors a physician, and was set up in the Asklepieion. The seventh letter must be *eta* or *nu*.

Line 8: ANATTPAY is on the stone.

Lines 17-19: Two persons are honored in the decree,⁵ and both Peek and Mitsos (*loc. cit.*) assume that these three lines give the name, patronymic, and demotic or ethnic of one of them. As Peek points out, we should expect to find the second name in the uninscribed space below line 19. We may wonder also why the name Theophanes, if it is the patronymic, extends so far to the left. Both difficulties are removed if we

⁵ They may have been physicians, but see L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece*, Northampton, 1956, pp. 76-77, no. 2.

recognize here the practice of dating a stone by the name of a priest; it is seen on a stele in *I.G.*, II², 326, but is especially common on dedications, as in the series from the Asklepieion itself, beginning with *I.G.*, II², 4351. For the name, we may follow Kirchner in connecting our priest with *P.A.* 7077, Theiophanes of Acharnai, also of the fourth century. The lines are carelessly inscribed;⁶ since the stonecutter tried to make them at least roughly symmetrical and centered on the stone, however, it is interesting to note that my restorations of lines 17 and 19 can easily be spaced to fall exactly in the center. The other possible demotic, Acherdousios, would fall right of center unless the letters are crowded. If line 18 was roughly centered, the patronymic was probably not preceded by the article,⁷ and contained about six letters.

In the *Editio Minor*, Kirchner dated the inscription between 352/1 and 337/6. Pritchett and Meritt, in their list of priests of Asklepios, show only one year within this period that is open for a priest of the tribe Oineis, 337/6.⁸

2 (Pl. 35). E.M. 7162 and 251 (fragments *a* and *b* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 354; W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, 1898, p. 40; B. D. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 499.

Two joined fragments of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, with the top, left and right sides, and rough-picked back preserved.

Height, 0.687 m.; restored width, 0.398 m. at line 1 and 0.430 m. at line 34; thickness, 0.125 m. at the gable, 0.103 m. below the gable, and 0.120 m. near the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

The inscription uses a stoichedon pattern of 34 columns, with possible violations in lines 23, 34, 37, 38, 39, and 43. Ten lines measure 0.110 m.; ten columns measure 0.115 m.

	<i>a.</i> 328/7 <i>a.</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34
<i>a</i>	[θ ε]	ο ί
	[ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρ]χοντος ἱερείως δὲ Ἀνδρο	
	[κλέους ἐκ Κεραμ]έων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγ	
	[δόης πρυτανεία]ς ἥι Πυθόδηλος Πυθοδήλου	
5	[Ἀγνούσιος ἐγρα]μμάτευν· ἔνι καὶ νέιαι Γ	
	[..... ¹³]ηι τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησ	

⁶ Since the *phi* of line 18 is quite different from those in the decree, it is possible that these lines were added by the priest when the stone was actually set up; but note also the careless lettering and the wide *upsilon* in lines 15-16.

⁷ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2827, 4440, and 4444.

⁸ *Chronology*, p. 75.

- [ία· τῶν προέδρων] ἐπεψήφισεν Ἐπιγένης Ἐρο
 [ιάδης· ἔδοξεν τ]ῶι δήμῳ· Προκλείδης Παντα
 [λέοντος ἐκ Κερα]μέων εἶπεν· ἀγαθὴ τύχη·
 10 [δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆ]μῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι
 [ἃ ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ ἱ]ερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐκ τῶν ἱε
 [ρῶν τῶν τυθέντ]ων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνδροκλῆς ἱερ
 b [εὺς λαχῶ]ν τ[ῶι Ἀσ]κληπιῶι ἐπιμελείται το[ῦ]
 τε ἱεροῦ καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων ὧν αὐτῶι οἱ νόμοι πρ
 15 οστάττουσιν κ[αλ]ῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ οἱ λαχ
 όντες ἐπιμελητ[α]ὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς περ[ὶ]
 τὸ θέατρον ἀπέφη[να]ν αὐτὸν ἐν τῶι δήμῳ [ι χρ]
 ῆσιμον γεγονέναι α[ὐ]τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπ[ιμέλ]
 εἰαν τοῦ θεάτρον· ἐπαιν[έ]σ[α]ι Ἀνδροκ[λέα Κλ]
 20 εινίου ἐκ Κεραμέων τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀ[σκληπι]
 οῦ καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπ[εῖδ] ἂν τ[ὰς εὐθύ]
 νας δῶι χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ : Χ : [δραχμῶν ἄ]
 ρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης κα[ὶ] δοῦναι ^v
 αὐτῶι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔΔ[: δραχμὰς]
 25 εἰς θυσίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσμ[ατα ἂν]
 αλισκομένων τῶι δήμῳ· τὸν δὲ γραμμ[ατέια]
 τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἀναγράψαι τόδ[ε] τὸ ψή
 φισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐ[ν τῶι]
 ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρ[αφήν]
 30 τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμ[ου : Δ]
 [Δ] Δ : δραχμὰς ὅθεν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν ^{vv}

vacat 0.015 m.

- Εὐετίων Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήττιος εἶπ[ε]· περὶ
 [ῶ]ν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει [ι λέγ]
 [ε]ι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθνευ τῶι Ἀσκληπ[ιῶι ^v]
 35 [κα]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ· [ἀγαθ]
 [ῆι] τ[ύχῃ] ἐψηφί[σθαι] τῇ[ι] βουλῇ τοὺς [προέδ]
 [ρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσι π]ρ[οε]δρεύειν ἐν τῶ[ι δήμῳ]
 [εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησί]αν προσαγαγ[εῖν τὸν]
 [ιερέα πρὸς τὸν δήμον καὶ] χρηματίσα[ι αὐτῶι]
 40 [ἐν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβά]λλεσθαι τῇ[ς βου]
 [λῆς εἰς τὸν δήμον ὅτι δοκεῖ] τῇ βουλ[ῇ] τὰ μ[ε]
 [ἐν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὸν δήμο]ν ἃ ἀπαγγ[έλλει]
 [ὁ ἱερεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς] ἱεροῖς ἐ[φ' ὑγιεί]
 [αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς κ]αὶ τοῦ [δήμου·]
 [-----]

Line 5: For the restoration of the secretary's demotic see Ferguson and Meritt (*locc. cit.*). The final letter in the line has been read both as *epsilon* and as *pi*, and restorations of the date have varied accordingly.⁹ Only the lines Γ are preserved. In this inscription, the middle bar of *epsilon* is never very deep near the vertical stroke, so its thin trace is easily lost; the lower bar cannot have been at the very bottom of the vertical stroke, since a section of the surface is preserved here, but it may have been slightly above the bottom, as frequently in this inscription. The restoration, therefore, remains uncertain.¹⁰

Line 13: The remains of *nu* and *tau* near the beginning of the line were noticed already by Daphne Hêreward, as recorded in the copy of the Editio Minor at the Instituté for Advanced Study.

Lines 15-19: Cf. No. 6, lines 10-12, with the commentary.

Line 23: Four observations should be made concerning the stoichedon pattern of this text. First, no violation can be observed on the stone. Second, the stonecutter took care to fill out lines 5 and 22 by starting new words in the final spaces. Third, he seems to have added an extra letter, an *iota*, at the end of line 37. Fourth, line 34 is one letter short, unless we assume an error. The fourth point is an exception to the second. Reluctantly following the Editio Minor, I retain a similar exception at the end of line 23. Here *μερίσαι* would fill the space, but it does not seem to be found in connection with the Treasurers of the People. The present form *διδόναι* would likewise fit; it is not known except at *I.G.*, II², 212, line 39, where it probably refers to repeated expenditures.¹¹ The aorist *δοῦναι* is the usual form, found in line 30 of our own decree.

Lines 38-40: In the Editio Minor, two spaces are left blank at the end of line 38, and *αὐτόν* is restored at the beginning of the next, although the first syllable of this word would fill line 38 exactly. My own restoration is a letter too long, but can be explained by a desire of the stonecutter to keep the short word *τόν* completely in line 38. This violation could be avoided by the use of *εἰς* instead of *πρός* in line 39, but the first preposition seems to appear only in connection with foreigners.¹² At the beginning of line 40, the restoration in the Editio Minor is again two letters short. The solution in my text combines elements found at *I.G.*, II², 117 *b*, line 5; 206, line 17; 423, lines 9-10; and 772, line 16. An extra letter, *iota*, has been placed at the end of line 39. If the common phrase *ἐν ἱεροῖς* could be used with an article, it would fill the gap exactly.

⁹ See Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that Pritchett and Neugebauer (*ibid.*) are not on very safe ground when they crowd two letters into a single space near the beginning of line 6; this would have to be considered an error of the stonecutter rather than a deviation from the stoichedon order, as they view it. Cf. the commentary to line 23.

¹¹ See the commentary *ad loc.*

¹² See *I.G.*, II², Part IV, 1, "Sermo Publicus," *δ.υ. προσάγειν*.

Lines 43-44: The restoration is complicated by a final letter in line 43 not recorded in the Editio Minor. It is most naturally read as *tau*, with its vertical stroke somewhat left of center and its horizontal stroke tipped slightly upward. Since no satisfactory restoration with *tau* has been found, however, it seems best to read the letter as *epsilon*; what appeared to be the top bar of *tau* must then be a scratch. We can now retain the restoration in the Editio Minor, but must again place *iota* as an extra letter at the end of line 43.

3 (Pl. 36). E.M. 7457 and 5298 (fragments *a* and *b* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 775 and 803; A. C. Johnson, *Cl. Phil.*, IX, 1914, p. 435; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 551-552, and VII, 1938, pp. 145-146; S. Dow and C. F. Edson, Jr., *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 141-143; W. W. Tarn, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 487-489.

Two fragments of a stele of fairly dark Hymettian marble. On fragment *a*, the left side, the back, and perhaps the top are preserved; on fragment *b*, the right side and the back are preserved. The back is somewhat rough-picked, and beveled at the top and each side; the sides are smooth.

Fragment *a*: height, 0.48 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Fragment *b*: height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.128 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon; the letters become increasingly more crowded, except for an apparent reversal of the trend in the last lines of the second decree.¹³ On fragment *a*, ten lines measure *ca.* 0.105 m. in the first decree and *ca.* 0.110 m. in the second; on fragment *b*, five lines measure *ca.* 0.054 m.

aa. 244/3 et 241/0 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 38-56

[ἐπὶ Κυδῆνορος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -- ^{ca. 11} -- --]
 [-- ^{ca. 6} -- πρυτανείας ἥι Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένου]
a [Εὐπυρίδης ἐ]γρα[μμάτευεν -- -- ^{ca. 16} -- --]
 [-- ^{ca. 9} -- --]ι τῆς π[ρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέ]
 [δρων ἐπεψ]ήφισεν | [-- -- -- ^{ca. 23} -- -- --]
 [-- ^{ca. 4} --] κ[α]ὶ συμπρόεδ[ροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή]
 5 [μωι·] Κραναὸς Κτησιφ[ῶντος Βησαιεὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἀ]
 [παγ]γέλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς τ[οῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν]
 [ῶν] ἔθνευ τῷ Ἀσκληπι[ῶι τῷ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τῇ Ὑγίαιαι]
 [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖ[s οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἀγαθὴν τύχει]

¹³ See the commentary to lines 39-47. A full-scale drawing of the text has shown that the length of each restored line can be accounted for by the observable crowding of the letters and the increasing width of the stele.

- [δ]εδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ το[ύς προέδρους οἵτινες ἂν λά]
 10 χωσιν προεδρεύ(ε)ιν ἐν [τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκ]
 κλησίαν χρηματίσαι π[ερὶ τούτων ἐν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην]
 δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βου[λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
 τῇ βουλῇ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ [δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγυότα ἐν]
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφ' ὕψιαι κα[ὶ σωτηρίαί τῆς βουλῆς καὶ]
 15 τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γ[υναικῶν [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως]]
 [[Ἀντιγόνον καὶ — ^{ca. 15} — [— — — ·]]] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς]
 περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος [τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέ]
 βειαν.τὴν τε θυσίαν ἔθυσεν κ[— — — ^{ca. 19} — — —]
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκό[σμησεν καλῶς καὶ φιλοτί]
 20 μως καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα ἐποίη[σατο ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπαι]
 νέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπι[οῦ — — — ^{ca. 15} — — — Ξυ]
 πεταιόνα εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τ[ῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φι]
 λοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]
 25 ων ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν]
 κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίν[ει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀ]
 σκλ[η]πιείῳ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφῇ[ν καὶ τὴν στήλην μερί]
 σαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δι[ο]ικήσει τὸ γενο[μενον ἀνάλωμα. ^{vvvv}]

vacat 0.03 m.

- ἐπὶ Λυσιάρχου ἀρχόντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐ[ρεχθεΐδος δεκάτης]
 πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο [-----ca. 15-----]
- 30 γραμματέυεν· Μουνιχιῶνος ἐνάτει ἐπ[ὶ δέκα, ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκο]
 στεί τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπειψήφι]
 ζεν [Ε]ὐχάριστος Χάρητος Ἀφιδναῖος κα[ὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν]
 τῇ [Β]ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κραναὸς Κτησιφ[ῶντος Βησαιεὺς εἶπεν·]
 περὶ ὧν ἀπαγ[γ]έ[λ]λει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπ[ιοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἧς ἔθν]
 35 [σεν] τῷ Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιῷ καὶ τῇ [Υ]γίαι καὶ τ[οῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον]
 [ῆν· ἀγαθῇ]ι τύχει δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλ[ῇ τοὺς προέδρους οἵτινες ἂν]
 [λάχωσι] ν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δή[μῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν χρῆ]
 [ματίσαι π]ερὶ τούτων ἐ[ν ἱεροῖς, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βου]
 [λῆς κτλ. -----]

Several lines are lost.

- b* [-----]εθ[---]
 40 [-----ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέ]α το[ῦ]
 [Ἀσκληπιοῦ-----^{ca. 26}-----καὶ στεφ]ανῷ
 [σαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς] θεοὺς

[καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ]θηναί
 [ων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κ]ατὰ πρυ
 45 [τανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπι]είῳ· εἰς
 [δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διο]ικήσει
 [τὸ γεγόμενον ἀνάλωμα. vacat]

[in corona]

in corona

[ἡ βουλή]

[ὁ δῆμος]

The evidence for associating the two fragments consists mostly of the data already given. It may be added that the shapes of the letters show minor variations on each fragment, and that every form on fragment *b* can be matched on fragment *a*.¹⁴

The dates of the two decrees are taken from Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 315. For the name of the secretary in the archonship of Kydenor see *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3-4, no. 3. I must leave the details of Hellenistic chronology to others. It is worth noting, however, that Ferguson was not correct in deciding purely on the basis of this stone that the two decrees honored two different priests.¹⁵ The second decree, passed in the month of Mounichion, probably honored a priest for his services at the Asklepieia in Elaphebolion. The same priest may have been honored in the first decree for his services at the Epidauria in Boedromion.¹⁶ According to the estimates given in the text (lines 21-22 and 41), the names of the two priests differ by only one and a half spaces.

Line 1: The discovery of these letters has made it necessary to renumber the lines in the inscription.

Line 2: The inclusion of the word *κυρία* would make the line about two and a half spaces longer than what are otherwise the longest lines among the first eleven.

Line 3: Meritt (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 145) pointed out the proper syllabic division in this inscription.

Lines 5-7: In this formula concerning a report of good omens, the imperfect form *ἔθνευ* follows either the plural form *θυσιῶν*, as often in the Prytany inscriptions,¹⁷ or the form *ιερώων*.¹⁸ Since we learn at line 18 that a single sacrifice is involved, the second alternative is the correct one here. The singular form *θυσίας* would have been

¹⁴ Note also that since fragment *b* belongs to the edge, the complete thickness of the stele at this level was no doubt a little greater than the measurement given above. A possible objection to associating the fragments is that on the photographs the right side of fragment *b* seems to incline more sharply from the vertical than the left side of fragment *a*; but it is actually very difficult to place the small line ends on fragment *b* in a horizontal position to make it possible to determine the exact angle.

¹⁵ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, 1932, p. 115, note 1.

¹⁶ On the festivals, see note 57.

¹⁷ E. g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 64, line 5.

¹⁸ E.g. No. 2, line 34, and *I.G.*, II², 783, line 7.

followed by the aorist ἔθυσεν, as is sometimes the case also with the plural θυσιῶν.¹⁹ In line 7, if a third god received special mention, his name cannot have occupied more than five spaces in its dative form; but it seems preferable to give Asklepios his full title, ὁ ἐν ἄστει, found also in No. 2 at line 33, No. 7 at lines 6 and 17, and No. 8 at line 9.

Line 8: Cf. lines 35-36 and the commentary.

Line 10: ΔΡΕΥΓΙΝ is on the stone. Cf. line 37 and the commentary.

Lines 15-16: All who have attempted to restore the erasure are agreed that it named King Antigonos, as in the text. The remaining gap was originally filled by Wilamowitz with τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας.²⁰ Line 16 would then be the longest within the first decree. Johnson (*loc. cit.*) suggested τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ, which fits well.²¹ If Tarn (*loc. cit.*) is correct that in this context the word ἔγγονοι could be used only of living persons, it must refer here to Antigonos' son Demetrios and his granddaughter Apama.²² Dow and Edson (*loc. cit.*), as well as Tarn, have also suggested τοῦ ἐγγόνου αὐτοῦ, referring to Demetrios alone, while Tarn shows another possibility, τοῦ υἱοῦ Δημητρίου. With Tarn I conclude that the gap cannot be filled with certainty.

Line 26: Cf. No. 5, line 15, and the commentary. The line can also be filled by placing after ἀναγραφῇ[ν] the words καὶ τὴν ποίησιν, as at *I.G.*, II², 668, lines 36-37, or καὶ τὴν στάσιν, as at *I.G.*, II², 725, line 9.

Lines 30-31: For the restoration of the date, see Meritt (*loc. cit.*).

Lines 34-35: It is difficult to restore here the form ἔθυεν, as in line 7.²³ The widest spacing of the combination EN found anywhere in this inscription does not really fill the gap at the beginning of line 35; the letters ΣEN in my text are crowded, but not badly for this section of the inscription. It is also likely that if ἔθυεν had been used, the whole word would have been inscribed in line 34.

Lines 35-36: At the beginning of line 36, there is room for the final word of the phrase οἷς πάτριον ἦν, but definitely not for the final syllable of the phrase οἷς προσῆκεν. The corresponding gap in line 8 can be filled with either expression.

Line 37: The word [λάχωσι]ν exactly fills the space at the beginning of this line, while ἄν is in fact needed in line 36. Meritt (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 145-146) is justified in restoring πρώτην instead of ἐπιούσαν, as even with the first word the line is crowded; at line 10, either word would fit.

¹⁹ E.g. *I.G.*, II², 661, lines 8-9; 780, line 7; and 1011, lines 66 and 76. At *I.G.*, II², 990, line 2, I read [ἱερῶν] ᾧν ἔθυον on the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study. At *I.G.*, II², 1043, line 7, there seems to be an exception, θυσία[s ἡς] ἔθυεν. The squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study does not permit verification of this point. The reading is, however, supported by the facsimile in the older Corpus, *I.G.*, II, 482.

²⁰ *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 229, note 60.

²¹ Cf. Dow and Edson (*loc. cit.*) and Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, pp. 153-154.

²² Cf. J. V. A. Fine, *Cl. Quart.*, XXVIII, 1934, p. 99.

²³ Cf. the commentary there.

Lines 39-47 (fragment *b*): In my text I have given the simplest restorations. The lines correspond in length to lines 30-33 of fragment *a*, rather than the more crowded lines at the bottom of that fragment. This reconstruction of the text requires the assumption, therefore, that the stonemason, who crowded his letters more and more through most of the inscription, allowed slightly wider spacing at the very end.²⁴

4 (Pl. 36). E.M. 7763 and 7762 (fragments *a* and *b* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 1293.

Two fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side preserved on fragment *a* and the right side on fragment *b*.

Fragment *a*: height, 0.391 m.; width, 0.329 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Fragment *b*: height, 0.184 m.; width, 0.142 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure *ca.* 0.123 m.

med. saec. III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 36-39

- a* [-----] *b*
 [---^{ca. 8}---] νήγαγ[εν (?) ---^{ca. 6}---] πρό]σοδ[ον (?) ---^{ca. 5}---]
 [---^{ca. 8}---] πρὸς τ[ὴν βουλ[ὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ]μον ἀνεί[πεν (?) ---^{ca. 2}---]
 [---^{ca. 3}---] ἐ]παύ[ξε] εἰν (?) τὸ ἐε[ρ]όν [---^{ca. 7}---] ΗΔΕΚΑΧ[---^{ca. 5}---]
 [---^{ca. 4}---]ς αὐτῶν π[ρ]ὸς ὧτος [---^{ca. 7}---] τῶι] Ἀσκλη[πιῶι καὶ]
 5 [τεῖ]Υ]χιεῖαι κα[---^{ca. 12}---] φ]ιλοτιμο[ύμενος]
 [διατ]ελεῖ ἵνα εἰς τὸ [ν ὅ]λ[ον χρόν]ον ἀδιάπ[ανστα]
 [τὰ υ]πάρ[χ]οντα τοῖς] Ἀσκληπιαστ]αῖς διαμ[ένει καὶ]
 [ἐ]πὶ πλέον [α]ὔξητ[αι] ὅπω[ς οὖν ἐφ]άμιλλον ε[ἰ]πάσιν
 τοῖς βουλομένοις εὖε[ργετεῖν] τὸ κοινὸν [ν τῶν]
 10 [] Ἀσκληπιαστῶν εἶδοσι [ν ὅτι χά]ριτας ἀξί[ας κο]
 [μιο]ῦνται παρ' αὐτῶν ἧς [ὰν παρά]σχωνται [χρείας]
 [ἀγαθ]εῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τ[οῖς] Ἀσ]κληπιαστ[αῖς]
 [ἐπαι]ρέσαι Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἡρα[κλεί]του Θορ[ίκιον]
 [καὶ στε]φανῶσα [ι] θ[αλ]λοῦ στε[φανῶι ε]ἰς [εβείας]
 15 [ἐνεκα τῆς] πρὸς τὸν [θ]εὸν κα[ὶ] φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς
 [τὸ κοινόν] ἀ]ναγράψα[ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ]
 [ὀνόματα τ]ῶν Ἀσκληπιαστῶν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει]

²⁴ Although the lines preserved on fragment *b* are too short to permit a safe estimate of letter spacing, they at least do not stand in the way of the wider spacing. In order to lengthen the lines, one could add αὐτόν in line 42 and αὐτήν in line 45, change εἰς to πρὸς in line 43, and in line 46 restore καὶ τὴν στήλην as in line 26. Line 44 is already fairly long. But to avoid giving an unusually long name to the priest, one would have to reject the dotted alpha in line 40, and restore [ἐπαινέσαι] τὸ [ν ἐ]ρέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιῶ -^{ca. 25} -].

[καὶ στήσαι] ἐν τῷ ἱερῶν· [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν]
 [καὶ τὴν ποίη]σιν τῆς στή[λης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν]
 20 [^{ca. 2} δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ] κο[ινού. *vacat*]

I repeat the date given in the Editio Minor, leaving its verification or correction to others who have more experience with letter forms. Note, however, that the inscription is of the "disjointed style," discussed by Dow in *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 58-60.

This interesting inscription reveals an organization of Asklepiastai, who either used the public sanctuary of Asklepios or had one of their own near by, and who also had contact with the Council and Demos of Athens.²⁵ Unfortunately, despite the discovery of new letters, the important first lines remain a puzzle.

The distance between the two fragments is firmly established by a number of certain restorations. The narrow strip of the right side which is preserved on fragment *b* slants outwards from back to front; the stone was probably a little wider, therefore, than it would seem from the photograph of the fragment. If we note also in lines 3 and 14 that the letters are sometimes a little crowded, there will be no difficulty fitting in the restorations at the ends of lines 5, 7, and 11.

Line 1: Of the first letter, only a high vertical stroke is preserved; it seems to belong to a *nu*, of the same shape as in lines 11 and 19. The top bar of the first *gamma* is low, and makes the letter approach the sign for drachma. If [πρό]σοδ[ον] is correct, some form of ποιῆσθαι should follow it. But ποιησάμε|νος would crowd the end of line 1, ἐποιή|σατο the beginning of line 2; ποιήσα|σθαι might fit.

Lines 2-3: Possibly ἀνεί[πεν αὐ|τὸς ἐ]παύ[ξ]ειν.

In view of what follows in lines 6-8, παύ[σ]ειν may be the correct word. At the end of line 3, just beyond the edge of the surface but at the proper position and depth for a letter, there is a clear diagonal stroke, the direction of which best suits *chi*.

Line 19: The available space calls for [ποίη]σιν instead of [ἀνάθε]σιν. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 921, line 8, and 1011, lines 30 and 52.

5 (Pl. 35). E.M. 7675 a. *I.G.*, II², 820; P. Roussel, *Délos*, Paris, 1916, p. 37; S. Dow, *H.Th.R.*, XXX, 1937, pp. 221-222.

Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure 0.152 m.

²⁵ They were not necessarily physicians; cf. L. Cohn-Haft, *op. cit.* (note 5 above), p. 30.

ca. aa. 190-170 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 38-43

- [-----]
- [τὴν εὐκοσμί]αν τοῦ ἱερ[οῦ -----^{ca. 20}-----]
- [--^{ca. 6}--]ακοσίας δραχμάς· ὅπως [ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ]
- [ὁ δῆμος] πᾶσι φιλοτιμουμένοις φαί[νωνται τὴν προσ]
- [ήκουσ]αν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἀποδιδόντ[ες· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει]
- 5 [δεδόχθ]αι τεῖ βουλευί τοὺς λαχόντας π[ροέδρους εἰς]
- [τὴν ἐπιούσ]αν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσ[αι περὶ τούτων, γνῶ]
- [μην δὲ ξυμβ]άλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς ε[ἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι]
- [δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευί] ἐπα[ι]νέσαι τὸν ἱερέα [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
- [--^{ca. 12½-14}--]ν Σαραπίωνος Παμ[βωτάδην καὶ στε]
- 10 [φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θα]λλοῦ στεφάνωι ε[ὑσεβείας ἔνε]
- [κα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θε]οὺς καὶ φιλοτιμία[s τῆς πρὸς τὸν]
- [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων·] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό[δε τὸ ψήφισ]
- [μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανε[ῖαν ἐν στήλει]
- [λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι αὐτ]ὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ·]
- 15 [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν] καὶ τὴν στήλην [μερίσαι τοὺς (?)]
- [ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμε]νον ἀν[άλωμα. vacat]

One cannot be certain that this stone, which was found southeast of the *skene* of the Theater of Dionysos,²⁶ belongs to the Asklepieion. We learn at line 14, however, that the stele was to be set up in a *hieron*, and the name Asklepios fits the available space if my restorations are otherwise correct; decrees relating to Dionysos regularly provide for their erection in the Theater or the *temenos* of Dionysos.²⁷ Moreover, the first two lines which are preserved seem to express in a variant form what is found at the corresponding point of three other decrees in this series, Nos. 6, 11, and 13.²⁸ For the date of this decree, see Dow, *loc. cit.* Since neither edge of the stele is preserved, my restorations have been measured from a vertical line running between *alpha* and *sigma* of the word *δραχμάς* in line 2.

Lines 1-2: See the commentary to No. 6, lines 10-12. For the repetition of *καί*, cf. *I.G.*, II², 788, line 16; 956, line 22; and 1006, line 88.

Line 9: For the deme of the priest, see Roussel (*loc. cit.*) and Dow (*op. cit.*, note 141). If the god mentioned in line 8 was Asklepios, one must restore at the beginning of line 9 either an unusually long name of ca. 13½-15 letters or the phrase *τοῦ ἐν ἄστει* with a short name of ca. 4-5½ letters; ²⁹ the name Ammonios, suggested by Roussel, is excluded.³⁰

²⁶ See S. A. Koumanoudis, *Ἀθήναιον*, VI, 1877, p. 487.

²⁷ See *I.G.*, II², 410, line 39; 668, lines 35-36; and 896, lines 19 and 55.

²⁸ For an opposing argument, see note 30.

²⁹ Cf. No. 7, line 17, and No. 8, line 9.

³⁰ Dow (*op. cit.*, note 141) retains the name Ammonios, and dissociates the decree from the

Lines 14-16: Cf. *I.G.*, II², 908, line 19, and 570, line 14; also *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 9, line 5. In the clause providing for payment, there is insufficient room to restore the Treasurer of Military Funds; for the plural Board of Administration in the period of this decree, see Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 12-13. It is worth noting, however, that I have been unable to find an example of the plural Board after 229/8 B.C., except accompanied by the Treasurer of Military Funds; of the three examples listed by Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, p. 204), *I.G.*, II², 652 belongs in the first half of the third century,³¹ while *I.G.*, II², 848 and 890 are both Prytany inscriptions.³² It is possible, therefore, that the present decree, and perhaps also *I.G.*, II², 861, should be added to the two examples of the single Officer of Administration listed by Dow as belonging to this period and not found in Prytany inscriptions.³³

6 (Pl. 37). E.M. 2680. *I.G.*, II², 996; E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 107-108; G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 38-39.

Upper central section of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, with the back preserved.

Height, 0.272 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.079 m. at the cornice, 0.064 m. below the cornice, and 0.075 m. near the bottom.

Height of letters, ca. 0.006 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure 0.115 m.

a. 173/2 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 51-57

- [ἐπὶ Ἀλέξιδος ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμ[αῖδος δεκάτης πρυτανείας]
 [δήμου ψηφίσματα Μουν]ιχιῶνος ἐνδε[κάτει κατὰ θεόν, ὁγδόει καὶ]
 [δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας]ς ἐκκλησία κυρ[ία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προ]
 [έδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Φιλ]ήσιος Διονυσοῦ [. ου ^{ca. 5} — καὶ συμπρόεδροι]
 5 [έδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ ^{ca. 5} —]ς Νικηράτου Φλυεῦ[ς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ — ^{ca. 7} —]
 [— ^{ca. 18} — — —] τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλη[ηπιοῦ — ^{ca. 14} — — —]
 [— ^{ca. 10} — — ὑπομείνας] τὴν λε[ι]του[ρ]γίαν τὰ [εἰσιτητήρια ἔθυσεν τῷ]
 [Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ τεῖ Ὑγίειαι] καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς· [ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀσκλη]
 [πιείοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ] ἐπετραπέζωσατ[ο καὶ τὰς παννυχίδας συν]
 10 [ετέλεσεν καλῶς καὶ φιλ]οτίμως· προέστη δὲ [καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς]
 [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκολούθως τ]οῖς νόμοις κατατε[θηκὼς — ^{ca. 12} — —]

Asklepios cult. If the name is not retained, our priest may well have been the brother of the Ammonios I in the family tree constructed by Dow.

³¹ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xvii, and Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

³² See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 258.

³³ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 12, note 6; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 201-213, no. 41.

[— ^{ca. 7} — δραχμάς, καὶ ὅτε οἱ] ἀγῶνες συνετε[λοῦντο ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]
[— — — — —]

Of the tympanum triangle in the pediment, the lower and right sides are completely clear; the left side is marked by a slight rise of the stone near its left edge, and could not in any case be shifted very far because of other high spots on the stone. These observations place the center of the stele roughly at the second *tau* preserved in the first line.

As can be seen on the photograph, many of the letters have been preserved only as dark lines of rust; these letters fail to show up on a squeeze, since the surface has been bruised down to and often beyond the level of the original cuttings.

Lines 1-5: For the restoration of the prescript, see Stamires, *loc. cit.* In line 4, the traces near the right edge of the stone favor the patronymic shown in the text; since the demotic would have to be extremely short, however, it should be noted that the presence of mortar in fact makes the reading uncertain.

Lines 5-7: Together with these lines must be studied the probable parallels at No. 11, lines 1-3, and No. 13, lines 8-10.³⁴ We note four items. First, a name in the nominative case is preserved only in No. 11. Second, the phrase τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ is seen in each decree, although its case, which is definitely accusative in Nos. 6 and 11, is uncertain in No. 13. Third, we find in No. 13 the letters ΠΑΡΕΧ. Finally, the word λειτουργίαν appears in Nos. 6 and 13, while No. 11 has the phrase ὑπομείνας τὴν ἱερωσύνη[ν] at the corresponding point; the words λειτουργία and ἱερωσύνη seem to be used as equivalents, especially since the latter is accompanied by ὑπομείνας, which emphasizes the burden of the office.³⁵ The first and third items, each of which is preserved only once, should not automatically be introduced into the other decrees, as it is clear that the three passages differ in detail, even if they are essentially alike. The second item, however, causes the greatest difficulty, as the reference to the priest in the accusative cannot be connected directly with the nominative forms or with the list of services given in the indicative mood.

No completely satisfactory interpretation of these lines has been found, but several possibilities must be considered. Thus, in *I.G.*, II², 1163, a priest of Asklepios is honored by his tribe after he has already been praised by the Council and the Demos.³⁶ In our decrees, the order may have been reversed, and we can imagine phrasing somewhat as follows:³⁷ ἐπειδὴ οἱ — — — ἰδαι ἐπαινέσαντες τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλη-

³⁴ The three decrees are roughly parallel throughout; see especially the commentary to lines 10-12.

³⁵ It is possible that only the man honored in No. 11 actually served as priest, whereas the other two men merely assumed the expenses of the office; but cf. the previous note.

³⁶ The close connection between a priest of Asklepios and his tribe is shown by the fact that his appointment was governed by the tribal cycle.

³⁷ Cf. the phrasing of the Prytany decrees, e. g. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 64, lines 30-32.

πιού — — — — ἀποφαίνουσιν ὅτι κτλ. Obstacles, probably not insuperable, stand in the way of this interpretation in each of the three decrees. In No. **6**, it is difficult to find room for the complete name of the priest; in No. **11**, the phrasing would have to be adapted to the name in the nominative case which is found there;³⁸ in No. **13**, the letters ΠΑΡΕΧ must be accounted for.³⁹

A completely different interpretation is suggested by the words in these passages which emphasize the burden of the priesthood; the regularly chosen priest may have been unable to pay the expenses of the office, and had to yield to another.⁴⁰ If we expand the letters ΠΑΡΕΧ into the common phrase παρέχεσθαι χρείας, and bring into this connection *Inscriptionen von Priene*, no. 112, lines 20-22, we might restore No. **6**, lines 5-7, as follows:⁴¹

[ἐπειδὴ —^{ca. 7}—]

[— —^{ca. 13}— —, διὰ τὸ] τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλη[ηπιού μὴ δύνασθαι χρείας]
[παρέχεσθαι, ὑπομείνας] τὴν λε[ι]του[ρ]γίαν τὰ [εἰσιτητήρια ἔθυσεν κτλ.]

This interpretation cannot be adopted, however, without further evidence, for not only is the wording slightly awkward, but a constitutional question is involved; moreover, while it might happen occasionally that the person chosen as priest became unable to serve, it would be surprising to find three recorded instances of such a misfortune. Possibly the troublesome priest in the accusative case is not a particular person at all, but the priest in general. One can imagine a clause such as “when no one else was willing to be priest,” or “although he knew that the priest was required to perform heavy services.”

Lines 7-10: Three features of the Asklepios festivals are regularly mentioned in these decrees: sacrifice, *lectisternium*, and *pannychis*.⁴² As the second of these appears here in the word ἐπετραπέζωσατο,⁴³ mention of the other two was surely not omitted. It remains uncertain which festivals were named. In the text, the language of No. **10**, lines 9-13, and No. **11**, lines 4-8, has been adapted to the requirements of space here; only the Heroia have been left out. But on the basis of No. **13** one might omit also the *visiteteria* and restore as follows:⁴⁴

For the ending -ίδαι referring to the members of a tribe, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1163, lines 15-16, and 1165, lines 17-18; also Ch. I. Karouzos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* VIII, 1923, pp. 90-91. The only examples of ἀποφαίνω with ὅτι and the indicative that are known to me are of the fourth century B.C., *I.G.*, II², 177, line 8, and 553, line 8. Another verb might be found.

³⁸ Dion, the person in question, may have been the Epimelete of the tribe, who reported the tribal honors to the Council; cf. *I.G.*, II², 110, line 6, and 896, line 8.

³⁹ A phrase such as παρέχονται ὑπόμνημα is perhaps being used in place of ἀποφαίνουσιν.

⁴⁰ Cf. note 35.

⁴¹ See Nos. **11** and **13** for the corresponding restorations there.

⁴² Processions are mentioned only at *I.G.*, II², 704, line 13, and Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56, 4.

⁴³ Cf. Preuner, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ See the commentary to No. **13**, lines 10-14. A short dark line accounts for the dotted *alpha*

[ὑπομείνας] τὴν λε[ι]του[ρ]γίαν τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσεν]
 [πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας] καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς [καὶ τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιεῖ]
 [οῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις] ἐπετραπεζώσατ[ο καὶ τὰς παννυχίδας συν]
 [ετέλεσεν καλῶς καὶ φιλ]οτίμως.

Lines 10-12: Parallel passages are found at No. 11, lines 15-17, and No. 13, lines 14-16. Lines 1-2 of No. 5 are at the corresponding point of the decree, and seem to express a similar content in somewhat different wording. If these passages are compared with No. 7, lines 10-11, it becomes likely that they deal with the *eukosmia* or orderly behavior of the visitors to the sanctuary.⁴⁵ The problem of maintaining order must have been especially serious in shrines of Asklepios due to the practice of incubation; a decree from Pergamon places the priest of Asklepios in charge of the temple slaves, and instructs him to provide for the *eukosmia* in the sanctuary as he sees fit.⁴⁶ In our decree No. 2, furthermore, at lines 15-19, we learn that a priest of Asklepios assisted in maintaining order in the theater, which was adjacent to the Asklepieion. If the word ἀγῶνες is correctly read in line 12 of the present decree, No. 6, it is likely that this priest gave similar assistance. Games in honor of Asklepios are never mentioned in these decrees, and would not in any case be listed in this part of the decree, which describes the services that continued throughout the year; it would be quite appropriate, however, in a section dealing with *eukosmia*, to add that the care of the priest was extended to the theater during the contests in honor of Dionysos. The expenditure of money shown in lines 11-12 may have been directly connected with maintaining order, but on the basis of No. 10, lines 22-25, one must consider the possibility that the money was made available to the daily worshippers for their sacrifices; the priest may well have combined policing with generosity.⁴⁷

in line 7 at the right edge of the stone; if the reading is incorrect, the date of the priesthood can be restored (cf. No. 10, line 9):

[ὑπομείνας] τὴν λε[ι]του[ρ]γίαν τ[ὸν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἄρ]
 [χοντος ἐνιαυτὸν ἔθυσεν] καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς [τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις]
 [καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ] ἐπετραπεζώσατ[ο κτλ.]

But the date is not essential, if the honors were voted during the priest's year of office; this is possible, since the decree was passed in Mounichion, that is, after the celebration of the Asklepieia in Elaphebolion. Cf. the commentary to No. 10, lines 11-12.

⁴⁵ The wording of my restoration is further justified by the similar phrase [π]ροέστη [δ]ὲ καὶ [τῆς] εὐταξίας at *I.G.*, II², 1009, lines 34-35, which was pointed out to me by Stamires.

⁴⁶ M. Fränkel, *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, II, 1895, no. 251, lines 24-26. This is F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1955, no. 13, lines 23-25. On the word *eukosmia* see Sokolowski's commentary *ad loc.* Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 223 B and C, and W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104-111, no. 20, lines 13-15, with note 30. In only one instance does *eukosmia* seem to refer to the repair and tidiness of the sanctuary itself: *Syll.*³, 671 B, lines 3-4 taken with lines 12-13.

⁴⁷ Cf. the commentary *ad loc.* and No. 13, lines 14-15. Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 776, lines 18-20. The letters KATATE in line 11 probably belong to a perfect participle, since a prepositional phrase would be awkward immediately after an adverbial phrase. The verb restored in the text was chosen because of its financial usage.

7 (Pl. 37). E.M. 7574. *I.G.*, II², 950; P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, 6me Série, XVIII, 1941, pp. 231-232.

Two joined fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble with moulding. The stele is complete, except for the chips observable in the photograph.⁴⁸

Height, 0.75 m.; width, 0.37 m. at the moulding, 0.34 m. under the moulding, and 0.373 m. twelve centimeters from the bottom; thickness, 0.10 m. at the moulding, 0.07 m. under the moulding, and 0.095 m. eleven centimeters from the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure between 0.165 m. and 0.18 m.

a. 165/4 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 36-51

- ἐπὶ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος δω
δεκάτης πρυτανείας· Σκιροφοριῶνος ἔκτει καὶ δε
κάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· ἔδο
ξεν τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Αἰσχέας Θεοπέιθου
5 Κηφισιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
τοῦ ἐν ἄστει Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν πρό
σοδον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τῇ βουλῇ ἀπήγγελλεν
ἐν αἷς πεποιῆται θυσίαις γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ
καὶ σωτήρια πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς πό
10 [λ]εῖς τὰς Ἀθηναίων· ἐπιμεμέλῃται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱε
[ρ]οῦ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας τέθυκεν κατὰ [τὰ]
ψηφίσματα· πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμο
[ν]α καὶ ἁρμόττουσαν τεῖ ἱερῷ [σ]ύνε[ι]· ὁ ἀγαθεῖ τῷ [χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ]
βουλευὶ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησί
15 αν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλε
σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευὶ
ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει
καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ εὖσε
βείας ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ
20 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς^{vv} ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν
στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ [ι·]
τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν μερίσαι τὸ γενόμε
νον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης.^{vvvv}

⁴⁸ Most of the letters at the beginnings of lines 10-12 were seen by Koehler and recorded by him in the older Corpus. The break at this point presumably occurred at the time the two fragments were clamped together, sometime before the squeeze and photograph of the inscription were made for the Berlin collection, as Klaffenbach informs me.

25 *in corona*
 ἡ βουλὴ
 ὁ δῆμος
 τὸν ἱερέα
 Πρωταγόραν
 Περγασῆθεν

Roussel (*loc. cit.*) has already restored line 13 correctly, on the basis of No. 8. Most of the remaining brackets shown in the Editio Minor may likewise be removed, for almost everywhere the letters are either clear or discernible through a coating of mortar. Note also the new and certain readings ἀπήγγελεκεν in line 7 and ἱερέα in line 26. At the end of line 10, the letters ΤΟΥΙΕ are clear, while the space at the beginning of line 11 calls for [P]ΟΥ, as Klaffenbach has also pointed out to me.

8 (Pl. 37). P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, 6me Série, XVIII, 1941, pp. 231-232.

Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble. The left side and probably the rough-picked back are preserved.

Height, 0.238 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.066 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure *ca.* 0.096 m.

a. 140/39 a. (?) NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 32-38

- [----- καὶ τὰς θυ]
 [σίας ἀπάσας] τέθ[υκεν κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα]
 [πεποίη]ται δὲ κα[ὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμο]
 [να κ]αὶ ἀρμόττου[σαν τεῖ ἱερωσύνει· ἀγαθεῖ]
 τύχει δεδόχθα[ι τεῖ βουλευεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας]
 5 [π]ροέδρους εἰς τ[ὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν]
 [χρ]ηματίσαι περ[ὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλ]
 [λ]εσθαι τῆς βουλ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ]
 [τε]ῖ βουλευεῖ ἐπαιν[έσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
 [το]ῦ ἐν ᾧ στεί Με[----- *ca.* 16 ----- καὶ στε]
 10 [φ]ανῶσαι αὐτὸν θ[αλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας]
 [ἔν]εκα καὶ φιλοτι[μίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς]
 [το]ῦς θεοῦς· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα]
 [ἐν στ]ήλῃ λιθίνῃ[ι καὶ στηῆσαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκλη]
 [πιοῦ ἱε]ρῷ· τὸν δ[ὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν]
 15 [μερίσαι] τὸ [γ]εν[όμενον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀνα]
 [γραφὴν τῆς στήλης. *vacat*]

This inscription, which is preserved at the École Française d'Athènes, is discussed but only partially published by Roussel in the article mentioned above. It is through the kindness of Georges Daux, the Director of the French School, that I am able to include it among these decrees. Its identification as a decree honoring a priest of Asklepios is based on the words [το]ῦ ἐν ἄσπει in line 9, and the fact that the text is almost identical to that of No. 7, as Roussel already noted. This agreement is particularly significant, since the wording is unusual at several places. The restoration of the name Asklepios may therefore stand, despite the fact that it gives 35 spaces to line 8, whereas the other lines vary between 30½ and 33½ spaces. My restorations follow the principle of syllabic division, and leave a margin of about one centimeter between the text and the preserved left edge.

I.G., II², 970, of the year 140/139 B.C., may be another fragment of the same stele. The letters and the distances between lines are identical to ours. The spacing of the letters is also approximately the same. Unfortunately the lines, as restored in the Editio Minor, are slightly shorter than ours. This fragment is known to me only from the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study; it will be necessary to examine the stones together in Athens.

9 (Pl. 38). E.M. 6116 and 7989 (fragments *a* and *b* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 1019; W. S. Ferguson, *A.J.P.*, LV, 1934, p. 331, note 40.

Two fragments of an unadorned stele of Pentelic marble. Fragment *a* preserves the top and the right side. The present back consists of two planes, which cause the fragment to be thickest at about its vertical center; if the back is original, one must imagine a third plane starting below fragment *a* and causing the thickness of the stele to increase once more. Fragment *b* is broken on all sides.

Fragment *a*: height, 0.352 m.; width, 0.222 m.; thickness, 0.052 m. at the top, 0.08 m. at the middle, and 0.055 m. at the bottom. Fragment *b*: height, 0.158 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.087 m.

The letters, inscribed with extreme carelessness, are 0.005 m. high.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure *ca.* 0.095 m.

Dinsmoor identified the priest Leonides of this inscription (lines 13 and 42) with the priest honored in No. 10.⁴⁹ The decree should therefore be dated 138/7 B.C. The difficulties of the text are too great to make a complete republication worth while at this time. A number of new readings should be presented, however, along with photographs of the two fragments.

Line 4: At the beginning, [Παρ]μενίωνος. If the dotted letters are correctly read, no other possible name is shown in the reverse index of Fr. J. S. Creaghan, S. J., at

⁴⁹ Cf. No. 10, line 7, and the commentary.

the Institute for Advanced Study. For this name in Athens, see Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 11641 (*I.G.*, VII, 540, line 8); *I.G.*, II², 5720; and *I.G.*, II², 12422.⁵⁰

Line 12: At the end, the letters look like οὖν ὅλη.

Lines 13-14: On the basis of No. 10, lines 25-26, one might restore: [ὁ ἱερὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Λεωνίδης Νικοκράτου | Φλνεὺς ἐμφανίζει τό τε τέμενος καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐ]ν αὐτῷ θεραπείας καὶ ἐπι[σκευῆς δεό]μενα]. The Editio Minor shows [ἐ]ν αὐτεῖ. The letter read as *epsilon* has a central horizontal bar; but in place of the lower bar one sees only two dots, such as might be expected at the feet of *omega*, while there is also a fine line that might be the right vertical stroke of the rectangular *omega* common on this stone. A reading of *eta* is not excluded.⁵¹

Line 15: At the beginning, perhaps ΟἰΩΣΑΣ. At the end, probably λιθίνων τύπ[ων].

Line 16: Apparently [χρόνο]ν δὲ πολλὸν ἡμε[λ]ημένα ἄρθ[ρα]. These would be the model limbs dedicated by those who had been healed.

Line 17: The first half of the line seems to be ἐπεσκοτῆσθαι, unless we must read an *iota* between the second *epsilon* and the first *sigma*. The end of the word originally read ΤΗΣΑΙ, but *theta* was then inscribed over the *alpha*, making it necessary to reinscribe the last two letters.⁵² After this word I read Δίων. There is reason to believe that at least the *delta* was on the stone before the addition of the *theta*, and consequently had to be reinscribed. Note that a Dion appears in No. 11, possibly as priest of Asklepios. I have not been able to make sense out of the final traces in the line.

Line 20: [πρὸς τὸ]ν δῆμον τὴν καθήκουσαν πο[—]. The restoration is suggested by line 21.

10 (Pl. 39). E.M. 7569, 7568, 7567, and 5297 (fragments *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 974; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 560; E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Baltimore, 1945, vol. I, T. 553.

Four fragments of a pedimental stele of Hymettian marble. Fragments *a-c*, which have been joined, preserve the gabled top, left side, and rough-picked back; fragment *d* preserves the right side and rough-picked back.

Fragments *a-c*: height, 0.485 m.; width, 0.304 m.; thickness, 0.135 m. with the pediment, elsewhere 0.095 m. Fragment *d*: height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

⁵⁰ Peek suggests that *I.G.*, II², 12421 is the same inscription. (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 170, no. 358.)

⁵¹ This inscription shows first declension dative both in *ει* (line 2) and in *ηι* (line 37).

⁵² The squeeze seems to show the dot of *theta*. There is a possibility that the original letters were ΤΗΣΑΠ, for traces can be seen which suggest both an original and a reinscribed *pi*; but it is then hard to interpret the following letter with its heavy lower bar, which I am now reading as the *delta* of Dion.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure 0.095 m. to 0.10 m.

a. 137/6 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 47-53

- a ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου [ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἐ[βδόμης πρυτα] b
νείας ἤι Διονύσ[ιο]ς Δημητρίου Ἀνακαίεὺς ἐγραμ[μάτευν· Γαμη]
λιῶνος τρίτει μ[ε]τ' εἰκάδας, ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰκοστ[εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας·]
ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεὶ· τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφισε[ν --- ca. 12 ---]
- 5 Εὐπολέμον Ποτάμ[ι]ος καὶ συμπρόεδρο[ι vacat]
c vacat [ἔδο]ξε[ν] τεῖ β[ουλει] καὶ τῶι δήμῳ vacat]
Διογένης [Διοκ]λείδου Κυδαθ[ηναιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Λεωνίδης]
Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεὺς ὁ γενόμεν[ος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄ]
[στ]ει τὸν ἐπὶ Τιμάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐρ[ιαντὸν τά τε εἰσιτητήρια ἔθν]
10 [σ]εν καλῶς καὶ εὖσεβῶς τῶι Ἀσκλη[πιῳ καὶ τεῖ Ὑγίειαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ]
λοῖς θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ ἐβουθύ[τησεν τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις]
καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἡρώιοις παρασ[τήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα]
[κ]αὶ τὰς τούτων παννυχίδας συν[ετέλεσεν· θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ]
[τ]ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδ[ων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κάλλιερή]
15 [σ]ας, ἐν ἅπασιν ἀπήγγειλεν τεῖ βο[υλει] γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ]
σωτήρια· ἔστρωσεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κλ[ίνας --- ca. 14 --- ἐν ἑκά]
στει τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπιφανῶς καὶ ε[--- ca. 22 ---]
ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα εἷς τε τὰ Ἀσκληπίεια καὶ τὰ]
Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφοροῦσαν· βουλόμ[ενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν αὔξειν τὰς]
20 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς καὶ τὴν τ[ῆς πόλεως] σωτηρίαν ἐβουθύτη]
σεν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ταῦρον [καὶ ἐκόσμησεν τὴν τράπεζαν]
καὶ παννυχίδα συνετέλεσεν παρθ[ενικῶι χορῶι· καταστήσας]
δὲ καὶ τὸν ὕδν Δίῳ κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον ἐπὶ ἀπάσας τὰς]
[κ]αθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένας θε[ραπείας ἐν αἷς τοῖς θύουσιν]
25 [τ]ῶι θεῷ κεχορήγηκεν ἐκτενῶς, τοῦ τ[ε]τεμένους τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ]
[καὶ] τῆς Ὑγείας καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν [αὐτοῖς --- ca. 14 ---]
[--- ca. 4 ---] τὴν καθήκουσαν [ἐ]πι[μέ]λειαν ἐποιή[σατο --- ca. 14 ---]
[--- ca. 8 ---] ὦν· προ[σκαλέσας] δὲ καὶ τὴν βο[υλὴν --- ca. 14 ---]
[--- ca. 9 ---] α ποι[ήσασθαι πε]ρὶ τούτων τ[--- ca. 19 ---]
30 [--- ca. 9 ---] ΟΜΕ[--- ca. 10 ---] ἈΣΕΩΣΑΝΔ[--- ca. 18 ---]
[--- ca. 22 ---] αὐτῶν δια [--- ca. 18 ---]
[--- ca. 23 ---] ντος ἀναδ[--- ca. 17 ---]
[--- ca. 22 ---] ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίῳ[ν --- ca. 17 ---]
[--- ---]

	υ	d
	α ^v	
	τα	
	νευ	
5	ρο	
	ποιη	
	ζομε	
	ωματα	
	θεν	
10	ντου	
	ε ^{vv}	
	Ι εν τεϊ	
	ατα ^v	
	στων	
15	[Χ]ρυσῶν	
	ων ^v	
	οικοδο	
	εστα	
	λενδε	
20	λα ασ	
	ακησ	
	τα επι	
	ιμε ^v	
	υκο	

Lines 1-3: For the date, see Meritt (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, pp. 23-31 and 86, with note 27.

Line 7: The priest's name was restored by Dinsmoor from No. 9, lines 13 and 42.⁵³

Lines 8-9: In the Editio Minor, the priest's title is restored *ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας*, as it is found in two inscriptions of the first century B.C., *I.G.*, II², 1046, line 9, and 4465. Not only does it lead to difficulties, however, at the beginning of line 9, but the traces there actually favor the regular title of the priest, as restored in the text.⁵⁴ No preposition should be placed before the dating formula *τὸν ἐπὶ* — *ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτόν*. When this formula appears in the accusative, as here, the regular alternatives are to use either the preposition *εἰς* or no preposition at all;⁵⁵ the first of these is excluded by the preserved traces of letters.

⁵³ *Athenian Archon List*, pp. 194-195.

⁵⁴ Cf. No. 2, line 33; No. 7, lines 5-6 and 17; and No. 8, lines 8-9.

⁵⁵ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1011, line 34; 1315, line 6; 682, lines 31, 45, and 58; 788, line 9; and 1245, line 2.

Lines 11-12: Since the letters preserved in line 11 are somewhat crowded, the space to be filled is longer than a simple count of letters would indicate; even with the inclusion of the particle $\tau\epsilon$ my restoration implies a short vacant space at the end of the line.⁵⁶ The Epidauria were probably celebrated on 18 Boedromion, the Asklepieia on 8 Elaphebolion;⁵⁷ the order in which the festivals are listed here is therefore puzzling.

Line 12: The end of the line must be studied in conjunction with the parallel line 7 of the following inscription, No. 11. In both cases the Editio Minor gives as certain the letters ΠΑΡΑΤ. The final *tau* was apparently recorded on the basis of Koehler's readings in *I.G.*, II, Add., 453 b and c, pp. 418-419, which show a high horizontal stroke at this point. This stroke cannot now be seen either on the stones or on the squeezes in the Berlin collection, as Klaffenbach has kindly informed me; nor do the stones show signs of recent breaks. In each case, however, the upper left corner of a letter is preserved. As Klaffenbach points out, on No. 10 the trace is slightly too low for *tau*, and is more suitable for *sigma*. The reading of No. 11 is more difficult. On the one hand, a short vertical cutting is seen which might well be the apex of a *tau*. On the other hand, just to the left of this cutting the surface of the stone comes to a diagonal edge such as might have been left by the apex of *upsilon*, *chi*, or *psi*, but could also have been formed by the juncture of the two upper strokes of *sigma*, as in the *sigma* at the end of line 12. Certainty is excluded. The reading of *sigma*, at any rate, makes possible the restoration of a relatively common expression,⁵⁸ which is also appropriate at this point.

Lines 13-16: At the beginning of line 15 a single widely spaced letter other than *iota* has been lost; a second letter, even *iota*, would have been crowded, and would be visible on the surface preserved before the initial *alpha*. Two possible restorations are: [καὶ καλλιερή|σ]αs, that given in the text, which I believe is correct, and [τὰς θυσίας ταύ|τ]αs, a slight modification of the restoration in the Editio Minor, which is not entirely excluded. The second possibility is appealing, since the word *ταύτας* would make clear that the sacrifices are the same as those which have already been mentioned. In the present inscription, this restoration fills the space excellently; at the corresponding point of No. 11 it offers some difficulties.⁵⁹ A more serious question is whether the

⁵⁶ Because of such irregularities, all restorations were checked in terms of half lines as well as whole lines; observe also the irregular line endings on fragment *d*.

⁵⁷ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 72 and 142. On the Epidauria, see also S. Eitrem, *Mélanges C. Picard* (*Rev. Arch.*, XXIX-XXXII), 1949, pp. 352-359. On the Asklepieia, see also Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 307-308, including the references there, and J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 312. On the Heroia, see Edelstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 184, note 11, and p. 193, note 7; U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilum*, Potsdam, 1948, pp. 118-119; and O. Walter, *Γέρας Α. Κεραμοπούλλου*, Athens, 1953, p. 477.

⁵⁸ See *I.G.*, II², 1039, line 55, and 1043, lines 25-26 and 48; also *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 170-172, no. 67, lines 14-15. Cf. also A. Wilhelm, *J.R.S.*, XXVII, 1937, p. 146.

⁵⁹ See the commentary to No. 11, line 9.

phrase ἐν ᾗπασιν, which follows, may be used after the feminine θυσίας. It is necessary to study the language of other passages recording sacrifices with good omens.⁶⁰ At two places, *I.G.*, II², 1039, line 7, and 1043, lines 9-10, we find the phrase ἐν πᾶσιν in precisely the same context as in our decree. In the second instance it is made clear by the following clause that the word πᾶσιν refers to the sacrificial animals, and at *I.G.*, II², 1042, line 5, we actually find the substitute phrase πᾶσι τοῖς θύμα[σι]. In each case the phrase is preceded by a reference to a single θυσία (lines 4, 7, and 2 of the respective inscriptions), and it is not unreasonable to argue that it could also be used after the plural θυσίας in our decree. Other passages, however, strongly suggest that this feminine plural form would have been followed by the phrase ἐν ἀπάσαις.⁶¹ The restoration that I have adopted, which is based on the passages cited in notes 60 and 61, avoids this difficulty; it has one disadvantage, in that the good omens are now referred to twice, but the redundancy probably resulted from the juxtaposition of two common formulae: θύσας καὶ καλλιερήσας and ἐν ᾗπασιν γεγόνεναι κτλ. I have associated the phrase ἐν ᾗπασιν with the verb γεγόνεναι, which follows, rather than with καλλιερήσας, which precedes, because of the similar wording in *I.G.*, II², 1039 and 1043 which was discussed above; but there the phrase referred to the animals, while I suspect that in our decree we are meant to supply the noun ἱεροῖς.⁶²

Lines 16-17: At the beginning of line 17, *sigma* and *tau* can almost certainly be seen through the scratches; my restoration is the most obvious one. It seems that several couches were set up at each sacrifice, presumably to honor Asklepios and the other members of the divine family.

Lines 18-19: Cf. No. 13, lines 12-14.

Lines 19-22: While some details remain uncertain, the general meaning of these

⁶⁰ It is clear from Demosthenes, *Exordium* 54, that the verb καλλιερεῖν and the phrase γεγόνεναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια can be used interchangeably. Selections in which either one occurs are therefore relevant.

⁶¹ Particularly instructive are *I.G.*, II², 1028 and 1029, the writers of which naturally used ἐν πάσαις when the word θυσίας had preceded (lines 31-32 and 18-19 respectively), but were forced to use the phrase ἐπὶ τούτοις ᾗπασιν when this was not the case (lines 18 and 12 respectively). See also *I.G.*, II², 1039, lines 56-57, and *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1499, lines 3-9. Our No. 7, lines 7-9, and *I.G.*, II², 1054, lines 13-14, refer to good omens "in the sacrifices." One exception actually strengthens the argument; in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 116, lines 6-10, we find a reference to θυσί[α]ς followed by the words καὶ καλλιερή[σα]ντα ἐν ᾗπασιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, where it was considered necessary to add a noun to explain the word ᾗπασιν.

⁶² The material which has been discussed gives the impression that the phrase ἐν ᾗπασιν γεγόνεναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ κτλ. had become fairly set. For the view that ᾗπασιν refers to ἱεροῖς, cf. the common formula τὰ ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, as well as the final reference in note 61. The word ἱεροῖς was probably omitted because of the word ἱερὰ which follows; the repetition would have been awkward, though probably not illogical, since the reference is once to sacrifices, the second time to omens. But in *I.G.*, II², 1039 and 1043, the word πᾶσιν was applied to the animals; the confusion which resulted can be seen from the explanatory note added in the second of these decrees and the rewriting of the phrase in *I.G.*, II², 1042.

lines is clear. We may note first that a single occasion is involved; a single bull was sacrificed (line 21), and the singular *παννυχίδα* (line 22) must not be corrected to a plural, as in the Editio Minor. The nature of the occasion is also clear, if we may take the final letters preserved in line 19 as part of this sentence. The priest apparently organized an additional festival, not required by the religious calendar, because he wished to do something to bring even more honor to the gods, and to perform a second function, which can hardly have been anything but to assure the safety of the people. Since the festival was evidently modeled on the regular ones in honor of Asklepios, line 21 should mention either a table or couches. The last letter preserved in line 22 is either *theta* or *omicron*. If it is *omicron*, we might restore a slightly crowded *παρούσης τῆς βουλῆς*, on the assumption that the presence of the Council was mentioned to show the magnificence of this extra festival. In my text I have taken the doubtful letter as *theta*, and suggested that the night festival was celebrated with a maiden chorus. The Edelsteins stress the merrymaking to be expected at such occasions.⁶³ According to Ziehen, a *pannychis* was marked especially by singing and dancing.⁶⁴ Bowra has pointed out, moreover, that choruses of maidens usually danced at night.⁶⁵ A chorus paid for by our priest may have been part of the general festivities.

Lines 22-28: The decree turns here from particular festivals to activities that continued throughout the year. In lines 25-26 there seems to be a series of three genitives, and a progression from precinct to temple to things in the sanctuary. The word *τέμενος* is restored rather than *ιερόν* not only because of the available space, but also because the second word would include the temple. The three genitives must depend on the phrase [ἐ]πι[μέ]λειαν ἐποιή[σατο], which follows in line 27; the verb *κεχορήγηκεν*, which precedes, cannot govern nouns of this nature in the genitive case. This verb must belong, moreover, to a subordinate clause, since there is no connective after *ἐκτενῶς*. The beginning of the sentence does not yield quite such definite conclusions. In line 23, *κλειδοῦχον κα[ὶ πυρφόρον]* is based on *I.G.*, II,² 1944, lines 16, 21-22, and 31-32. In line 24, *θε[ραπείας]* was restored already by Koehler in the older Corpus. The word could refer to the divine cures,⁶⁶ but since this is not specifically stated, we are probably meant to understand it in the more general sense of *worship*.⁶⁷ The worship took place daily, according to the text, apparently being that of the visitors who came to the sanctuary each day, whether to pray for health in general, or

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁴ *R.-E.*, s. v. *παννυχίς*.

⁶⁵ *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Oxford, 1936, p. 48.

⁶⁶ For the verb *θεραπεύω* used of divine healing, see *I.G.*, VII, 235, lines 21-22, from the Amphiaraion. As the Edelsteins have pointed out concerning Asklepios (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 141), "one must keep in mind that this god was himself a physician."

⁶⁷ In No. 9, lines 14 and 18, the term refers to the care of the sacred property; but this meaning is not likely here because of the modifiers used with the noun.

to be cured, or to ask for the cure of others, or to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving.⁶⁸ We have already noticed the importance of maintaining order among these visitors, and it is in fact quite possible that this passage corresponds to the clauses concerning *eukosmia* in the other decrees.⁶⁹ I have tentatively restored lines 22-24 in such a way that the priest, instead of supervising the daily worship himself, appointed his son Kleidouchos and Pyrphoros to exercise this function. Such a delegation of authority may have been regular, but it is also possible that the priest enlarged the normal powers of the Kleidouchos in order to be free to devote his own attention to the sacred property, his concern for which is described in the lines which immediately follow, as well as in No. 9. In the other decrees, an expenditure of money is somehow connected with the clause concerning *eukosmia*; here the words *κεχορήγηκεν ἐκτενῶς* may refer to the same expenses. The recipients of this generosity must have been the daily worshipers. For example, the priest may have provided without charge the cakes and other materials needed by those who made their preliminary sacrifices.⁷⁰ The god cannot be the object of the priest's generosity. It happens that he is mentioned at the beginning of line 25 in the dative case, but one would not speak of supplying something to a god. The context seems to call for a participle to govern the dative. In the text I restore *τοῖς θύουσιν*, that is, the worshipers themselves.⁷¹ Also possible would be *τὰ θνόμενα*, or the objects they received from the priest. The particular verb may be wrong, for it is somewhat superfluous to say that one sacrificed "to the god."⁷²

Lines 28-33: These lines probably refer to the survey and repair of sacred properties also recorded in No. 9.

Fragment *d*: The vertical bar which forms the first line of this fragment widens slightly at the bottom and fits *upsilon* best. A slight rounding at the left break of the stone may mark a preceding *omicron*. It is possible, therefore, that we have here the *omicron* and *upsilon* of *Ἀσκληπιοῦ* restored at the end of line 25. I hesitate to print fragment *d* in this position, however, since I have not been able to fit any of the other lines into a connected text with fragments *a-c*.⁷³

⁶⁸ Edelstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 182-190. The Edelsteins hold that there were also regular morning and evening services, conducted by the priest and attended by the devout (pp. 192-194); the evidence in general is not conclusive, while for Athens the only citation is the passage here under discussion.

⁶⁹ See No. 6, lines 10-12, with the commentary.

⁷⁰ Cf. Edelstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 186-187; and J. Papadimitriou, *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pp. 366-370.

⁷¹ For the simple dative with *χορηγέω*, cf. Polybios, I, 83, 7, and II, 51, 2.

⁷² The Edelsteins (*op. cit.*, vol. I, T. 553) give the verb *χορηγέω* its original meaning of "providing a chorus." In the present context, this fact would probably have been expressed differently. The restoration *τὰ θνόμενα* in line 24, however, would fit well into their theory of regular daily services (cf. note 68).

⁷³ In lines 30-31, perhaps [τὰς --]ομέ[vas ^{ca. 7} -]ας ἕως ἀν δ[ύνηται ὁ ^{ca. 8} -] ποιῆ[σαι --]. But consider also [β]άσεως ἀνδ[ριάντος]. The last letter of line 4 might also be *iota*, *gamma*, or *pi*. The first letter of line 8, if *omega*, is without its tail.

11 (Pl. 38). E.M. 7585, 6099, and 4697 (fragments *a*, *b*, and *c* respectively). *I.G.*, II², 975 and 1061; A. S. Arbanitopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, p. 172.

Three fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble. Fragment *a* preserves the left side, lightly picked, and the back, picked with rough, horizontal lines; Meritt suggests that a rough-picked top is also preserved, and that a moulding has been chiseled away, the rise of which can still be felt directly above line 1. Fragment *b* preserves the right side; this has apparently been worn smooth and the angle it forms with the front face has been rounded by being walked on. Fragment *c* is known to me only from the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study; the left side seems to be preserved.

Fragment *a*: height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.179 m.; thickness, 0.07 m. near the top and 0.085 m. near the bottom. Fragment *b*: height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

The height of the letters, which is very irregular even in single lines, varies from 0.006 m. to 0.011 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure between 0.156 m. at the top of fragment *a* and 0.12 m. at the bottom of fragment *b*.

saec. II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 42-57

- a* ἐπειδὴ Δίῳ Δίῳνο[ς ----- *ca.* 25 ----- τὸν]
 [ἰ]ερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ [----- *ca.* 28 -----]
 ὑπομείνας τὴν ἱερωσύνη[ν τὸν ἐπὶ ----- *ca.* 9 ----- ἄρχοντος ἐν]
 αὐτὸν τά τε εἰσιτητή[ρια ἔθυσεν ----- *ca.* 18 ----- κα]
 5 λῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς· ἐβ[ουθύτησεν δὲ καὶ ----- *ca.* 12 ----- τῷ Ἀσ]
 κληπιῷ καὶ τῇ Ὑγι[εῖαι τοῖς Ἀσκληπιείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ]
 τοῖς Ἡρώοις παρασ[τήσας θύματα ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ τὰς τού]
 των παννυχίδας [συνετέλεσεν· θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς]
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ καλλιερήσας, ἐν ᾗπα]
 10 σιν ἀπήγγειλεν [γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια· ἔστρω]
 σεν δὲ καὶ τὰς κλ[ίνας ----- *ca.* 15 ----- ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν θυσι]
 ῶν ἐπιφανῶς κ[αὶ αἰ ----- *ca.* 28 ----- κατέσ]
 τησεν δὲ καὶ τὸν [ὑδὸν ----- *ca.* 22 ----- κλειδοῦ]
 χον τοῦ θεοῦ πρ[----- *ca.* 32 -----]
 15 προέστη δὲ κα[ὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκο]λῶ[ύθως] *b*
 τοῖς νόμοις κα[τατεθικῶς ----- *ca.* 12 ----- ἐν τῇ ἱερῷ]σύνηι
 πρὸς δραχμὰς [----- *ca.* 4 ----- ἵνα οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαί]νωντ[αι]
 τιμῶντες κα[ὶ χάριτας προσηκούσας ἀποδιδόντες τ]οῖς πρό[ς]
 20 τε τοὺς θεο[ὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐκτ]ενῶς δι[α]
 [κ]ειμένοις, γί[νωνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς ζηλωταὶ τῶν ὁμ]οίων ^v
 [ἀγαθ]ῇ τύ[χη δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λαχόντας] προέ

- [δρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περ]ι τούτω[ν,]
 [γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον]ν ὅτι δο
 [κεῖ τῇ βουλῇ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἀπηγγ]ελμένα
 25 [ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τεθυμένων ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τ]ῆς βου
 [λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ----- ^{ca. 23} ----- · ἐπα]ινέσα[ι]
 [δὲ τὸν ἱερέα ----- ^{ca. 21} ----- εὐσεβείας] ἔνεκ[α]
 [ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας] τῆς πρ[ὸς]
 c [τὸν δ]ῆμον [καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάν]ωι δεδ[όσ]
 30 [θ]αι δὲ αὐτ[ῶι καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτου ἂν ᾗι ἄξιος· ἀνα]γράψα[ι δὲ]
 [τ]όδε τὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν] στήλῃ [λι]
 [θί]νῃ καὶ στή[σαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· εἰς δὲ τῇ]ν ἀνα<γ>[ρα]
 [φ]ῇν καὶ τῇ[ν στήλῃν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν] τὸ γε[νό]
 μενον ἀν[άλωμα. vacat]

The association of the three fragments was first suggested by Raubitschek. The evidence for it consists of the letter forms and the possibility of combining the fragments into a single text.⁷⁴ The vertical space occupied by lines 15-21 is smaller on fragment *b* than on fragment *a*, but the reason is evident; lines 16-19 droop noticeably at their ends, whereas lines 20-21 are once more straight. Fragment *b* was presumably found near the stadium, and was bought by the Greek Archaeological Society;⁷⁵ while it may have been carried in the course of time from the Asklepieion to the stadium, it is also possible that one of the workmen excavating the Asklepieion sold it under false pretenses. The spacing of the letters is irregular; the text also shows deviations from the common formulae and the parallel passages in other inscriptions.⁷⁶ Under these circumstances, it is difficult to determine the limits within which restoration is permissible, and my text should be read with corresponding caution.

The presence of a moulding above the first line shows that our text did not include the usual prescript. It is similar in this respect to the decrees honoring the Agonothetes of the Theseia, shortly before the middle of the second century B.C.,⁷⁷ and the Prytany decrees of the post-Sullan period.⁷⁸ Since these decrees seem to have been set up at private expense, it is possible that our inscription was likewise paid for by the priest, despite the fact that the decree contains a provision for public payment.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ I am indebted to Anna Benjamin for the information from Athens that "EM 4697 and EM 7585 obviously belong together but there is no join."

⁷⁵ *Αθήναιον*, VIII, 1879, p. 141.

⁷⁶ Only four lines are fairly certain: line 21 with 42 letters (40 spaces; at least the first spaces are unusually wide), line 22 with 48 letters (44 spaces), line 23 with 45 letters (43 spaces), and line 31 with 51 letters (49 spaces); *iota* occupies about a third of a space.

⁷⁷ *I.G.*, II², 956-959; but note that the orator's name is given at the head.

⁷⁸ See S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 25. In at least one case (*ibid.*, p. 186, no. 116) the orator's name is given at the head. Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 903.

⁷⁹ Cf. note 84.

Lines 1-3: See the commentary to No. 6, lines 5-7. The second interpretation offered there could be applied to the present case as follows: ⁸⁰

ἐπειδὴ Δίων Δίωνα[ς — — ^{ca. 12} — — διὰ τὸ τὸν λαχόντα]
[ἰ]ερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ [μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς χρείας παρέχεσθαι]
ὑπομείνας τὴν ἱερωσύνη[ν κτλ.]

Lines 3-12: The most important points are discussed in the commentary to the parallel lines 9-17 of No. 10. A few variations should be noted. The *τε* of line 4 is probably followed by *δὲ καὶ* in line 5, as at *I.G.*, II², 847, lines 13 and 16. In line 6, it appears that the article was used before the name of each festival, since it is seen at the beginning of line 7 with the last one; to fill the available space, the article must be restored at least with the first festival. An alternate restoration in line 9, *τὰς θυσίας ταύτας*, is suggested in the commentary to No. 10, lines 13-16. It is a trifle long if, as is likely, the children and women are named here as beneficiaries of the sacrifices; without the word *ταύτας* it makes the line shorter than the surrounding lines. The line would be properly filled if the friends and allies are the beneficiaries, and the demonstrative has been omitted.⁸¹ In line 10, it is necessary to omit one element of the formula *ἀπήγγειλεν τῇ βουλῇ γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια*.

Lines 12-14: Cf. No. 10, lines 22-23. For the failure to observe the usual division of syllables at the end of line 12, cf. lines 5 and 29. The last letter preserved in line 13 is probably *nu*, with the diagonal stroke producing an apparent apex at the upper left corner. But consider the possibility that the traces belong to *iota* and *sigma* crowded together; a restoration with regular syllabification would be [ἐβουθύ]|τησεν *δὲ καὶ τοῖς* [name of festival].

Lines 15-17: See the commentary to No. 6, lines 10-12. Koumanoudis, the original publisher of fragment *b*, records \OB(?) for its first line.⁸² On *πρὸς δραχμάς*, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, vol. II, Berlin, 1927, *s.v.* *πρός* (g).

Lines 17-20: Various elements have been combined from *I.G.*, II², Part IV, 1, “*Sermo Publicus*,” *s.v.* *χάρις*, as well as *I.G.*, II², 1006, line 90, and 1046, line 32.

Lines 24-26: The remains of lines 24 and 25 seem to belong to a variation of the formula for accepting good omens. It is uncommon in a decree which reviews the sacrifices performed throughout a year, but cf. *I.G.*, II², 949 A. What beneficiaries

⁸⁰ The first line seems to be a little more widely spaced than the others. The restoration in the Editio Minor, according to which the priest named in the accusative held the office the year before Dion, is unlikely. Not only is it hard to find a reason for mentioning this priest, but when the same priesthood is referred to twice in succession, one expects the full title to be given at the first opportunity rather than the second.

⁸¹ Cf. the commentary to lines 24-26.

⁸² *Ἀθηναιον*, VIII, 1879, p. 140.

of the sacrifices were named is uncertain. I have found only one list that would give line 26 about the same length as the surrounding lines: [τ]ῆς βου[λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων]. Except for the addition of the words τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, this is the regular list of the earlier part of the second century B.C.; the last example known to me is of the year 173/2 B.C.⁸³ Because of the lettering of our inscription, one would not ordinarily think of giving it so early a date.⁸⁴ In the year 165/4 B.C. we meet for the first time the longer list of beneficiaries, which includes the children and women and the friends and allies.⁸⁵ In its complete form it is much too long for our inscription; if the children and women are omitted, it is slightly too short. Finally, a list consisting only of the Council, Demos, children, and women is much too short, although not short enough to permit the addition of the words τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, unless the letters have already become much more crowded. For the present it is best to leave the gap in line 26 without restoration.

Lines 26-34: The crowding of the letters at the end of the inscription is hard to explain, since there is ample room at the bottom of the stele. Nor can one be certain at what point the crowding begins. I have based my restorations on the fact that the letters of line 30 preserved on fragment *c* are much more widely spaced than those of the lines which follow; this evidence cannot be pressed, in view of the irregularity of the spacing throughout the inscription. The language of lines 26-30 can be supported by various citations.⁸⁶ The perfect form *δεδοσθαι* is commonly used in granting citizenship.⁸⁷ For lines 32-33, cf. No. 3, line 26, and No. 5, lines 14-15, with the commentaries. At the end of line 32, IANAN is on the stone. The word *ἀναγραφὴν* must begin at the first *alpha nu*, not only because the letters are hard to explain except as part of this noun; but also because the noun cannot possibly be squeezed into the available space if it begins at the second *alpha nu*. Reluctantly I admit a stonecutter's error. Everything else preserved in lines 30-34 points to the ordinary provisions for the public inscribing of a decree.

⁸³ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 33-47, no. 6, lines 13-14. The beneficiaries are discussed by Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 9-10), who says that the inclusion or omission of the phrases τοῦ Ἀθηναίων and καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν is of no significance. Two inscriptions show, furthermore, that when the beneficiaries are given twice in the same decree, the second list is more complete (*I.G.*, II², 807, lines 4-5, 25-28; and 967, lines 11-14). One might argue, therefore, that if the children and women were really mentioned at line 9, they were omitted here as taken for granted, while the allies were added for completeness.

⁸⁴ If the inscription is as early as 173/2 B.C., the completely new style of letter forms and arrangement must probably be ascribed to foreign influence; one thinks of Pergamon. Cf. the inscription on the Stoa of Attalos (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pls. 18-21, 26-27), which is however dated *ca.* 150 B.C. Cf. also our No. 7, of the year 165/4 B.C. Perhaps this innovation should also be connected with the argument given above that the inscription was paid for privately.

⁸⁵ *I.G.*, II², 949, lines 16-17.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 100-109, no. 18, lines 24-31; also *I.G.*, II², 908, lines 16-17; 926, lines 11-13; 1006, line 96; and 1011, lines 70 and 79.

⁸⁷ *I.G.*, II², 889, line 16, and 979, lines 31-32; cf. also 900, line 16.

12 (Pl. 39). E.M. 7584. *I.G.*, II², 976.

Fragment of light gray Hymettian marble, broken on all sides.

Height, 0.130 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Five lines measure *ca.* 0.06 m.

post. med. saec. II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 38-44

[----- καὶ συμπρό]
 [ἐδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ κ]αὶ τῶι [δ]ήμω[ι· — *ca.* 8 —]
 [----- *ca.* 18 ----- εἰ]πεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγ[γέλλει]
 [ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν [ὧν ἔθνευ]
 [τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐπ]ιδάυρῳ καὶ τ[ῇ Ὑγείαι]
 5 [καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς π]άτριον ἦν· ἔπε[μελήθη δὲ]
 [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλί]νης καὶ τῆς [κοσμήσεως]
 [τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τῆς πα]ννυχίδος· [θύσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς]
 [Ἀσκληπιείοις τῶι Ἀσκληπ]ιῶι καὶ τ[ῇ Ὑγείαι καὶ τοῖς]
 [ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦ]ν ἔπε[μελήθη -----]
 [-----]

Since the various letters differ considerably in width, a full-scale drawing of the text was made to test the restorations. It became evident from this reconstruction that the left margin is most easily placed in the position shown above; note also that most of the lines now begin with new words. To place this margin further to the right would be extremely difficult; to move it to the left by one syllable, on the other hand, would be fairly easy, although it leads to unpleasing divisions of words.⁸⁸ The formula with ἔδοξεν would then be approximately centered on the stele, and it may have stood alone in its line.⁸⁹

The sacrifice to the god in Epidauros is puzzling; even if the priest sacrificed and performed a *lectisternium* at Epidauros, it is difficult to see how he could be in charge of a night festival there. Possibly the arrival of Asklepios in Athens was re-enacted yearly at the Epidauria;⁹⁰ in this case, the sacrifice at Epidauros may have preceded the celebration in Athens. At line 8 I have restored the other great festival of Asklepios, the Asklepieia.⁹¹ Since the structure of the decree is similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 949 A, it is likely that the good omens at the Asklepieia were mentioned below line 9; but this information may also have been given in lines 8-9, if after the word

⁸⁸ Two syllables would have to be moved from the end of line 3 to line 4.

⁸⁹ Cf. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁰ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1019 (our No. 9), line 8.

⁹¹ On the festivals, see note 57.

Ῥγίειαι we may restore [ἐπὶ τοῦ|τοις πάλιν ἐκαλλιέρησε]ν.⁹² One advantage of this alternative is that it avoids the awkward repetition in lines 8-9 of the phrasing found in line 5.

13 (Pl. 39). E.M. 7607. *I.G.*, II², 1033.

Fragment of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble; the left side, the back, picked with diagonal strokes, and part of the top are preserved.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.098 m. at the pediment, 0.087 m. near the bottom; thickness, 0.095 m. at the pediment, 0.076 m. at line 1, and 0.08 m. at the bottom.

Height of letters, irregular, *ca.* 0.007 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon. Ten lines measure *ca.* 0.11 m.

- a.* 94/3 *a.* NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 56-61
- θ [ε ο ι]
- ἐπὶ Καλ[λίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ----- ος ----- ς πρυτανείας.]
- Ἀνθεστη[ριῶνος ----- *ca.* 38 ----- ι τῆς]
- πρυτανε[ίας ----- *ca.* 45 -----]
- 5 νομηνίαι ρ[----- *ca.* 42 ----- · βου]
- λὴ ἐν βουλε[υτηρίω· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ----- *ca.* 19 -----]
- Μυρρινούσ[ιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· ----- *ca.* 12 ----- ἐγ Μυρ]
- ρινούττης [εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ----- *ca.* 21 ----- τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλη]
- πιοῦ παρεχ[----- *ca.* 35 ----- ὑπομείνας τὴν]
- 10 λειτουργία[ν τὸν ἐπὶ Θεοδότου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς καθηκούσας θυσί]
- ας ἔθυσεν κ[αὶ τοῖς τε Ἀσκληπιείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδανρίοις τὰς κλῖνας ἔστρω]
- σεν καὶ τοῦ[των τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰς παννυχίδας συνετέλεσεν καταστήσας ἐ]
- φ' ἐκάτεραν [τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα ----- *ca.* 6 ----- ἀρρηφοροῦσαν καλῶς καὶ φιλο]
- τίμως· προέ[στη δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν θνόντων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν]
- 15 τῷ ἱερῷ ἄκο[λούθως τοῖς νόμοις ----- *ca.* 27 ----- κατὰ]
- [τ]ὸν ἐνιαυ[τὸν -----]
- [-----]

Line 2: For the name and date of the archon, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 288, and *Athenian Archon List*, p. 204. It is difficult to estimate the gap in this line, because the letters are wider than elsewhere in the inscription.

Line 5: See Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 414, note 1, and Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 31. The last letter preserved looks most like *rho*, but might be *eta*.

⁹² Cf. the commentary to No. 10, lines 13-16.

Lines 8-10: See the commentary to No. 6, lines 5-7. The second interpretation offered there can be applied to the present case as follows.

[ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν λαχόντα ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκλη]
 πιοῦ παρέχ[εσθαι τὰς χρείας — — — — — ^{ca. 22} — — — — — ὑπομείνας τήν]
 λειτουργία[ν κτλ.]

In line 10 it is necessary to restore the date of the priesthood, that is, the year before the archonship of Kallias. The priest is being honored for services performed during his whole year of office rather than at a particular festival. It is therefore unlikely that the decree was passed in the month of Anthesterion (line 3) of the year of his priesthood before the celebration of the Asklepieia in Elaphebolion.⁹³

Lines 10-14: We can be fairly certain that these lines mention the usual sacrifices, *lectisternia*, and night celebrations. It can also be observed that there is no room for a specific reference to *eisiteteria*; the remains of line 13 suggest that two occasions are involved, apparently the Epidauria and the Asklepieia. Other elements in my reconstruction of these lines are taken from No. 10, lines 13 and 18-19. All the sacrifices performed during the year are included in a single statement, which presumably covers the *eisiteteria* as well as the two festivals specifically named, while the *lectisternia* and night celebrations are shown as limited to the two festivals.⁹⁴

Lines 14-16: Cf. No. 6, lines 10-12, and No. 10, lines 22-25, with the commentaries. The phrase [κατὰ τ]ὸν ἐνιαυ[τὸν] apparently corresponds to the phrase [ἐν τῇ ἱερῶ]σύνῃ at No. 11, line 16.

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⁹³ On the Asklepieia, see note 57. For the dating formula, see No. 10, line 9, with the commentary. For the date of the archon Theodotos, see Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, p. 204. Since the person honored was no longer priest, it is questionable whether he can be the same person as the priest mentioned at the end of line 8.

⁹⁴ The persons honored in this decree and in No. 6 may not have performed *eisiteteria* at all, if they did not actually serve as priests; cf. note 35. That *eisiteteria*, when performed, did not include night celebrations can probably be inferred from No. 10, lines 9-13, and No. 11, lines 4-8.

ACTIVITIES AT LERNA, 1958-1959

(PLATES 40-42)

SUPPLEMENTARY investigations were carried out at Lerna during the first fortnight in June 1958, in connection with a brief campaign of conservation and study.¹

EXCAVATION

The excavation of the preceding year had uncovered sections of massive walls near the northeast corner of the House of the Tiles, belonging obviously to a monumental edifice of earlier date (Building BG, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 130). Although little room was now left for further digging (Pl. 40, a, b), it seemed desirable to examine whatever parts of this structure could still be reached. An L-shaped space was therefore opened, outside the House of the Tiles, and small pits were dug through the floor inside.

Building BG (Fig. 1) was rectangular in plan, its main axis running roughly north and south. A series of large rooms occupies the central part. On the east is a pair of parallel walls with a corridor or a succession of narrow chambers between them; on the west there are also two lines of walls, probably balancing those on the other side, but with some irregularities that could not be completely investigated in the space available. These four main walls end abruptly at the south. There was no evidence of an end wall. The building runs on into unexcavated ground at the north. A large irregular slab of stone, which on its discovery in 1955 was taken to be associated with the House of the Tiles (*Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 164), is now seen to lie precisely in the axis of Building BG. Almost certainly it was the base for a single wooden column in the center of the south porch.

Only the foundations and socles of the walls are preserved. They are of rough stone masonry and very heavy, measuring 1.00 m. to 1.20 m. or even more in thickness. The superstructure was undoubtedly of crude brick; it has disappeared altogether. Exact measurements cannot now be made, but general resemblances to the House of the Tiles are striking. The total width is 11.75 m. to 12.00 m. (40 E. H. feet ?);

¹ Mrs. Caskey supervised the excavation of the larger area, assisted by Mrs. McLeod. Wallace McLeod had charge of digging the smaller trenches and shared the duties of surveyor with J. L. Caskey, who served as field director. The staff lived at the Hotel Neon in Nauplia. Evangelos Lekkas was foreman, directing the work of ten men. Nikos Didaskalou, junior technician from Corinth, repaired and strengthened the weak points in the House of the Tiles. Petros Abatielos, carpenter of the American School, constructed and installed representations of the ancient wooden doorjambs in the building.

big rooms in the central row are bordered on either side by narrow passages and compartments. One can scarcely doubt that this was a prototype and precursor of the later palace.

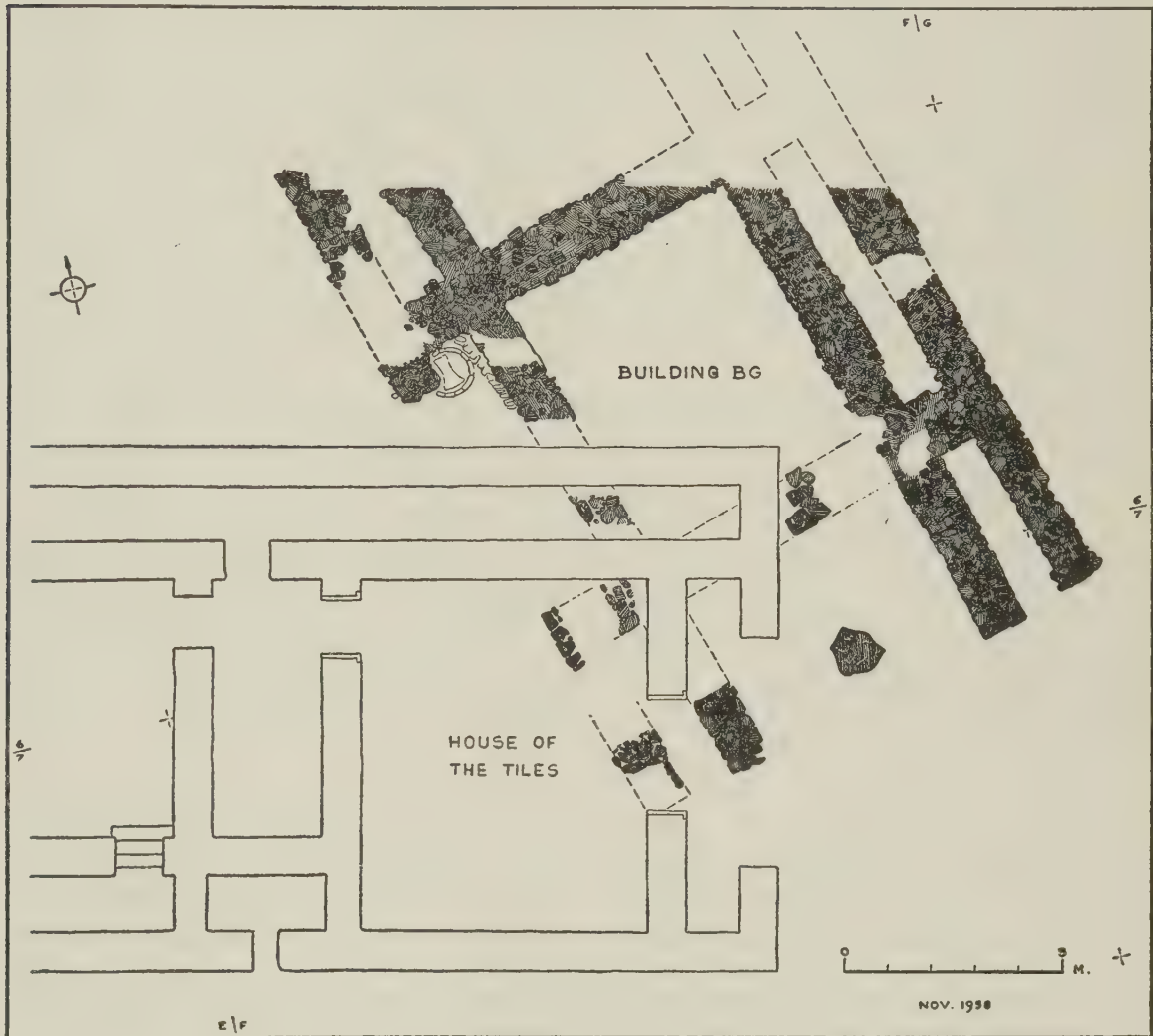


FIG. 1. Plan of Early Helladic Building BG as Exposed in 1958.

There are indications that it served its use over a considerable period of time, the walls being altered and reconstructed more than once. The great ceremonial hearth that was found in 1957 lay in the western part of the building and is probably to be assigned to a middle phase of its occupation, neither the earliest nor the latest. In the eastern corridor, near the south end, there was at one time a paving of rough cobblestones. In most of the rooms, however, floors were scarcely discernible, having been cut away by succeeding occupants of the area.

Remains of flagstone pavements were found just above the walls of Building BG at several places, and sections of much smaller house walls also gave evidence of at least one architectural period intermediate between the demolition of BG and the erection of the House of the Tiles. The pottery recovered from these layers was all fragmentary; it belonged to the general classes of Early Helladic glazed and plain wares but gave no more exact indications of date. From the relative position of the various systems of walls we may presume that Building BG was in use during two or three of the successive phases when the circuit of fortifications was being developed along the southern border of the citadel (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 132-136).

Walls of still earlier structures, probably houses of modest size, were observed below the foundations of Building BG. A closed deposit of pottery on the floor of one of these houses yielded several whole vessels, including an askos in plain rough ware with incised decoration ² (Pl. 41, e) and a squat pyxis in brown slipped ware, well burnished ³ (Pl. 41, f).

There being no practical means of draining the area excavated this season, the walls of Building BG and of its immediate predecessors and successors were covered over again with earth after they had been examined and recorded.

An attempt was made to explore the course of the road which presumably ran southeastward toward the shore from the foot of the Early Helladic flagged stairway, W (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 128, fig. 1). A long trench was excavated, some 10 m. out from the towers, but even at the bottom, where hardpan was reached at water level (0.68 m. A.T.), the earth was unstratified and contained sherds and tiles of the Classical period. The accumulations were obviously too deep to allow more extensive search, and the trench was refilled.

As a further test of the topmost Neolithic deposits a trench, called JC, was dug in the western side of Square F7 from the border of the tumulus southward across Room C of the circuit wall (see plan in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 128). In it were found some remains of Early Helladic strata antedating the House of the Tiles, but pure Neolithic ground was discovered at a high level, around 4.55 m. A.T. Most of the pottery was of types already recorded as characteristic of this stage, the second major period at Lerna, comprising fragments of bowls and jars in red-brown glazed ware. A typical example of the bowls is illustrated on Plate 41, c.⁴ In the uppermost levels, however, there were also a few scattered bits of pottery bearing patterns in dull paint on a light ground, exemplifying or related to a later class of Neolithic wares.⁵

² Inv. L. 1604; H. 0.107, D. 0.171.

³ Inv. L. 1603; H. 0.076, D. 0.166.

⁴ Inv. L. 1612; H. 0.075, D. 0.132.

⁵ Represented, e. g., at Gonia (C. W. Blegen, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, pl. I and p. 68) and at Corinth (S. S. Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 513-515). Cf. also other late Neolithic sherds from Lerna, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 159, pl. 48, a, c, and *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 137, pl. 36, a-c.

No whole deposits of this sort have been found at Lerna, but it is not improbable that they once existed and were cut away by the Early Helladic settlers.

Two graves came to light in the Neolithic deposits in Trench JC. One, a simple inhumation, was that of a small child. The other, encircled by stones, contained the skeleton of an adult lying on its left side with head to the southwest (Pl. 41, a). Near the knees was a jug of unusual form, its mouth rounded-triangular in shape, with a small projection making a rudimentary spout in front, and its handle broad and high-swinging, with an upright projection at the top and two struts set crosswise within the opening⁶ (Pl. 41, b). Like the grave found a year earlier in Trench HTN (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 136-137), the adult burial in Trench JC was so near the top of the Neolithic layer that it must be assigned to a stage of the settlement the remains of which were largely obliterated by the levelling and grading operations of the Early Helladic builders. It is not to be associated with the Early Helladic settlers themselves. Intramural burial, we may now say with some certainty, was not practiced in their time at Lerna; and the pottery from the two graves in question, though strange and not readily datable, looks more at home in a Neolithic context than in the repertory of the well-known Early Helladic types.

The jug from Trench JC has a moderately coarse red-brown biscuit and retains considerable traces of a powdery orange-red coating. In all respects except shape it very closely resembles one of the bowls from Grave HTN. 1 (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pl. 37, a). Similar red color appears also on the surface of a few sherds of white-crusted ware found near the grave in Trench JC, a fabric identical with that of another vessel from HTN. 1⁷ (Pl. 41, d). It thus appears reasonably certain that the two graves belong to the same late Neolithic phase.

CONSERVATION

During the brief campaign of 1958 the work of conservation undertaken a year before was supplemented and consolidated. Retaining walls were strengthened where necessary, provision for drainage was improved, and additions were made to the shelter over the House of the Tiles. Heavy wire grilles were installed in the lower series of openings between the pillars, and pairs of wooden shutters were set in the three central bays on the north and south sides (Pl. 40, e). The leaves of the shutters are hinged at the top and bottom respectively, protecting the crude brick walls from driven rain when they are fastened, and leaving an unobstructed view from outside the shelter when they are open in good weather. Further repairs were also made to strengthen the walls of the ancient building, and wooden sheathings were

⁶ Inv. L. 1610; H. to rim 0.115, D. 0.128.

⁷ Inv. L. 465; H. 0.221, D. 0.228. Formerly reported as Inv. L. 545, before the foot had been recognized as belonging to this pot, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 137, pl. 37, c.

set in place to represent jambs in the three doorways where cavities in the floor had shown conclusively that casings of this sort once existed (e. g. Pl. 40, c, d). Outside, in the rest of the excavated area, a moderate amount of planting was completed during the winter season. A few olive trees, some hardy oleanders, vines, flowering shrubs, and many smaller plants have now taken root. The whole area has been enclosed with a wire fence.

STUDIES

Throughout the year members of the staff have continued to study various groups and classes of objects in the workrooms of the museum at Corinth. The inventory of pottery, growing as pieces of interest come to light in the course of this study, now lists 1694 items, and a total of 4471 items is comprised in the inventory of miscellaneous objects of metal, stone, glass, ivory, bone, and terracotta. Mending and restoring have been carried on meanwhile by the senior technician George Kachros and his assistant Nikos Didaskalou; among their achievements of note is the complete reconstitution of the fragmentary hearth from the Early Helladic building BG (Pl. 42, a).

Material from the successive settlements, and particularly that which may be assigned to the principal closed deposits, has been reviewed and many of the final catalogues have been drafted by Mrs. Martha Heath Wiencke (Period 3⁸), Mrs. Caskey (Period 4), Wallace McLeod (Period 5), J. L. Caskey (Periods 5 and 6), and Mrs. Elizabeth McLeod (Periods 5 and 7).

Mrs. Wiencke also drew up a catalogue of the decorated bands on hearth rims and pithoi of the Early Helladic period, and Piet de Jong rendered many of the motives in water colors. Some of these pieces are illustrated on Plate 42, b-f. In the course of the study a number of interesting observations were made. The patterns in relief, comprising a variety of rectilinear and curvilinear designs, were applied to the bands with fairly rough cylindrical seals, presumably of carved wood. Filling ornament often appears between the principal elements of the spiral compositions. In one of these there is a representation of a hound and of a smaller quadruped, perhaps the hound's quarry (Inv. L. 1564, Pl. 42, c-e). The same roller was used to decorate a pithos found at Tiryns.⁹ Evidently, therefore, there was a central market for these great storage jars or, more probably, skilled pithos-makers travelled about the Argolid producing them to order.

In addition to his study of the Middle Helladic deposits in general, Mr. McLeod is completing an analysis of the graffiti and other marks on pots of the period (a total

⁸ See preliminary outline of periods in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 143-144.

⁹ K. Müller, *Tiryns*, IV, pl. XIX. Cf. the drawing of a hound on an E. H. pithos from Raphina, D. Theochares, *Πρακτικά*, 1954, p. 111, fig. 8.

of 255 pieces has been recorded up to now), and will present them for publication. He has also made a preliminary survey of the medieval fort on Mt. Pontinos.

During the autumn of 1958 Mrs. Grace Freed Muscarella drew profiles of many pots and fragments in the collection and made reconstructed drawings of others in water color.

Perry Bialor has spent parts of the year at Corinth examining and classifying the stone tools from Lerna, with special attention to the chipped implements of flint and obsidian.

A thorough investigation of the fauna of the district, as represented by animal bones found in the debris of the successive settlements, is being conducted by Nils-Gustaf Gejvall of the Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm. He and his assistant Mrs. Carin Green gave six weeks in May and June 1958 to recording all the osteological material, held in some 2300 containers, at Corinth, and also identified the bones from which many hundreds of minor objects had been fashioned. Dr. Maria Hopf of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz has begun the examination of vegetable remains recovered, identifying the species of various plants and trees preserved in a carbonized state and recording particularly the seeds and grains that leave impressions in the biscuit of pottery and burnt bricks. She is spending some days at Corinth in May 1959. Inorganic materials are being analysed by Mr. George Koumoulios of Athens, and samples of burnt wood have been submitted to the laboratories of the University Museum, Philadelphia, for radio-carbon testing.

DISPOSITION OF THE COLLECTION

It has been decided by the Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education that the Lerna collection should be kept and exhibited in the Kallergeion at Argos, a fine old house newly rehabilitated as a public museum. Two large rooms have been designated for this purpose, the one to hold a representative selection of objects on display, the other to house the remainder as a study collection and permanent record of the stratified deposits. At the present writing (May 1959) the Greek services are in process of furnishing display cases for the former room and the American School is providing the shelves, cases, and other furniture required for the latter.


In closing this report I take pleasure once again in expressing the gratitude of the excavation staff to our Greek colleagues for collaboration, assistance, facilities, and many courtesies extended to us since the inception of the excavations in 1952.

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STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATTIC MANUMISSIONS

(PLATE 43)

 PISTHOGRAPHIC fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a wall of house 638/9, west of the Church of the Holy Apostles (N 10) on January 9, 1935.

Height, 0.214 m.; width, 0.262 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3183.

The fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1554 above and 1557 below. Four other fragments belong to the stele. Koehler assigned 1556 and 1558 to the same stele as 1557, and 1556 in fact joins 1557 above. Kirchner assigned the one-sided fragment 1555 to 1554, and this is certainly correct. Lastly, 1559, identical with the other fragments in all respects, must also be added.¹

The four joining fragments, 1554, the new fragment, 1557 and 1556, preserve both margins and give the width of the stele, 0.744 m. Face A has five columns, the first four with stoichedon lines of 16 letters, the fifth of 17 letters, all in the same hand. Face B has three non-stoichedon columns in a slovenly hand with many misspellings,² and about three-sevenths of the face remains uninscribed to the right. Though there is no trace of a physical top or bottom, the fragments also limit the extent of the catalogue of names. There was probably a prescript above the catalogue as in *I.G.*, II², 1575 and 1578, but there is a clear uninscribed space at the top of 1556 which fixes the top of the catalogue on Face A. The bottom is fixed by another uninscribed space under Column II of 1554.

Into this framework the other fragments can be fitted. *I.G.*, II², 1558 has a right margin on Face A. Though it makes no join, when placed as high as it can go in Columns IV-V, the uninscribed space beneath it corresponds exactly to the space under 1554, and its true position can hardly be much, if at all, lower. The horizontal position of 1559 is fixed by its columniation, and its precise vertical position is also certain, for there is only one place in which its text in Column IV does not clash with the text of 1556 and 1557; confirmation is added by its continuation of the line of

¹ My thanks are due to B. D. Meritt for entrusting the publication of this fragment to me, to the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens for allowing me to publish here work done as a student of the School, and to Eva T. H. Brann for the drawings.

² I hope to discuss elsewhere the evidence for fourth-century script and pronunciation provided by this near-illiterate.

fracture of 1556. *I.G.*, II², 1555, which has parts of two columns, can be eliminated from Columns III-IV and IV-V, where there is no room for it, and from Columns II-III, where the intercolumniation is a shade wider. Its vertical place in Columns I-II is uncertain, and I have assigned it an arbitrary one, based on a possible continuous line of fracture with the new fragment.

I have judged it best to give here a complete new text as the readings of the old fragments can be slightly improved and the *Editio Minor* restores fragments of Face A, Column IV, with 17 letters to the line instead of 16.

FACE A

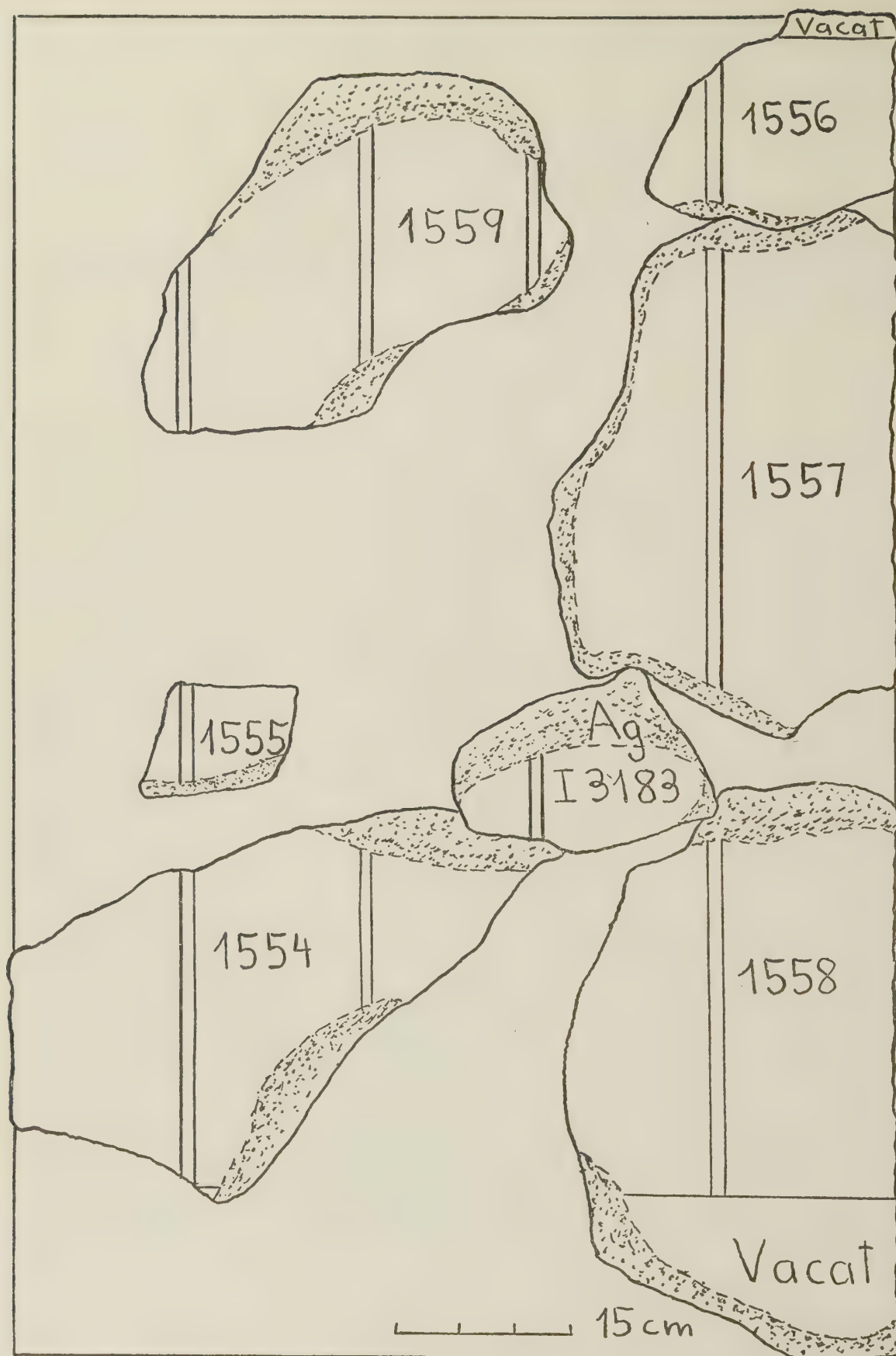
Column I

23 lines missing

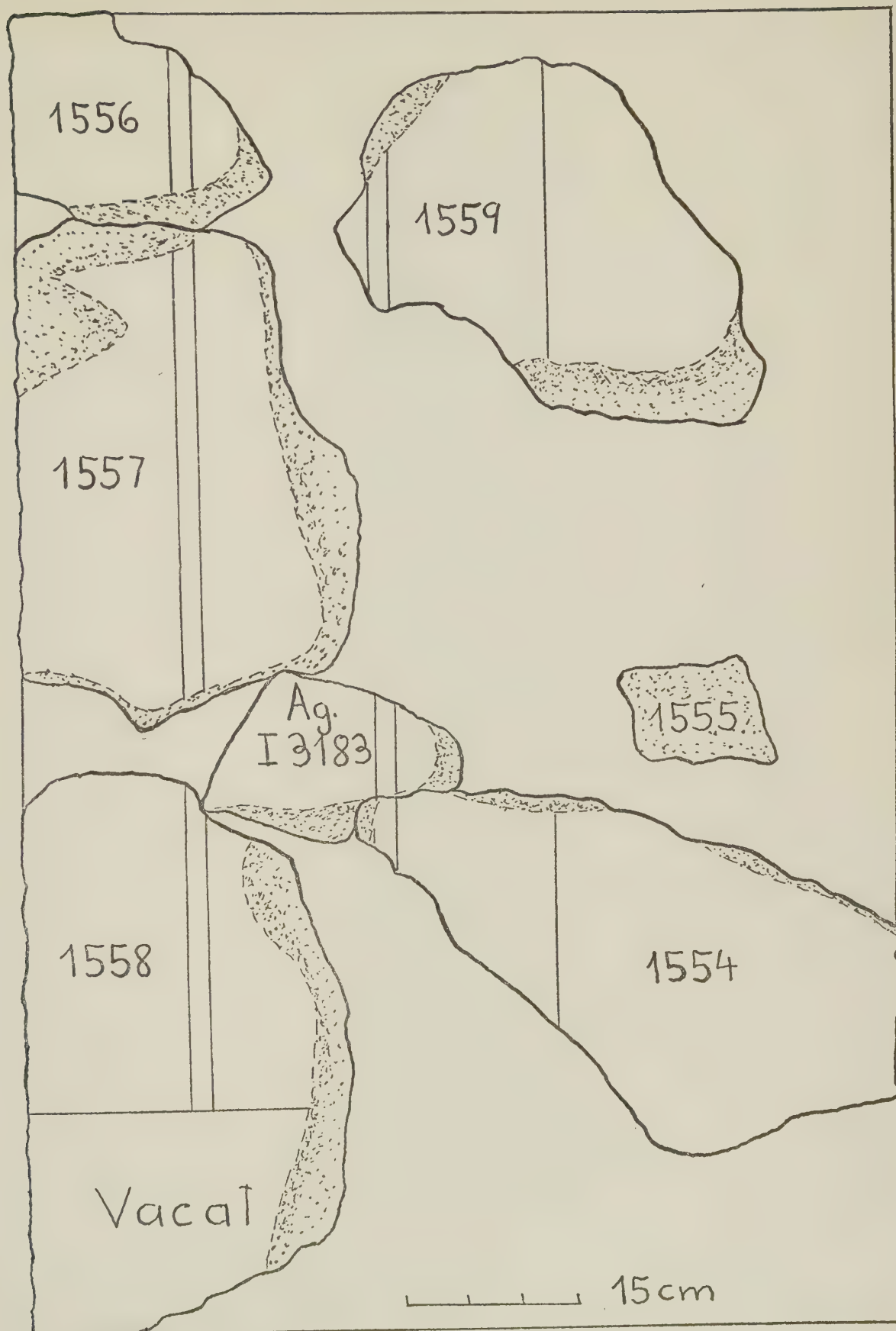
- 25 [.....¹⁴.....]ο^v
 [.... φιάλ σταθμ:Η]^{vv}
 [.....¹³.....] οἰκ
 [ὠν ..⁵... ἀποφυ]γὼν^v
 [.....¹².....]άτου
 [..⁶... φιάλ σ]ταθμ:Η
 30 [.....⁹..... ἐμ] Πειρα
 [οἰκῶν ἀποφυγ]ὼν^{vvv}
 [.....¹⁰.....κ]ύδου Τ
 [..⁵... φιάλ στ]αθμὸ:Η
 [.....⁹..... ἐγ] Κολλυ
 35 [οἰκῶν ἀποφυγ]ὼν^{vvv}
 [.....¹².....]ρατο
 [.....¹².....] Συνκ
 [.....¹³.....]κρα
 [.....¹¹.....Λα]μπτ
 40 [.....¹³.....]ρατ

about 28 lines missing

- [.....¹³.....ο]ἰκ
 70 [..⁷... ἀποφυγ]ὼν^v
 [.....¹³.....]πωλ
 [..⁷... φιάλη] στα:Η
 [..⁷... ἐγ Κολ]λυ οἰ
 [κ ..⁹... ἀπ]οφυγ
 75 [.....¹⁰.....ο]κράτο



FACE A



FACE B

[.⁵ φιάλη] σταθμ:Η

[.¹⁰] βειου Π

[.⁹ ο] ἰκ ἀποφ

[υγ⁸] οκράτο

about 12 lines missing

92 [.¹⁴] λε

[.¹⁰ ἄ] ποφυγ

[.¹⁰] ν Ὀλυμπ

95 [ιοδώρου Ἀ] γρ φιά στα:Η

[. . .⁷] ταλα ἐν Κυδ

[οἶκον] ἀποφυγοῦσα^v

Λυσίδικον Λυσιστρ

άτου Ἀχαρνέ φιά στα:Η

100 [Κ]ίττος ἐμ Πει οἰκῶν

χαλκεὺ ἀποφυγῶν^{vv}

Διονύσιον ἰσοτελή

φιάλη σταθμὸν:Η: ^{vvv}

Μνησιθέα{ν} ἐμ Πει οἶ

105 κο ταλα ἀποφυγοῦσα

Διονύσιον ἰσοτελή

φιάλη σταθμὸν:Η: ^{vvv}

Σάτυρος Ἀγνοῦν οἶκ

γεωργὸ ἀποφυγῶν^{vv}

110 Κηφίσιον Κηφισοδὴ

μου Παλλη φιά σταθ:Η

[Κ]αλλία<ς> κάπηλ ἐμ Πε

[ι οἶ]κῶν ἀποφυγῶν^{vv}

115 [.⁵] ιν Πολυεύκτο

[. . .⁷ φιάλη] στα:Η

[vacat]

Column II

11 lines missing

128 [.¹⁴] ου

[.⁶ φιάλ στ] αθμ:Η

130 [.¹²] ρ ἐν Κ

[. . οἰκῶν ἀπ] οφυγῶν^v

- [...⁸...] Δημοστρά
 [το Φρεά]ρρ φιάλ στα:Η
 [...⁵...] ρς ἐν Κυδα οἶκ
 135 [ὦ χρυ]σοχό ἀποφυγῶν
 [Εὐ]θύφρονα Εὐθυκλέ
 [—] οὖς Χολλε φιά σταθ:Η
 Βίων ἐμ Μελ οἰκῶ δακ
 τυλιογλύ ἀποφυγῶν
 140 Χαίριππον Χαιρεδή
 μου Ἀλαιέ καὶ κοι ἐρ
 ανι τῶν μετὰ Χαιρίπ
 πο Ἀλαιέ φιάλ σταθ:Η
 — Ὀφελίων ἐν Κολλυ οἶ
 145 κῶ κλινοπ ἀποφυγῶν
 Εὐπόλεμον Εὐπολέμ
 ο Ἀγρυ φιάλ σταθμὸ:Η
 — Μοσχίων ἐμ Πειρ ο[ἶκ]
 ὦ ἔμπορο ἀποφυγ[ῶν^ν]
 150 Λύκιν Βίωνος [Ἀχαρν]
 φιάλ σταθμὸν [:Η^{νννν}]
 — Φιλονίκη τ[αλασι ἐν]
 Λευκο οἶκ ἀ[ποφυγοῦ]
 Δημοσθένην [...⁶...]
 155 λο Φυλά [φιάλ σταθμ:Η]
 [—] Ἀδούσ[ιος ...⁸...]

About 28 lines missing

- 185 πληφ[...¹¹... ἐ]
 ν Κολ[λυ οἶκ φιά στα:Η]
 — Μενίππη [...⁹...]
 ταλασι ἀποφ[υγοῦσα]
 Δημοτίωνα Δ[ήμωνος]
 190 Φρεάρρι, Δημ[...⁶...]
 Δήμωνο Φρεά[ρρι, Δημ]
 όφιλον Δήμω[νος Φρε]
 άρριο φιάλη [σταθμ:Η]
 — Ὀνήσιμος Ἀ[λωπε(?) οἶκ]
 195 ὦ μάγειρο [ἀποφυγῶν]

About 11 lines missing

- 207 [Λ]υκίσκο[ν Διοδότου]
 — Ἐπικη φιά[λ στ]αθμ[:H]
 Μάνης ἀμφο[ρ] ἐν Κολ[λ]
 210 οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν^{vvv}
 Οἰνιάδην Οἰνοκλέο
 — Ἄμαξαν φιάλ σταθμ :H
 Φιλίστη ταλασι ἐμ Μ
 ἐλ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦσ
 215 Ἐπιχαρίδην Λυσίππ
 — ου Λαμπτ φιά σταθμ :H
 Ἀριστομένης ἐμ Μελ
 οἶκ σκυτοτό ἀποφυγ
 Θρασυμήδη Κηδεῖδο
 220 Λευκονο φιά σταθμ :H
 — Ὀνησίμη σησα[μ]οπωλ
 Ἄλωπ οἰκοῦ ἀπ[οφυγο]
 Φίλωνα Φιλι[. . . . Ἀλ]
 — ωπε οἶκ φι[άλ σταθμ :H]
 225 Ποσειδῶν[ιος ἐ]
 ν Κολλν ο[ἶκ ἀποφυγῶ]
 Ὑγιαίν[οντα . . .⁶ . . .]
 — χο Ἀγκ[υλ φιά σταθμ :H]
 Σιμα[.¹²]
 230 ταλ[ασι ἀποφυγοῦσα]
 Ἀρχ[.¹³]
 — ου Φα[ληρ φιά σταθμ :H]
vacat

Column III

8 lines missing

- 241 [Στρό]μβιχ Θεομ[νήστ]
 [—] [Ὀλ]ύνθι φιάλ στα[θ :H]
 Πιστοκλῆς ἐμ Με[λ οἶ]
 κ ὑποδηματοπ ἀποφ[ν]
 245 Καλλιπίδην Καλλ[ί]
 — ου Ἀφιδ φιάλ σταθμ [:H]
 Διονύσιος ἐ[ν Σ]κα ο[ἶ]
 κ γεωργὸ ἀπο[φ]ν[γ]ῶν [°]

- [‘Α]γνωί[δ]ην [Πε]ισισ[τ]
 250 — ράτο Κηφι φιά σταθ:Η
 Πολύτιμος ἐν Κολλυ
 οἶκ σκυτοτό ἀποφυγ
 Καλλίαν Καλλιάδου
 Παιανιέ φιάλ σταθ:Η
 255 — Λαμπρὶς ἐν Σκαμ οἶκ
 οὔσ τίτθη ἀποφυγοῦ
 Ἀριστοφῶντ Ἀριστί
 ωνο Ἀφιδ φιάλ σταθ:Η
 — Εὐπείθη παιδί τίτθ
 260 ἐν Σκ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγο
 Ἀριστοφῶντ Ἀρι[σ]τί
 ων Ἀφιδν φιάλ σ[ταθ:Η]
 — Εὐμ[. . .]ς ἐν Κο[λλ(?)οἶκ]

53 lines missing

- 317 [. . . ⁷ . . . ἀποφυγοῦ]σ
 [. ¹³]δου
 [. . . ⁷ . . . φιάλ] σταθ:Η
 320 [. . . ⁵ . . . ἐμ Με]λι οἰκοῦ
 [. . . ⁷ . . . ἀ]ποφυγοῦσ
 [. . . ⁸ . . . Ἀ]πολλοδώ
 [ρου . . . φιάλ στα]θμ:Η

3 lines missing

- 327 — .Λ.Ι.Ο[. ¹¹]
 Λύδη Ἀλωπεκῇ [οἰκοῦ]
 ταλασιο ἀποφ[υγοῦσ]
 330 Θεόφιλον Ἀν[. . . ⁶ . . .]
 — Εὐωνυμέ φιά[λ σταθ:Η]
 — Μένιος ἐν Ι[. . . ⁷ . . .]
 διάκον ἀπ[οφυγών ^{vv}]
 Διογέν[ην ⁹]
 335 — πο Ἐρ[. . . φιά σταθμ:Η]
 — Κα[. ¹⁴]
 ου[. ¹⁴]
 π[. ¹⁵]

About 10 lines missing

Column IV

5 lines missing

- [.....¹⁵.....]π
 335 [.....⁶... φιάλ σταθμ:]Η
 [—] [.....¹²..... οἰ]κῶ
 [ν ἀποφυγὼν ^{vvv}] ^{vvv}
 [.....¹².....] ΛΥΛΟ
 [—] [.....⁶... φιάλ στ]αθμ:]Η
 360 [.....¹¹.....] ἐμ Με ο
 [ἰκῶν ἀπο]φυγὼ ^v
 [.....¹².....] ο Παλ
 [ληνέα φιάλ σταθμ:]Η ^v
 [-----]
 365 [-----]
 ε[.....¹⁵.....]
 ιω[.....⁶... φιά σταθ:]Η
 — Δορ[.....¹³.....]
 λιβα[νωτο ἀποφυγ..]
 370 Στρ[.....¹³.....]
 — ἐμ Π[ειρ οἰκ φιά στα:]Η
 — Λυσ[.....¹³.....]
 τα[λασιου ἀποφυγοῦ]
 Δ[.....¹⁴.....] ο
 375 [.....⁶... φιάλ σταθ]μ:]Η
 [.....¹²..... ἐμ] Με
 [λ οἰκ... ἀποφυγ..] ^{vv}
 [.....¹³..... ο]ν ^v
 [... φιάλ σταθμ:]Η ^{vv}
 380 [...⁹..... ἐν Σ]καβω
 [ν οἰκ.....⁸.....] ἀποφ
 [...⁸..... δῆμ]ον Κυθ
 [ῥριο φιά σ]ταθμ:]Η ^{vv}
 [...⁷..... ἐν Σκ]αβων ο
 385 [ἰκ.....⁸.....]ικ ἀποφ
 [...⁸..... δῆ]μον Κυθ
 [ῥριον φιά σ]ταθμ:]Η ^v
 [...⁷..... ἐμ] Πει οἰκο
 [ῦσα ἀπ]οφυγοῦ ^v

- 390 [.....⁸...]δήμον Κυθ
 [ήρριον φιά] σταθμό:Η
 [.....⁹...]γειω ἐν Ἑ
 [φαι οἰκῶ]ν ἀποφυγὼν
 [.....⁷...]ΑΡΗΙ .. δανο
 395 [.....⁶...]φι]άλ σταθμ:Η
 [.....⁶...]μ]ισθωτὸ Ἄλω
 [πεκ οἰκ] ἀποφυγὼ^{vv}
 [.....⁶...]δην Ἀ[ρ]ι[σ]τάρ
 [χου Μυ]ρρ Γόργαθο Σω
 400 [σιστρ]άτου Κυδαθη^v
 [φιάλη] σταθμό:Η^{vvvv}
 [.....⁵...]ς δαιδοσχίστ
 [.....⁵...]ν οἰκῶ ἀποφυγ
 [.....⁶...]ν Φίλωνος Πα
 405 [.....⁷...]ολο Ἰφιστι
 [ἀδ⁶...]δώρο Μειδ
 [.....⁸...]ΟΙΝΔΙ Ἀπο
 [λλ⁸...]εινίου
 [.....⁶...]φιάλ στ]αθμ:Η
 410 [.....¹²..... ἐ]ν Κο
 [λλυ? οἰκ — — —]^{vv}

15 lines missing

- 427 [.....⁶...]νη ταλ[ασι ἐν]
 Κολλυ οἰκοῦ ἀπο[φυγ]
 Ἄνδρων Ἀλκιμάχου [Π]
 430 αἰανι Καλλιπίδη[ν]
 Τιμώνακτος Παιανι
 — ἐα φιάλη σταθμόν [:Η]
 — Τυρὴν ἀνλοποι ἐν Κυ
 δαθη οἰκῶ ἀποφυγὼ[ν]
 435 Λεο[.....¹³.....]
 Μ[— — φιάλ σταθ:Η]

5 lines missing

- 442 [.....¹².....]ος Σφ
 [ήττι φιάλ στ]αθμ:Η^{vv}
 [.....⁷...]τα]λασι ἐν Κ
 445 [... οἰκοῦ ἀπ]οφυγοῦ

- [.....¹¹.....] θυκλε
 [.....⁸.....] φιά σταθ:Η
 [.....⁸.....] σιδηρο ἐν
 [.....⁵..... οἶκ] ὦ ἀποφυγῶ
 450 [.....⁸.....] Λυσανίου
 [.....⁶..... φ]ιάλ σταθ:Η
 [.....⁷.....] κολλεψ Ἄλω
 [πε οἶκῶ] ἀποφυγῶ ^{vv}
 [.....⁶.....] αρνη Ἀριστο
 455 [... (?) Χολ]λε φιά σταθ:Η
 [.....⁶.....] νευρορά ἐν Σ
 [κα οἶκ] ὦ ἀποφυγῶ ^{vv}
 [.....⁶.....] Πολυρήτου ^v
 [.....⁶.....] φιά σταθ:Η ^{vv}
vacat

Column V

- 460 [.....¹⁰..... ἐμ] Πει οἶ
 [κῶν ἀπο]φ[υγ]ῶ ^{vvvvvv}
 [Χα]ρίαν Χαρωνίδου Εὐ
 ωνυμέ φιάλ σταθμ:Η ^{vv}
 — Φίλων γραμματε ἐν Θ[ο]
 465 ρικῶ οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν ^v
 Φερεκλείδη Φερεκλέ
 — ον Περιθοί φιάλ στα:Η
 — Ῥοδία ταλασι ἐν Θορι
 κῶ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦσα
 470 Φερεκλείδη Φερεκλέ
 — ον Περιθο φιάλ σταθ:Η
 — Κορδύπη παιδίον ἐν Θ
 ορικ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγ[οῦ]
 Φερε[κλ]εῖδη Φερε[κλέ]
 475 — ον [Περιθ]οί [φιάλ στα:Η]
 — Κ[.....⁶.....]να[.....⁸.....]

3 lines missing

- 480 [.....⁸.....ο]υρ[γ ἐμ Μελ]
 ιτ οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ ^{vv}
 Σαυρίαν Ἀθηνίππου Π

- ειραι Σπουδίαν Θεα[ι]
 τήτο Χολαρ φιά σταθ:Η
 485 — Ἐπικέρδης Ὀῆσι οἰκῶ
 ἀμπελουρ ἀποφυγῶν^ν
 Δη[μ]όφιλον Δημοφάνο
 Παιανι φιά σταθ:Η^{ννν}
 — Ἡρακλείδης ἐμ Με οἰκ
 490 ὦ κάπη ἀποφυγῶν^{νννν}
 Μενέδημον ἐμ Με οἰκ[ο]
 ὦ φιάλ σταθ:Η^{νννννν}
 — Θρᾷττα καπηλί ἐμ Με
 οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^{νννν}
 495 Μενέδημον ἐμ Μελί ο[ι]
 κοῦ φιάλ σταθ:Η^{νννν}
 — Ἰταμῇ ταλασι ἐμ Πει ο
 ἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^{νννν}
 Χαίριππον Τιμοκλεί
 500 δου Ἀχαρνέ φιά σταθ:Η
 — Ἐπίγονος ἔμπορ ἐμ Πε
 οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶ^{νννν}
 Κτησίαν Κτήσωνος Θο
 ρίκι φιάλ σταθμ:Η^{νν}
 505 — Δημητρ[ία] κιθαρῳιδὸ
 Ἐπικηφι[σι]ῶ οἰκο ἀπο
 Ἀθηνόδωρον [Θ]εοδώρο
 Μελιτέ Θεόδωρον Θεο
 δώρο Μελιτ φιά σταθ:Η
 510 Φίλων ταριχοπῶ ἐ[ν] Κο
 λλυ οἰκῶ ἀποφυγῶν^{νν}
 Χαιρέφιλον Φείδωνο
 — Παια φιάλ σταθμό:Η^{νν}
 Χρυσίον παιδί Ἡρακλ
 515 εἰ ἐν Ξυπ οἰκ ἀποφυγ^ν
 Φορμίων Εὐμάχο Ῥαμν
 [ού] φιάλ σταθ:Η^{νννν}
 — Ὀλυμπιάς ταλασι ἐν Κ
 υδα οἰκοῦ ἀποφυγοῦ^ν
 520 Ἀρχεδά[μ]αντ Ἀρχεδήμ
 ου Ἀλαιέ φιάλ σταθ:Η^ν
 — Ἐστιαῖος σκυτοτό ἐν

Σκαμβω οἰκ ἀποφυγῶν
 [Ε]ὐθύμαχον Εὐδίκον [Ξ]
 525 [υπε]ται φιάλ σταθμ [:Η^v]
 [—] [. . .] ταλασ[ιο ἐν] K[. . .]

17 lines missing

544 [.]το[ν] Εὐ[κρά]
 [—] [τ]ους Ἐπικη φιά στ[α :Η]
 [Σ]ωτη[ρ]ίδης ὀνηλάτ [ἐν]
 Διομεί οἰκῶν ἀποφυ[γ]
 Ἀντιμένην Πιστοκλ[έ]
 ου Κηφισιέ φιά στα[θ :Η]
 550 Σωστράτη παιδίο ἐ[ν K]
 [εραμ]έω οἰκοῦ ἀποφ[υγ]
 Ἀντιμένην Πιστοκ[λέ]
 ου Κηφισι Ἀγνων Εὐ[θυ]
 κρί Κυδαθην φιά στ[α :Η]
 555 Πλαγγῶν ταλασιο ἐν [K]
 υδα οἰκοῦσ ἀποφυγο[υ]
 Αὐτοκλέ Ἀνδροκλέ[ου]
 Εὐωνυμέ φιάλ σταθ[μ :Η]
 Πάμφιλος ὀρεωκόμ [ἐ Δ]
 560 ακι οἰκῶν ἀποφυγῶ[ν^v]
 Θεοχάρην Ἐργοχάρ[ου]
 Πρασιέα φιάλ σταθμ [:Η]
 Νικίας λιβανωτο ἐμ [Π]
 ει οἰκ<ῶ>ν ἀποφυγῶν^{vv}
 565 Φιλοκράτη Ἐπικράτο
 Ἐλενσί καὶ κοινὸ ἔρα
 νιστῶν τῶν μετὰ Θεοφ
 ράστου Βαθύλλον Χολ
 αργέως φιάλ σταθμό[:Η]
vacat

FACE B

Column I

- [-----]
 [κ]αὶ κοινὸν ἐ[ρα]νι[στῶν ---]
 ἀκέστριαν ἐγ̃ Κεῖρι [οἶκ φιά]
 λη:Η
 5 Τυδεὺς Λαμάχου Ὁῆθεν [---]
 ν ἄρτοπώλην Ἀλωπεκῇ ο[ἰκοῦν]
 τα φιάλ:Η
 Εὐάνγελος Θεανγέλου Χολλε
 Μῶμον σκυλο<δ>έ<ψ>ον ἐν Κυδαθ
 10 οἰκοῦντα φιάλ:Η
 Πολύστρατος Πολυστράτ{ατ} Ἐπ
 ικηφίσιος Σωσίαν γεωργὸν ἐν
 Ἡφαιστια οἰκῶντα φιάλ:Η
 Ἀντιγένης Ἐπιγ<έ>νους ἐν Μελι
 15 [ο]ἰκῶ Μνάσων σκυτο<τ>όμο ἐν Με
 [λι] οἰκῶν φιάλη:<Η>
 [Πά]νκαλος Ἀθηνάδου πρόξενος
 [*Ἀρ]χων Ταχυδήμου ἐκ Κοίλης
 [...]ἱαν παιδ<ίο>ν ἐν Πειρα οἰ[κ]
 20 [φιάλ]η:Η
 [Πάνκαλο]ς Ἀθηνά[δου πρόξενος]
- 8 lines missing*
- 30 [-----] φι
 [άλη:Η] *vacat*
 [-----] ΙΕΠΡΟ. ΟΥ
 [---- ἐν Π]ειρ οἰκοῦσ[αν φιά:Η]
 [--- μαχος Κ]αλλιμάχου Μαραθῶ
 35 [----] ἐπ Πειρ <οἰ>κ ταριχο [φι:Η]
 [---]μαχος Καλλιμάχου [Μαραθῶ]
 [---]εφάνη παῖδα ἐν Πειρε οἶκ
 [φιάλη:]Η
 [--- μαχος Κα]λλι[μ]άχος Μαραθ
 40 [-----]ἐν Πειρ οἰκῶ [φιά:Η]
 [-----]
 [-----] Μαρα[θ]

2 lines missing

45 [-----]δημο[---]

3 lines missing

[-----] οἶκ
 50 [-----]γο[-----]
 [-----] Ναυσ[-----]
 [-----] ἄμ]πελουργ[ὸν ---]
 [-----]ν Φιοστράτ[---]
 [-----] ἐν Κυδαθ[ην] οἶκ [φιάλ:Η]
 55 [...]σιππος Ερ[...]ς Π[α]λλ[ηνε] Ταχισ
 την τ[αλασιο]υρ ἐγ Κυ[δαθ οἶκ] φιάλη:Η
 Θυμάδ[ης -----]ίππ[ην]
 ταλασιουργ[----- οἶκ φιάλη:Η]
 Τιμόθεος Μενι[-----]ς Ἄν[τ]ιγων
 60 γεωργὸν ἐμ Πα[----- οἰκοῦντὰ φιά:Η]
 [. ατρο]κλῆς Ἄν[---^{ca. 6}---]ς Ξυπ[ετ]
 [Εὐ]κόλη ταπε[----- οἶκ φιά:Η]
 [.]ατροκλῆς Ἄν[---^{ca. 6}---]ς Ξυπ[ετ]
 [. .]οτην[-----]οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 65 [. ατρ]οκλ[ῆς Ἄν --- ς] Ξυπετ[---]
 [-----]οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [-----] Ἐπικηφίς
 [-----]οἶκοῦσα φι:Η
 [-----]θ]ου[ς] Ἄπο[. . .]
 70 [-----]ἐ]μ Πει οἶκ [φι:Η]
 [-----]θους Ἄπο[. . .]
 [-----]δων οἶκ [φι:Η]
 [-----]ων οἶ[---]

17 lines missing

91 [---]ώνην πσηκιστρί ἐ[ν ---]
 [--- οἶκ φι]ά:Η
 [Θ]έρσιππος Ἀντιφάνον[-----]
 [. .]ρτινίων ὄρεω ἐμ Π οἶκ [φιά:Η]
 95 Θέρσιππος Ἀντιφάνον[-----]
 Σῖμον παιδίον ἐμ Π οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [. .]μάρης Ἀλωπεκῆ οἶκ Λεπτ[. . .]
 [. . .]ν ἐν τῶν ἔργ ἐπὶ Κυν οἶκ φιά[:Η]
 [. . .]ς ἰσοτελῆς Μεσὼ ταλα
 100 [Ἀλω]πεκῆσιν οἶκ φιάλη:Η

- [. .] μόστρατος Πολυχαρμίδου
 [— —] λ Φειδέστρατον χρυσοχόον
 [ἐγ] Κ<υ>δαθ οἰκ φιάλη:Η
 [. .] κράτης Εὐξένου Παλλη
 105 Νικόξενος Ἑγησίου Ἐρχι
 Δημόστρατος Δημοστράτου
 [Π] αλλ ὦκιμον ταλα ἐν Ἑφαι
 [οἰ] κ φιάλη:Η
 [Κ] λεόξενος καὶ κύριος Κτησωνί
 110 [δ] ης Οἰῆθ Εὐκλέα ἐγ Κολ οἰκ
 γεωρ φιάλ:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ Ἀτταν
 ὀσπριοπώλην ἐγ Κ οἰκ φιάλ:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ Μαλ
 115 θάκην ταλασιουργὸν ἐγ Κ<ει>ρ
 οἰκ φιάλη:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 Πλαγγόνα παιδίον ἐγ Κει οἰκ φι:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 120 Μόσχον παιδίον ἐγ Κει οἰκ φι:Η
 Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ
 Ἀριστονίκην παιδί ἐγ Κε οἰ φιά:Η
vacat

Column II

About 8 lines missing

- 131 / [—————]
 — M [—————]
 — Ἐπ [—————]
 — OM [—————]
 135 Ἐπ [—————]
 — Ἀρχ [—————]
 — Ἐπ [—————]
 — ΙΞ [—————]
 — [—————]
 140 [—————] ου
 [—————] φι:] Η

9 lines missing

- 151 . .οι[-----]
 Λυσιχάρη[ς-----]
 καὶ κοινὸν ἐρ[ανιστῶν ---]
 οἶκ[φιά:Η]

About 50 lines missing

- 205 [-----]ανθο[.]
 [-----ο]ἶκ δὴμ φι:Η
 [-----]ολέμου Ἐλευ Ἀχυρίω
 [-----ο]ἶκ γεωρ φιά:Η
 [-----]ος Χαιρεδήμου Ἀλαι
 210 [...]Μ[. . Ἀ]λωπεκῇ οἶκ μυλωθ φι:Η
 [...]ίας Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀφιδν
 [.]ιτύραν ἐμ Π οἶκ αὐλη φι:Η
 [Ἐ]πιχαρίνος Ἐπιχαρίνου Λευκ
 [Ἡ]χὼ ταλασιουργὸν ἐμ Πα [ο]ἶκ
 215 [φ]ιά:Η
 [Ν]εοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους
 Μελιτ Δημέαν τέκτον ἐν [---]
 [ο]ἶκ φι:Η
 [...]ΠΟΙΓ[-----]
 220 [-----]ε
 [-----]ῡ
 [-----]ι

7 lines missing

- 230 Δ[-----]
 φιά[:Η]
 — Αὐτο[κράτης Αγ-----]
 — Ἀρίστη[ν-----οἶκ φι:Η]
 — Αὐτοκράτ[ης Αγ-----]
 235 Σίμαλον παιδ[ίον-----οἶκ]
 — φιά:Η
 — Αὐτοκράτης Αγ[-----]
 Νικαρίστην πα[ιδίον --- οἶκ]
 — φιά:Η
 240 — Φυλαξίας Φαν[ίου Ἀναγυράσιος]
 Γλυκέραν τα[λασιον -----οἶκ]
 — φιά:Η
 — Εὐβουλος Κη[-----]

ἔμπο Μοσχ[-----]

vacat

Column III

About 5 lines missing

- 250 [-----]ον Εὐων
 [-----] *vacat*
 [-----]λ οἶκ κούρε φι:Η
 [Νικήρατος Νι]κηράτου Μελιτ
 [Φείδιππος] Σωσιδήμου Ξυπ
 255 [-----] ἐμ Μελίτη οἶκ δακτυ
 [φι:Η]
 [Νικ]ήρατος Νικηράτου Μελι
 [Φε]ίδιππος Σωσιδίου Ξυπ
 [. .]νωνα παιδίον ἐμ Με οἶκ φι:Η
 260 Νικήρατος Νικηράτου Μελιτ
 Φείδιππος Σωσιδήμου Ξυπε
 Στρατονίκην ἐμ Με οἶκ ταλα
 φιά:Η
 Νικήρατος Νικηράτου Μελιτ
 265 Φείδιππος Σωσιδήμου Ξυπετ
 Πριάνθην ἐμ Με οἶκ ταλα φιά:Η
 Λυσιάδης Χίωνος Ἀλωπεκ
 Σωστράτην ταλασιουργ ἐμ Μ οἶκ
 φι:Η
 270 [Κ]αλλίας Καλλικράτους Ἀφιδ
 [. .]στον ἐγ Κολλυ οἶκ ὄνη φι:Η
 [—] [.] κλῆς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀχαρ
 [—] [—] ἐμ Μ [οἶκ ταλα]σιουργ φι:Η
 [—] [-----]ον Λευ
 275 [-----] φι:Η

About 50 lines missing

- 326 ογ[-----]
 φι:[Η]
 — Ἀντισ<θ>έν[ης Ἀντισθένης Κυ]
 θηρ Ἀντιφάν[ης Ἀντισθένης]
 330 Κυθήρρ Στρατο[-----]

— Ἀγρυλ οἶκ φι: [H]
 — Νικόστρατ[ος -----]
 — Ἀχαρ Κλεο[-----]
 — ταλασιερ[----- φιά: H]
 335 — Μισγόλας [Ναυκράτους Κολλυ]
 — Ναυκλ[ῆς Ναυκράτους Κολλυ
 — [-----]
 — οἶκ φιά: H
 — Μισγόλας Ναυκράτους Κολλ
 340 λυ Ναυκλῆς Ναυκράτους Κολλ
 — Ἡδίστην παιδίον ἐ Σκαμ οἶκ
 — φι: H
 — Τιμόστρατος Σμικρίον Σφητ
 — [...]μαῖον τ[ει]χιστήν Σφηττοῖ
 345 [οἶκ φιά]: H
 — [----- Π]αμφίλου Φυλάσ
 — [-----]ς Ζωφίλου Φυλα
 — [----- οἶ]κ ταλα φι: H
 — [-----] vacat
 350 [-----]τα
 — [----- ἐ]μ M
 — [οἶκ φιά: H] vacat

10-12 lines missing (?)

COMMENTARY

The following commentary does not profess to be complete. I shall not repeat expansions of abbreviated professions given in the Editio Minor which seem to be correct, and I shall only repeat prosopographical information given there, if it is relevant to the establishment of the date of the inscription. I have not commented on some minor alterations of marginal letters.

FACE A.

Line 77: For possible expansions of]βειον, see M. N. Tod, *Epigraphica*, XII, 1950, p. 12, who suggests [κανα]βειον(ργός) (Cf. *I.G.*, III, 3, *Appendix*, 87a, line 7). Both this and Preuner's [χερνι]βειον(ργός) suggest an extraordinary degree of specialization for this man. Π[εντελῆσιν] should be abandoned, since its deme-status is doubtful. Π[αλληνῆσιν] and Π[εργασῆσιν] are possible (Cf. A. Diller, *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*, 1937, p. 177).

Line 95: [Φρεαρ]ρ must be abandoned since the letter before the *rho* is almost certainly *gamma*. Olympiodoros of Agryle is unknown.

Line 110: Kephisios was bouleutes in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1750, line 48). An ephebe of the same name in the archonship of Nikias Otryneus, 266/5³ (*I.G.*, II², 665, line 64), will be a grandson if Kephisios was a young bouleutes, a great-great-grandson if he was an elderly one. The stemma at *P.A.* 8295 is based on an earlier date for Nikias Otryneus.

Line 115: The *iota* is clear. Possibilities include [Θέογν]ιν, [Εὐπολ]ιν, [Σώπολ]ιν. I have not yet found any such name in conjunction with Πολύενκτος.

Lines 132-133: This is a new reading and confirms Tod's suggested parallel, *P.A.* 3632, who may well be the same man.

Line 140: I have shown elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 27-34) that *I.G.*, II², 2409 is part of *I.G.*, II², 1924, and that the Χαίριππος Ἀλαιεύς of that text (line 15), almost certainly the same man as this Chairippos, was born in 389/8. For a commentary on the type of transaction recorded in these lines, see M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, pp. 104-105, whose explanation seems unquestionably correct.

Line 150: The restoration is Tod's from *I.G.*, II², 1563, line 11, and is unquestionably correct. It may be noticed that all the four slaves of this Acharnian live in Peiraeus. I take it that this man is a son of Βίων Ἀχαρνεύς, who also has three slaves living in Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 57-64), since I will later show reason to believe that that text is earlier than this.

Lines 185-186: The letters ΠΛΗΦ seem clear, but no explanation of them has yet occurred to me. Unless the owner's name was given without patronymic, which is not impossible, he will have to be taken as a metic and the restoration in the text accepted.

Lines 189-193: I have abandoned Kirchner's Δημ[οκράτη] in line 190 as too hypothetical, since the known Δημοκράτης Φρεάρριος (*P.A.* 3539) is not of this period. The only one of these names known for this period is the father, Δήμων Φρεάρριος, mentioned as a living trierarch in 323 or 322 (*I.G.*, II², 1632, line 248), if we may make the identification from name and demotic only.

Line 207: The restoration is from *I.G.*, II², 7528.

Line 219: A son of this man was an ephebe in 333/2 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 63, no. 8, Col. II, lines 33-34). The birth-date of Thrasymedes himself is unlikely to fall much, if at all, after 380.

Line 249: Lolling's reading [Ἀ]γνωνί[δ]ην gives the correct name, and this must be the same as *P.A.* 175, the *lampadephoros* of *I.G.*, II², 3105, line 45, of which

³ Hellenistic archon-dates in this article are taken from W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 312-316, as modified by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 94-97.

the date seems to be roughly 350-340. Tod's [κα]ὶ Σώσ[τ]ρατο(ν) is clearly unsatisfactory, and surprising as my reading and restoration may appear, they are confirmed by *I.G.*, II², 6436, now restored by Peek, *Attische Grabschriften*, I, p. 12 (*Abh. Deutsch. Akad., Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst*, 1953, no. 4) as Πεισίστ[ρατος] Πιστοκ[λέους] Κη[φισιεύς].

Line 253: This Kallias is unknown, but the possibility must not be overlooked that he is related to the Periclean general of the same name and patronymic, who is of unknown deme (Thucydides, I, 61, 1). I hope to discuss this subject elsewhere.

Lines 334-335: Two extra letters necessitate Διογέν[ην] for Kirchner's Διογεί[τονα], and reduce the possibilities for the deme without producing an identification. Διογένης Ἐρικεεύς (*P.A.* 3822) is far removed in time.

Lines 380, 384: For Σκαβω for Σκαμβωνιδῶν, cf. the examples in Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 84, note 718.

Line 392: Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1566, line 22, for the spelling of γειω(ργός). Ἡφαι is the usual form in these documents; cf. Face B, lines 13, 107, and *I.G.*, II², 1570, line 82.

Line 394: The only way I can yet see of resolving this line is to suppose Ἡ[ρι]-δάνο, a Chian name (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ionia*, p. 331, no. 34), preceded by an abbreviated accusative, perhaps ending in δρ(ον). I print what I see.

Lines 398-400: Kirchner's readings and spacing require considerable correction here. For [. . .^ε. . .]δης Ἀ[ρ]ι[σ]τάρ[χου Μυ]ρρ[ινούσιος], cf. *I.G.*, II², 1751, line 29, Αἰσχυλίδης Ἀριστάρχου Μυρρινούσιος, perhaps a brother. In Γόργαθο(ν) Σω[σιστρ]άτου Κυδαθη(ναίεύς), Σω[σιστρ]άτου seems an inevitable restoration. For Γόργαθος I have no explanation. It can hardly be a by-form of Γόργαιθος (for which see Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen*, p. 24), but it may be a mistake for Γόργυθος, known from Kydathenaion in this period (*I.G.*, II², 2370, line 5, where I have checked the reading), on which see Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Lines 404-409: The division of the first two lines must be name, patronymic, name, patronymic, demotic; and Philon's son is presumably also from Iphistiadai. I have printed ολο in line 405, but [Εὐά]θλο is obviously a possibility. If one adopts the obvious restoration of lines 406-7, [Κηφισό]δωρο(ν) Μειδ[ίου Ἀναγν(ράσιον)] (*P.A.* 8362), no satisfactory arrangement can be arrived at, for the letters of line 407 seem to represent a demotic followed by the beginning of a name. However, the most likely reading for the demotic, Οἶν<α>ῖ(ον) is not altogether satisfactory, for the known compounds in Μειδ- are all at least one letter too short. I would not therefore rule out the possibility of [Ἐρ]οι<α>δ<η>. Readings are very difficult at this point. In line 408 Kirchner read [Ἀ]μεινίου, possibly rightly, but I do not see the *mu*.

Line 429: This is Andron's first personal appearance, although his son has long been known from *I.G.*, II², 1753, line 14, and what is presumably his father appears in *I.G.*, II², 1740, line 42. The family presents intractable dating problems which I have discussed elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 20).

Line 431: Timonax, the name of Kallippides' father, appears here for the first time in Attica. Μέδων Καλλιπίδου Παιανιεύς (*P.A.* 9713) is presumably some relation, possibly an uncle.

Line 433: Tyren is presumably an Etruscan, with an ethnic as name. I have found no parallel for the single *rho* in Attic. Although αὔλοποι(ός) has good literary authority, it makes its first epigraphical appearance in Attica here; it should perhaps be considered as an alternative for ἀ[ρτ]ο(ποιός) in Miss Hereward's new fragments of *I.G.*, II², 10 (*B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 109, line 82).

Line 446: [Εὐ]θηκλέ[ους] is of course the most likely restoration, but not the only possible one.

Line 454: I know of no name ending in -αρνης. Lolling read]λένη.

Line 462: I have suggested elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 30) that Χαρίνος Χαρωνίδου (*P.A.* 15440) is a brother and that Εὐωνυμέυς should be restored in *I.G.*, II², 1642, line 36, and 2829, line 2, but neither of these inscriptions helps a close dating.

Line 466: Pherekleides appears as strategos in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 76, and in *I.G.*, II², 2968. The first inscription is probably of 324/3. The point has been much disputed but the date cannot be wrong by more than a year or two.

Line 487: If he is to be identified with [Δ]ημόφιλος Δημ[—] (Παιανιεύς), prytanis in 348/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1748, line 20), as by Kirchner, Demophilos was not born after 378/7, but I am not sure that Δημ[έον] should not be the restoration there (cf. *P.A.*, 3686).

Line 507: Their father Θεόδωρος Εὐδημίδου Μελιτεύς had been trierarch on Kephisophon's expedition to Skiathos (*I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 35 ff. and 1629, lines 484 ff.), which is generally placed around 340 (see Kirchner, *ad loc.*). Between that time and the date of *I.G.*, II², 1623, which is between 334/3 and 331/0 inclusive (Kirchner, *ad loc.*), he had died, and the debt arising from the trierarchy was paid by his son Theodoros as his heir, acting alone, in that year (*I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 50-59). Here, on the other hand, his two sons, Athenodoros and Theodoros, join to free a family slave. This is a crucial passage for the dating of the stele. I take it as certain that the father is dead and that the stele is therefore later than Kephisophon's expedition to Skiathos *ca.* 340. I think it very probable that the evidence of the payment of the trierarchic debt is relevant; that is, it seems unlikely that there can have been any partial division of the estate which would have had the effect that the liability for the father's trierarchic debt fell on Theodoros alone. This leaves two possibilities: (a) that this passage is earlier than *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 50-59, that Theodoros and Athenodoros succeeded to the estate, freed this slave, and that Athenodoros afterwards died, leaving the responsibility for the trierarchic debt to Theodoros alone; this face of the stele would then be not later than 331; (b) that this passage is later than the trierarchic passage, that, when the father died, Athenodoros was a minor, that Theodoros paid the trierarchic debt on behalf of the estate, and that they could not or

did not free the slave until Athenodoros was of age; the stele could then not be earlier than 333.

Line 512: The only reason I can see why this might not be the famous Chairephilos (*P.A.* 15187), but the otherwise unknown grandson whom Kirchner has posited, is that a new citizen perhaps ought not to have a patronymic. What the fourth-century theory or practice on this point was it seems impossible to say. I cannot point to any case where someone who is definitely a first-generation citizen is given a patronymic (*I.G.*, II², 1496, line 32, [Χαρίδημος Φι]λοξένου Ἀχαρνεύς is the closest, but the restoration is not certain), but I do not think that we can say that this social distinction was necessarily made. When we come to the question of when the family got its citizenship, we are in no better case. It was indeed certainly before 323 (Deinarchos, I, 43; *I.G.*, II², 1631, line 622), but Schaefer's theory that it was during the famine of 330-326 (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, III², p. 296) is quite unverifiable. *I.G.*, II², 417, where Chairephilos' son Pamphilos appears as a citizen, is of no help, since I see no way of dating it closer than between 340 and 320, and the comic references also stand in need of dating from the citizenship. Webster (*Cl. Quart. N.S.*, II, 1952, p. 20) accepts the *C.I.A.* dating of *I.G.*, II², 417 to 338-330, and uses it somehow to show that the *Epidauros* of Alexis (Athenaeus, 119F) belongs to the 'thirties. I do not follow his argument, nor do I understand how he can go on to date the *Sorakoi* in the 'forties, because another son, Pheidippos, is there called a ξένος. A mere decree of naturalization is hardly enough to stop a comic poet of any period calling a foreigner a ξένος. All we can safely say is that, if this Chairephilos is a grandson of the first, the date of the stele can hardly be earlier than 320, and is probably rather later.

Line 520: This is a new reading, replacing Ἀρχέδ[η]μον<υ>.

Line 524: Note Εὐθύμαχος Εὐ[θ]ίππου Ξυπεταίων who proposes a decree in the archonship of Glaukippos (273/2), perhaps a grandson.

Line 548: He is one of the original names on his gravestone (*I.G.*, II², 6437), which seems to have been made before Demetrios of Phaleron's sumptuary reforms.

Line 557: A man of the same name, patronymic, and deme is prytanis in 367/6 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43, line 7), and was therefore born in 397 at the latest. He may be the same, but is more probably a grandfather. A relation, possibly a grandson, Ἐπικράτης Ἀνδροκλέους Εὐωνυμεύς is prytanis in the archonship of Euboulos (256/5; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 9, line 33).

Line 565: See *P.A.* 14609 for evidence showing prominence in the 'thirties and 'twenties.

Line 567: The evidence for Theophrastos from the navy-lists (*I.G.*, II², 1629, line 7; 1631, line 642) belongs to the 'twenties, but his father seems to be dead before [Demosthenes], XL, 347, where his evidence would have been useful. I do not understand *I.G.*, II¹, 4332, which has never been republished. Its lettering looks a

great deal later than our period, and it may belong to a descendant, but it is poor work for any period.

FACE B

Lines 2-3 and 5: Letters underlined are now not on stone.

Line 19: There only appears to be room for one letter: παιδ[.]ν.

Lines 30-65: Readings in these lines are difficult in the extreme, and should be treated with caution.

Line 34: For [— —]μαχος Καλλιμάχου Μαραθώνιος cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 28, line 50.

Line 53: Presumably for Φιλοστρατ[— — —].

Lines 61, 63: [Ι]ατροκλήης or [ΙΙ]ατροκλήης. For an Ἀντιφάνης Πατροκλέους of the first half of the century, see the *tabella defixionis*, *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, p. 121.

Line 62: If my reading is right (Kirchner prints ταλασ), ταπ(ιδυφάντη) ἐ[ν] is perhaps the least improbable expansion.

Line 91: An *hapax legomenon* ψηχιστρία with extraordinary spelling is not encouraging, but I see no other way of interpreting the line, and the woman must have specialized in the tending of horses. This is, as far as I know, the only example of πσ in Attica; cf. Δαμψαγόρεω (*I.G.*, XII, 7, 141; Amorgos), Χάροψ (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 56, 435; Styra) and *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1273-1274, III, line 3 of Eretria, all much earlier.

Line 98: Earlier editions have read ἐκ τῶν ἐργ ἐπὶ Σουν οἶκ; this has been expanded variously (cf. Tod, *Epigraphica*, XII, 1950, pp. 12-13), but all have taken him to be a miner, "the only one released from this the hardest and cruellest of ancient industries" (Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 42, note 6). There is, however, room for only one letter before νν and it looks very like a κάρρα. I expand ἐκ τῶν ἐργ(αζομένων) ἐπὶ Κυν(οσάργει) οἶκ(οῦντα) with ἐπὶ Κυνοσάργει referring forwards and backwards, and take him to be a building-worker, engaged in operations similar to those contracted for in *I.G.*, II², 1665. For the shortness of the distance between the Kynosarges and Alopeke, his master's deme of residence, cf. Herodotos, V, 63, 4.

Line 106: For a much later man of the same name and deme, see *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1926, line 6.

Line 109: For a minor fighting a legal action by a κύριος, cf. Demosthenes, XLIII, 15. Kleoxenos and Ktesonides are certainly of the same deme, although we cannot judge their relationship. For the formula, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX, no. 12.

Line 112: Menites of Kydathenaion appears on *I.G.*, II², 2409, line 40, and was therefore born in 389/8. See note on Face A, line 140.

Line 207: I have not come across Ἀχυρίων elsewhere, but it is a straightforward formation, and a good name for a farmer.

Line 209: Probably [Χαίριππ]ος as in Face A, line 140.

Line 210: *μυλωθ(ρός)* is a new profession in these texts. The definition in Liddell-Scott-Jones overestimates the social status of this profession. A member of it, clearly labeled, may be seen in action on the Megarian bowl, preserved in two copies, most conveniently to be found in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86 ff.

Line 211: Aristokritos is a new name in Aphidna.

Line 213: *P.A.* 15452 must be some relation.

Line 214: The restoration seems unavoidable. I have not found the name elsewhere.

Line 216: This is *P.A.* 10652, his second appearance in these documents (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1569, lines 55-59). I have discussed his prominence in the 'twenties briefly elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 35). He can hardly have been born much after 373.

Line 240: He is *P.A.* 15038, and was still alive in 303 (*I.G.*, II², 483, line 8).

Line 243: A possible clue to restoration is to be found in *I.G.*, II², 478, line 82 [Εὔ]βουλος Κηφισο[— —] Κικυννεύς, an ephebe of 305/4, who would presumably be a grandson. *I.G.*, II², 1755, line 15, is too distant in time to serve as a clue.

Line 254: This is *P.A.* 14160, born not later than 377, but still active in the 'twenties.

Line 266: *Πριάνθης* is a new reading; cf. *Πρεάνθης* (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 609, line 290; Keos).

Line 267: The grave stele of his grandfather who bears the same names belongs to the beginning of the century (*I.G.*, II², 5565; photograph in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1920-21, p. 116).

Lines 328-330: The stone has *ΑΝΤΙΣΚΕΝ[ΗΣ]* but neither the alteration nor the restoration is doubtful. I have discussed this troublesome family at length elsewhere (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 21-22), and have attempted to simplify Kirchner's rather complicated stemma (*ad P.A.* 1196) by identifying his Antiphates I and II and his Antisthenes I, II, and III. The result would be that the elder Antisthenes, born between 420 and 410, is last mentioned in 334/3 and is dead by 326/5 when the Antisthenes of our inscription pays for half a new trireme as his heir. This would definitely date our inscription as later than 334/3. If my surgery on the stemma is thought too drastic, the only relevant conclusion that can be drawn from Kirchner's stemma is that these sons are in control of the family property by 326/5.

Line 333: No certain restoration can be made, since there is duplication of this name in the deme. I curtail discussion by referring to Kirchner's stemma (*ad P.A.* 12413), with which I agree. Nikostratos I had three sons: (1) Nikostratos III (*P.A.* 11025), who appears on a *tessera iudicialis* of, say, 360-340 (*I.G.*, II², 1889; this and II², 1836 are in the Museum of the British School at Athens); (2) Menon (*P.A.* 10076), trierarch in 356/5; (3) Pythodoros (*P.A.* 12413), born 384/3, trierarch, Amphiktyon at Delos 341/0, *diaitetes* 325/4. Pythodoros had a son, Nikostratos II (*P.A.* 11026), who appears together with his father in another of these documents

(*I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 9-12) and by himself on *I.G.*, II², 2408. This inscription is of the Lykourgan period and has ten names from Oineis singled out at the top, followed by the beginning of a catalogue of Oineis. Unless this document is quite unparalleled, it is an ephebe-list, with the ephebic lochagoi singled out for special mention (see Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 222-226; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239; Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 107), and this makes good sense about the ages of Nikostratos II and of Aischines' son, Atrometos, who also appears in *I.G.*, II², 2408. The only difficulty about this view is that there will have to be two Aristophons of Phyle, and Pritchett's note on Aristophon (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 277) will have to be emended accordingly. It seems quite clear that Nikostratos II cannot be the successful boys' choregos of 331/0 (*I.G.*, II², 2318, line 334), for the choregos must have been born before 371 (Aischines I, 11; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 56; *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 24), and was almost certainly Nikostratos III. In this state of uncertainty, all we can say is that the restoration here will either be *Ἰνθοδώρου* and the reference to Nikostratos II, or *Νικοστράτου* and the reference to Nikostratos III.

Lines 335 ff.: The accepted date for the birth of Misgolas (*P.A.* 10225) is 390. I have tried to show elsewhere (*Cl. Rev.*, N.S. VIII, 1958, p. 108) that the retention of this date raises acute difficulties which resolve themselves into a choice between abandoning the age-qualification of thirty for the boule and emending Aischines, I, 49. I chose the latter alternative, and suggested a birthdate for Misgolas and Aischines *ca.* 398. In this inscription Misgolas and his brother still have part of their estate undivided, but we know nothing of their father, and have no idea when he died. It has been plausibly suggested that their grandfather was secretary of the tamiai in 403/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1370, line 5; *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 78-79).

Line 344: Tod read *σ[τι]χιστήν*, Lolling followed by Kirchner *τ[ο]κιστήν*. I suggest *τ[ει]χιστήν*, by far its earliest appearance, but not, I think, surprising.

I defer comment on the date of the stele. We may however note the salient facts about it as a whole. Face A seems to have contained about 125 entries, Face B about 140. Face A has only the formula with the slave's name in the nominative, Face B has only the formula with the slave's name in the accusative. It seems reasonably certain that Face A, with its more careful hand and the list planned to cover the whole face of the stele, was inscribed first. Face B was carved at a different time or, at any rate, by another hand.

There is more to be said about the group of documents to which this stele belongs. I begin with some revisions of their texts.

I.G., II², 1553 seems certainly to have had three columns at least, with one more to the left. Traces of the original back are preserved, but we cannot tell whether it was opisthographic. All entries preserved have the *ἀποφυγών* formula, as on Face A of our stele. Line 4 should read *Σοσίας*. The traces in line 45 do not appear to fit the *Corpus* restoration.

I.G., II², 1560: The law which would make all so much clearer can only be slightly improved. Line 3 should read ἀνάθημα .Λ..ΠΕ.; line 4 Η.ΙΕ... οἱ δικασ; line 7 ἢ καὶ τὸ σταθμόν (σταθμόν is of course neuter in Attic of this period, and what seems a parallel to this phrase will be found in a new edition of *I.G.*, II², 333, which A. M. Woodward and I are preparing); line 14 is apparently ΚΙΩΔ, and line 15 is a *sigma*, not an *epsilon*. Kirchner was clearly right in suggesting οἰ]κῶν in line 12, and therefore the ἀποφυγών formula was used on both sides of the stele, which are both in the same hand.

I.G., II², 1561: The back is original, but uninscribed. The disposition of the inscription closely resembles 1564-1565, but the stone is slightly thicker, and its marble is different. Line 33 reads Πρόξενον Πυλα[γόρου Ἀχερ(δούσιον)], thereby confirming Preuner's restoration. All we have is in the ἀποφυγών formula, and this also applies to 1562 and 1563 where I have no changes to make.

I.G., II², 1564 and 1565 (E. M. 5302) are from the same stele, with 1565B coming from the same side of the stele as 1564. The back of 1564 is original and uninscribed, and it therefore should probably be placed below 1565. Again both sides have the ἀποφυγών formula. It will be noted that the reverse (1565A) has at least two columns, and this will also be true of the obverse.

I.G., II², 1566 is another opisthographic stele, with at least two columns on the obverse. Its most interesting feature is the sudden change at line 18 from the ἀποφυγών formula to the other, with the citizen's name in the nominative. It is cut by only one hand, but the change in formula is paralleled by a marked decline in neatness, as if the lines after line 17 were cut later after the stele had been set up.

I.G., II², 1567 and 1568 belong together and are from another opisthographic stele; 1567 has an original back uninscribed, and is presumably lower on the stele than 1568. 1568B has illegible traces of another column to the left. There were therefore at least two columns on each side; again both are in the ἀποφυγών formula.

The two sides of *I.G.*, II², 1569 are in different hands, but seem to have had the same number of columns, at least four. They have only the ἀποφυγών formula. I would prefer Παλ(ληνέα) in line 47.

I.G., II², 1570, opisthographic, but with nothing useful legible on the back, has at least three columns of the ἀποφυγών formula. Line 3 ends Ἀμ with an uninscribed space; line 8 should read Τάχυλ(λον); line 8a]δωρον Πυθοδώ[ρον] Θριάσιον. In line 34 there is no room for the restoration printed in the *Corpus*, and I read Ἀντιγέννην Ἀντ[— — — — —] Παυ[— — — — —] and compare *P.A.* 996-997.

I.G., II², 1571 apparently goes with 1574, since it has a curious edge, sloping inwards under the face, while 1574's edge slopes outwards. I cannot account for this. *I.G.*, II², 1573, which I have not seen, probably belongs either to this stele or to 1575, to judge by its arrangement. Again the ἀποφυγών formula is universal.

I.G., II², 1572 also has the ἀποφυγών formula. The profession in line 8 ends not with *eta*, but with a certain *nu*, and I think the current restoration extremely doubtful.

I.G., II², 1575: I see no trace of line 1. In Column I, line 20, I read *ντα*, in line 24 *ων*, in line 26 *ηνωι*. In Column II, line 15 *λικράτ[ους]*. On Face B, line 38, *Φιλοκράτης* *Φι[λ* and a new line 49 [...?] *ησ.τι.ν*. I follow Gomme (*Population of Athens*, p. 42, note 1) in doubting the association of Face B with the rest of our texts. Face A has only the *ἀποφυγών* formula.

I.G., II², 1576 has a formula peculiar to itself, slave's name, profession and deme, *ἀπέφυγε*, master's name, and lacks all reference to the phialai. Inscribed on at least two adjacent sides, it had at least three columns on the obverse. Line 12 has *[Π]υθοδώρων*. In line 14 I doubt *[ἰχθ]υο[πώλ]*, for the first preserved letter appears to be rather *iota* or *tau*. In line 23, I distrust *Ἀνάχ[αρσι]ν*, and suspect a metic *Ἀναγ | [...] ἐ]ν Κυδαθ | [οἰκοῦντα]*.

I.G., II², 1577 is an unsatisfactory stone of mysterious arrangement. Line 3 appears to end *οἱκ ΑΩΤ[.]*, line 6 *ταλασιο[.]*, and there are two unread lines, 8 *ΔΟΧΑΧΟΥ* and 9 *[τ]αλα[σιο]*.

I.G., II², 1578 must have had three columns to make room for the prescript. Line 4 reads *Ἡγεστράτου*; line 5 *[ἐμ] Παι*. It has been noted that Column I (really II) has no reference to the phialai. On what grounds the *Corpus* restores references to them in Column II I do not know. It seems fairly clear that Column II does not have the *ἀποφυγών* or *ἀπέφυγε* formula, and that the change had already started in the previous column, for it seems unlikely that *Ἀρκάδα* in line 8 in the accusative preceded *Εὐκτῆμων* in the nominative in the same entry.

We have now reduced the number of stelai to seventeen, and it is possible that the number may have to be still further reduced, either because I have failed to notice a possible association or because a change of hand or arrangement in the middle of a stele may be concealing an association from us. In our present state of ignorance, we cannot of course assert that each stele represents a year.

One important result of this reduction of stelai is that it now becomes much clearer that the formula with the slave name in the accusative is distinctly rare. It now appears only on the abnormal (since it lacks the phialai) *I.G.*, II², 1578, the great stele here republished, and on 1566. It will be noted that in the last two cases there is some reason to assert that the entries using this formula are cut later.

Some rough stylistic grouping is possible. I am disposed to separate *I.G.*, II², 1576 and 1578, because they lack the phialai, and because, even apart from this, 1576 certainly, 1578 probably, has a different formula from the rest. It is tempting to suggest that the reference to *τὸ σταθμόν* in the law of 1560 refers to the introduction of the phialai. *I.G.*, II², 1576 and 1578 will then be earlier than 1560, which should certainly be the earliest of the rest, since it has what appears to be the law establishing the institution. With 1560 we may perhaps group 1561, 1562, 1563 and 1564 + 1565, since all these inset and isolate *φιάλην σταθμόν*:H. Another stylistic grouping is formed by 1571 + 1574, and 1575, as well as 1573, if this turns out to belong to a

third stele. All these start a new entry by outsetting the first line. Otherwise there is no very obvious grouping. Perhaps one would expect 1553 with its continuous lines to be the latest.

Absolute dating of the whole group is hardly possible. Kirchner in the *Editio Minor* places them all *ca.* 330, although his datings scattered through *P.A.* show both earlier and much later dates. The only attempt at precise dating I know is that of Diller, *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*, pp. 167-168, who argues that, since the first large silver hydriai were made from the *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικάι* in 321/0 (*I.G.*, II², 1469, lines 3 ff.), the institution of dedicating the phialai began at this time. But this is clearly not cogent, since the individual phialai may have been retained separately for some years in the treasury before the decision was taken to melt them and make larger offerings from them. The point must, however, be borne in mind, and we must add that there is evidence for another such hydria being made in 313/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1480, lines 8-11; unpublished restorations).

Greater precision can be sought by a prosopographical investigation of the lists. The assumption that 1576 and 1578 are the earliest, because they lack the phialai, gives some help. *I.G.*, II², 1576, lines 9-12, has Pythodoros and his son, Nikostratos II, of Acharnai joining to free a family slave. It will be clear from our discussion of the family (pp. 232-3) that there is no likelihood of Nikostratos being of age to do this before the end of the 'thirties; unless *I.G.*, II², 2408, is the earliest known ephebe-list, not until after 334. One cannot fix a lower limit; Pythodoros was alive until 324 at least. But note *Ἀντοκλῆς Χαιρίππου Πιθεύς* (1576, lines 71 ff.). Kirchner seems to have thought him the ephebe of 334/3. This is unsatisfactory, since his father X.A.II. appears in the presumably later list 1567, line 14, and the Autokles of 1576 is more likely to be the ephebe's grandfather. But since the ephebe's father Chairippos was bouleutes in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700, lines 161-2) and was therefore born in 365 at the latest, it would be undesirable to take the elder Autokles, and 1576 with him, too far into the 'twenties.

For the inscriptions with phialai, practically all the useful evidence comes from our large inscription. The crucial points on Face A are (1) line 507, of which what is now the most likely interpretation will point to a date later than 333; (2) lines 189 ff. These last seem very strong evidence for a date later than Kirchner's. Three sons of a Demon Phrearrhios join to free a slave. This almost certainly implies that their father is dead, but a Demon Phrearrhios is alive in 323 or 322 (*I.G.*, II², 1632, line 248). He could be a cousin, but we have no evidence to suggest a cousin's existence. If the upper limit for Face A is 323, the lower limit cannot be much later. We have on it men born in 389/8 (line 140), 380 or earlier (line 219), possibly even before 397 (line 557), besides one man (line 548) who died and was buried before the sumptuary legislation of Demetrios in 317/6.

Face B, which must be later, helps a little. The evidence of lines 328-330, on my view, proves a date later than 334/3. If the Nikostratos of line 332 is Nikostratos II, the date should be later than 325/4, when his father was still alive. Counterbalancing evidence comes from lines 335 ff., since, even if Misgolas was only 70 in 320, this is still remarkably late for him to be holding property in common with his brother. But this is a difficulty on any view now possible. It certainly prevents us from taking the inscription much lower than 320.

The evidence suggests therefore that the institution of the *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί* cannot be earlier than *ca.* 330, and strong, but not decisive, prosopographical evidence suggests a date at the end of the 'twenties for at least one of the lists. This fits well with Diller's hypothesis.

I do not propose to discuss the legal problems of these lists at length. For the commonest formula, slave's name-profession-domicile, *ἀποφυγών*, master's name, *φιάλην σταθμόν*:H, we have the plausible theory of Tod and Bosanquet⁴ that we have to deal with a group of manumissions carried out by fictitious processes *ἀποστασίον*, as described by Harpokration, *s.v.*,⁵ to which the compulsory dedication of a phiale was added, by, I suggest, the law of *I.G.*, II², 1560, as a registration fee. *I.G.*, II², 1576 and Column I (really II) of 1578 will be the registration of similar actions before the institution of the phiale.⁶

Difficulties really arise with the reverse formulae where the master's name is in the nominative. Here it is easier to see the difficulties in earlier theories than to suggest anything plausible in their place. Wilamowitz, for example,⁷ thought that the missing participle was *ἐξελόμενος εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*, but the reverse formula appears in 1578, where the heading clearly excludes any other suit but that known as *ἀποστασίον*, and Wilamowitz made no attempt to show how the type of *vindicatio* he suggested fitted into a *δίκη ἀποστασίον*. Kahrstedt⁸ has suggested that the reverse formula did not indicate a difference in the type or result of a case, but merely that the master and not the freedman paid for the phiale. This view, however, also clashes with the evidence of 1578, where, although the phialai have been restored, there is no reason to suppose their presence. Tod⁹ suggested that in these cases one should expect the logical opposite of *ἀποφυγών*, that is, *έλών*, and suppose that the masters won their case, but the large number of such entries on the reverse of our great stele suggests that here too some legal fiction leading to manumission is in question.

⁴ *B.S.A.*, VIII, 1901-2, pp. 197-202.

⁵ On the non-fictitious form of this action, see Gernet, *Droit et Société dans la Grèce ancienne*, pp. 168-172.

⁶ Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 198, note 2, attempted to explain the absence of the phialai from 1576 by assuming that they were referred to in the heading, but in 1578 they are absent from the heading too.

⁷ *Hermes*, XXII, 1887, p. 110, note 1 = *Kleine Schriften*, V, i, p. 275, note 1.

⁸ *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, pp. 308-309.

⁹ *loc. cit.*

The only possible, although perhaps not very probable, view that I can see is a combination of the views of Tod and Kahrstedt. We have seen some reason to believe that Face B of our great stele and that part of 1566 where the reverse formula is employed are later than the normal formula, and they may date from a time where the legal responsibility for providing the phiale had been transferred to the master. This would leave the cases of 1578, Column II, as genuine examples of a success by a master in a *δίκη ἀποστασίου* and the only cause for doubt which can be raised is that the prescript of 1578 refers to one particular day, and that if the cases registered on it were genuinely contested, the polemarch would have had a full day.¹⁰

The truth of the matter is that our evidence is inadequate. Another fragment of the law of *I.G.*, II², 1560 or another prescript would improve our position. At the moment we cannot do more than guess at the legal procedure involved, and in the absence of precise dates, speculation as to the political background of this large body of inscriptions is quite unprofitable. I agree with, but cannot expand, the comment of M. I. Finley,¹¹ "The fact that all the evidence is crowded within a time span of two decades or less suggests that the whole procedure was not a normal one in Athens, but was created to meet peculiar conditions of the moment."

DAVID M. LEWIS

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

¹⁰ Besides the works referred to in the commentary to *I.G.*, II², 1553, I have found Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-309, most helpful. I do not understand the views of Westermann, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, V, 1946, pp. 94-99.

¹¹ *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, p. 291.

LAW ON THE LESSER PANATHENAIA

(PLATE 43)

FRAGMENT of Pentelic marble, preserving part of a double moulding at the top, brought in from the vicinity of Evangelistria Street (Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Plan I, squares G 3-4) on May 27, 1938.

Height, 0.326 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.111 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m., in a square chequer pattern of 0.0103 m.

Inv. No. I 5477.




Content, lettering and spacing all make it certain that we have here the top of I.G., II², 334 (E. M. 7153). It will be seen that it contains a law relating to the financing of the Lesser Panathenaia. The old fragment contains a decree of the demos about the organization of the festival, apparently in amendment of a *probouleuma* of the boule, which also must have stood on the stone, since lines 16-17 of the old fragment presuppose information which cannot have stood in our law. This combination of a law and a decree on the same stele is unparalleled, but is justified by the permanent nature of the provisions of the decree.¹

Unfortunately, although the length of the lines is certain, the horizontal position of the new fragment cannot be precisely fixed, since it has no edge to left or right. Broken surface extends to the right sufficiently to make it clear that there were at least five letters to the right of the last preserved letter, and I assume, for reasons which will appear, that there cannot have been many more.

ΣΤ. 42

	[Θ	ε]	ο	[ί]
	[Ἐπὶ . . . ^{α.β.γ.} . . . ἄ]ρχοντος			
	[. ^{δ.ε.ζ.}]σ[. . . ^{η.θ.}]. Ἀριστόνικος Ἀρι[στοτέλο]			
	[υς Μαραθώνιος εἰπ]εν· τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθη]			
5	[ναίων, ὅπως ἂν τῇ] Ἀθηναίῃ ἡ θυσία ὡς καλλίστ[η ἦι Πανα]			
	[θηναίοις τοῖς μ]ικροῖς καὶ πρόσοδος ὡς πλεί[στη γέν]			
	[ηται ἱεροποιο]ῖς, δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέτ[α]ι[ς· τὴν μὲν]			
	[Νέαν μισθούτω]σαν δέκα ἡμέραις πρότερον ν[. . . ^{ζ.η.} . . .]			
	[οἱ πωληταὶ δέκ] <α> ἔτη κατὰ δικληρίαν τῶι τὸ π[λείστον]			
10	[διδόντι τῶι πρ]οτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ ὧι ἂν ἡ ΔΑ.ΑΝΤΙ [. . . ^{θ.ι.} . . .]			

¹ My thanks are due to B. D. Meritt for entrusting me with the publication, to E. Vanderpool for help with readings, and to M. I. Finley and A. M. Woodward for help and suggestions.

- [.¹⁰. μι]σθωταῖς ἐγγνητὰς λαμβάνου[σι. τοὺς δ]
 [ἐ πωλητὰς τῇ]ν πεντηκοστὴν πωλεῖν τὴν ἐν τῇ[ι Νέαι χω]
 [ρὶς τῶν ἄλλω]ν. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις προγράφει[ν βουλῆς]
 [ἔδραν εἰς τῇ]ν μίσθωσιν τῆς Νέας διαρρήδην [καὶ τῆς π]
 15 [εντηκοστῆς] τὴν πρᾶσιν τῆς ἐν τῇι Νέαι χωρὶ[s⁶. . .]
 [.⁶. . . ἡ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν⁶. . .]
 [.⁹. τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇι Νέα[ι] κ[.⁹.]
 [.¹⁰.]ρχειν τῇι Ἀθηνᾶι. τοῦτο [.¹³.]
 [.⁷. Παν]αθηναίων τῶν μικρῶν τ[.⁹. οἱ δὲ ἄ]
 20 [ποδέκται με]ριζόντων αὐτὸ εἰς ταῦ[τα τοῖς ἱεροποιο]
 [ῖς⁹.]ον δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸμ προ[.¹⁴.]
 [.¹¹.]αι μισθοῦν καθὸ   [.¹⁶.]
 [.¹¹.]ι. τὸν δὲ ταμίαν [.¹⁹.]
 [.¹².]ονταστησ.  [.²⁰.]
 25 [.¹³.]^[- - - - -]

COMMENTARY

Line 2: The approximate date of the inscription has never been in doubt and receives confirmation from the name of the proposer of the law. It comes from the Lykourgan period of religious organization, and is unlikely to date before 336 or after 330. Within this period we can only be guided by considerations of spacing, and those so uncertain that I abstain from reproducing my calculations. I am inclined to say that, even if we restore as little as possible to the right of the fragment, that is, one letter less than I have allowed in my text, the shortest possible restoration [ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄ]ρχοντος (332/1) will still be a little too long to sit symmetrically in the center of the stele. If the line started fairly near the left-hand edge, still on the assumption that we have as little as possible to the right, ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους (334/3) and ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους (333/2) will be a little too long, ἐπὶ Πυθοδήλου (336/5) and ἐπὶ Εὐαϊνέτου (334/4) a little too short. As the right-hand margin is moved out, 336/5 and 335/4 become possible, as do the even shorter archons of 337/6 and 332/1. The archons of 331/0 and 330/29 are too long to come into consideration. The year 332/1 has the attraction that during it similar provision for the financing of the Amphiareia was worked out by the atthidographer Phanodemos (*S.I.G.*³, 287, lines 10-16), but special conditions applied in Oropos and I am inclined to follow all previous editors and place this law rather earlier. The spacing I have adopted here allows the restoration of the archons of either 336/5 or 335/4.

Line 3: Vanderpool and I are fairly confident that the letter in the seventeenth space is *sigma* of the straight type found in this inscription. The horizontal bottom stroke is clear, and there appears to be the start of a diagonal leaving its left end.

Neither of us would exclude the possibility of an unusually small *delta*, but consider it much less likely epigraphically. *Sigma*, however, cannot be fitted into any formula we have in the prescript of an Athenian law (cf. *I.G.*, II², 140, 244, 333; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, no. 5; Demosthenes, XXIV, 71). But the five prescripts we possess exhibit such diversity that we cannot claim to have an exhaustive list of possibilities, and, although *delta* will allow either a calendar date, e. g. [Σκιροφοριῶνος ἐβ]δ[όμηι], or an abbreviated prytany-indication [ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἰδος ἐβ]δ[όμης], I have thought it best to put in the text the most likely *reading*.

Lines 3-4: Ἀριστόνικος Ἀρι[στοτέλους Μαραθῶνιος]. About the demotic, there can be no doubt. This is *P. A.*, 2028, the well-known politician of this period, known as a colleague of Lykourgos in 335/4 from *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 280-282. It has always been likely, and I consider it certain, that he is to be identified with the Aristonikos of Alexis, frags. 125-126 (Kock), who is a noted νομοθέτης, who, according to Alexis at any rate, is turning his attention to the fish-trade. I quote the most relevant passages:

οὐ γέγονε κρείττων νομοθέτης τοῦ πλουσίου
 Ἀριστονίκου
 οὐ γέγονε μετὰ Σόλωνα κρείττων οὐδὲ εἰς
 Ἀριστονίκου νομοθέτης· τά τ' ἄλλα γὰρ
 νενομοθέτηκε πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα δῆ,
 ἢννί τε καινὸν εἰσφέρει νόμον τινά.

It is satisfying to find a real law proposed by Aristonikos. Like Eukrates, the proposer of the first law published from these excavations (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, no. 5), he came to an unpleasant end, and he is linked with him by Lucian (*Demosthenis Encomium*, 31).

For the patronymic, I have adopted a suggestion made to me by A. M. Woodward. Despite the size of the deme, political families from Marathon are rare, and it is extremely tempting to see the father of Aristonikos as Aristoteles (*P. A.* 2065), proposer of *I.G.*, II², 43, the foundation-charter of the Athenian confederacy, and active precisely a generation earlier. There are, of course, other names in Ἀριστο- which fit equally well, but the probability that a rich colleague of Lykourgos will be found to have a prominent father is considerable enough to justify the admission of the conjecture to the text.

Line 4: τύχηι ἀγαθῇ. The reverse order is more usual (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, no. 5, line 5; *I.G.*, II², 244, line 2), but there are ample parallels, even one from Aristonikos' putative father (*I.G.*, II², 43, line 7).

Line 5: I was at first inclined to read another letter, ὥς κάλλιστα [ῆι], and there is of course ample evidence for the construction, but the trace seems to lie too

far to the left, and I think I have been misled by a scratch. I therefore prefer καλλίστ[η] (cf. *S.I.G.*³, 287, lines 13-14 ὅπως ἂν ἡ τε πεντετηρὶς ὡς καλλίστη γίγνηται).

Line 6: [Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μ]ικροῖς and compare line 19. This is a surprising variation in terminology, since the old fragment (line 32) uses the term τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. It is clear that Deubner (*Attische Feste*, p. 23) was wrong to conclude from this and from Harpokration *s.v.* that τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν was the official terminology, against Lysias, XXI, 2 and Menander frag. 428 (Koerte), which use μικρά. If the nomothetai use one form and the demos another, there can be no official terminology.

Lines 6-7: For the thought, compare again *S.I.G.*³, 287, lines 13-16. Line 16, as well as the whole subject matter, makes it clear that πρόσοδος here means 'revenue.' This makes [τοῖς ἱερο]ῖς a much less likely restoration than [ἱεροποιο]ῖς. For these hieropoioi, see the old fragment, line 6, with Kirchner's note, which rests on Ziehen, *Rh. Mus.*, LI, 1896, p. 212.

Lines 7-11: I take it that these lines order the leasing of the Νέα, for which a special meeting of the boule is ordered in lines 13-14. If this is so, it is most likely that the reference to the Νέα will stand first in the sentence, and I do not see that]σαν is likely to be anything but the end of the late form of the third person plural imperative (cf. *I.G.*, II², 204, line 47, of 352/1, for a fourth-century epigraphic use of this form). There is of course no reason to try to find room for the eccentric mixed form μισθούντωνσαν of *I.G.*, II², 1241, line 52.

What is the Νέα? In Theophrastos, *De Causis Plantarum*, III, 20, 7, the sense is clearly the same as in the cognate νεῖός or νεός, land which is being rested from cereals and planted with some kind of pulse, as a modification from the ordinary two-year cycle. The word comes twice in leases. In one, *S.I.G.*³, 963, lines 45-46 (Arkesine), it seems that the ground contains an area of νέα already, which the tenant is required to dig up, for line 8, though the reading and interpretation are uncertain, seems to make the use of this method in the future optional. In *I.G.*, II², 2493, lines 7-9, the situation is rather different, since the tenant is to be compelled to keep a quarter of his ground in this condition, leaving a quarter completely fallow, and there is a near parallel in the *I.G.*, II², 1241, lines 21-23, where the word does not appear, but where the tenant has always to leave half the land uncultivated for cereals, but can use his judgment about how much he will sow with pulse. Having said so much, I hope it is now clear that we must be dealing with something rather different here and that Liddell-Scott-Jones is wrong to include *I.G.*, II², 334, line 17 as an example of the basic use of the word, since no one could have been expected to pay a large rent for ground which could only be sown with pulse. I therefore assume that the Nea must be a specific and well-known area of state-owned land, which may have been put under this form of cultivation to restore it, and I have given it a capital letter. It must have been fairly considerable in size, since we learn from line 17 of the old fragment

that its leasing fetched 41 mnai. No Attic rent is anywhere near as large as this; the only comparable figure is 7110 dr. for all the sacred land on Rheneia in 432 (Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 54, line 24) and perhaps we should not be too ready to assume from its name that its value was only for cultivation.

A solution for the end of line 8, which will provide us with the exact date required, should be easy to find, but I have failed to find a satisfactory one, either with the *nu*, which seems to me the more likely reading, or with *mu*, which, though malformed, would be possible. I offer as a remote possibility Ν[εμεσίων] (cf. J. Pouilloux, *Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, no. 15, line 28). The Nea would then presumably be in the neighborhood of Rhamnous.

Lines 9-10: [δέκ]<α> ἔτη. It is with some reluctance that I assume a mistake in cutting (for the first letter of line 9 certainly has no crossbar) in order to support a restoration. But I can make nothing of ΑΕΤΗ; a term of years is certainly required, and ten years is the duration of state leases of *temene* (Cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 4).

κατὰ δικληρίαν. This is the first instance of *δικληρία* in Greek. I do not see that it can mean anything but 'in two sections,' and this seems to be confirmed by the appearance of *μισθωταί* in the plural in line 11.

τῶι τὸ π[λείστον διδόντι]. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2492, line 36.

The end of line 10 is completely bewildering, but Vanderpool and I are in complete agreement on the readings and regard even the *nu* as nearly certain. Various suggestions, presupposing greater or lesser mistakes in cutting, have been made in conversation or correspondence, but none of them gives any kind of sense. The two most promising, ἡ ἀλ[λ]ακτι[κῇ] and ἡ (ᾰ)δα[μ]αρτί[νῃ] will suffice to show how far we are from an interpretation. A subjunctive like *γένηται* will be required to complete the subordinate clause,² and the amount of space available makes it unlikely that [μι]σθωταῖς ἐγγνητὰς λαμβάνον[σι] is anything but a curiously curt phrase in apposition to τῶι τὸ π[λείστον διδόντι]. For *λαμβάνειν ἐγγνητήν* cf. Demosthenes, XXXIII, 7, which is not an exact parallel, since there it is the creditor who is the subject of *λαμβάνειν*. We would expect rather some form of *καθίστημι*, but I can think of no way of turning the sentence.

Lines 11-13: Taken together with line 15, these lines must certainly indicate that the *πεντηκοστή* on the Nea is to be farmed. I have no wish to embark here on a re-examination of the Athenian taxation-system, and therefore curtail my references to modern literature, but this information suggests that such a re-examination is certainly desirable. The general view, held, for example, by Boeckh, Francotte, Busolt-Swoboda and Andreades, which brings all references to a *πεντηκοστή* in Attica under the single heading of a 2% import and export tax, as described in various forms by the lexicographers, and as seen in operation in Demosthenes, XXXIV, 7, XXXV,

² Woodward suggests that another estate is named here and the subjunctive is *μισθωθήι*.

29-30, will certainly not cover this case. Nor is it certain that all the other references should be so interpreted. The *πεντηκοστή* farmed first by Agyrrhios and then by Andokides around 400 (Andokides, I, 133), may or may not have been such a tax. The *πεντηκοστή τοῦ σίτου* of 368 (Demosthenes, LIX, 27), which involved a separate farming-operation of its own, may have been a tax on imported corn or it may have been a produce-tax on home-grown corn. We are too easily inclined to think that a produce-tax disappeared from Attica with the Peisistratids. Such a tax may be the explanation of the mysterious *δεκάτη* of the first Kallias Decree (*A.T.L.*, II, D 1, line 7). Other passages which may have to be borne in mind include the neglected Demosthenes, XXIV, 120, which certainly seems to imply that some people were farming *τὰς δεκάτας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πεντηκοστὰς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, and *I.G.*, II², 404, line 16 (a produce-tax extended to Keos?). All that can be said now of the passage before us is that the *πεντηκοστή* on the Nea is not an import-tax, and is quite possibly a produce-tax. It seems also that this tax covers a wider area than the Nea, but that the tax on the Nea is to be farmed separately, in order to make it easier to earmark it for the Panathenaia, but, in default of a satisfactory restoration for the end of line 15, my restoration here [*χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων*]ν (*sc. πεντηκοστῶν*) is by no means certain. To farm a tax to be collected from two people is odd procedure, but need imply no more than demanding an itemized bid from the general farmers.

Line 13: *προγράφει[ν βουλῆς ἔδραν]* I have not yet found a parallel for the complete phrase, but in *I.G.*, II², 244 it is a certain restoration in lines 36-37 and a likely one in line 9. Something like it seems to be required here, cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 47, 2. Perhaps, alternatively, *προγράφει[ν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ]ν μίσθωσιν* (Woodward).

Line 14: *διαρρήδην*. The restoration here may arouse legitimate doubts. It seems to give *διαρρήδην* a sense much nearer 'exclusively' than its normal 'explicitly,' but, when *I.G.*, II², 244, line 9, wishes to say this, it has *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό*. What it ought to mean is that the prytaneis shall give this operation a special item on the agenda, instead of including it among other *μισθώσεις*, but the parallels (Lysias, XXXI, 27; Demosthenes, XX, 133) for the word standing on its own and not in close association with a word of stating, witnessing, allowing or forbidding are hardly close. But the alternative, to suppose that we should imagine a comma before the word and take it with a participle in line 15 beginning with *χωρὶ*[has not yet for me yielded any restoration which fits or makes sense.

Lines 16 ff.: My original approach was to suppose that line 16 fixes a reserve-price below which the leasing of the land and the farming of the two-per-cent tax should not be sold. But since we learn from lines 16-17 of the old fragment that the Nea was in the event leased for only 4100 drachmai, this makes Aristonikos absurdly unrealistic. Woodward would meet this difficulty by supposing that the other estate he hypothesizes for line 10 was referred to also in lines 17-18. Our combined suggestions for lines 15-18 would then run:

χωρι[σθεῖσαν],
 [ὅπως ἂν ἡ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν κατὰ ἐν]
 [ιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νέα[ι] κ[αὶ] τῆς]
 [. . . ὥστε ὑπά]ρχειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοῦτο [τὸ ἀργύριον . . .]

It is however doubtful if this version really provides enough space for the second estate, nor is it easy to find a satisfactory continuation. Finley points out that there is no satisfactory parallel for fixing a reserve-price in these terms, and would prefer an alternative approach, providing for the contingency that too much money would come in from the lease. Something along these lines might then be possible:

χωρὶ[ς τῶν ἄλλ]
 [ων. ἐὰν δὲ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν κατὰ ἐν]
 [ιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νέα[ι] κ[αὶ] τῆς πεντ]
 [ηκοστῆς, ὑπά]ρχειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.

But unless some phrase expressing a surplus can be found to replace κ[αὶ τῆς πεντ|ηκοστῆς] the result is curt and obscure, though the distinction between two funds, that of the hieropoioi and Athena's own, might be clear enough.

My feeling is that there ought to be a full stop after Ἀθηνᾷ. I have considered the possibility of continuing the sentence τοῦ τό[που], but this is hardly an official word, and is used of a district in Attica only in the rather colloquial passage, Demosthenes, XXI, 158. τοῦ τό[κου] is of course out of place here. The trouble with τοῦτο is that both it and αὐτό in line 20 suggest that some word like ἀργύριον has come before, and I can think of no way of introducing it into lines 17-18 without involving the absurdity mentioned above. τοῦτο [δὲ καταβάλλειν|αἰεὶ πρὸ Παν]αθηναίων τῶν μικρῶν τ[—] would be satisfactory enough for lines 18-19, if the lengthened form αἰεὶ be admitted as late as this. The sentence will be completed either with those making the payment or with those to whom they pay it. In any case, some reference to the *apodektai* is indispensable in the gap of lines 19-20, for the first letter of line 20 is a nearly certain *rho*, which implies [με]ριζόντων and it would be perverse to separate them from their normal function.

ταῦτα in line 20 presumably refers to the Panathenaia. The rest seems quite hopeless. In line 22, it seems difficult to see anything but what would be, I think, the first appearance of καθὸ in epigraphic Attic. In lines 23-24 there seems to be a reference to the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, who has functions connected with leases (*Ath. Pol.*, 47, 2), but it does not seem possible to resolve line 24 with any certainty.

I hope that the difficulties in this document will receive attention from others and that more satisfactory solutions will be reached. It seems to me a document of considerable importance. Our knowledge of Athenian financial procedure as laid down

by νόμοι is still extremely slight. Demosthenes, XXIV, 96-98 and *Ath. Pol.*, 48 give us some foundation for an account of the law on the μερισμός, and the need for a νόμος to establish new and permanent financial obligations has long been known from such passages as *I.G.*, II², 222, lines 41-46, *S.I.G.*³, 298, lines 39-45.³ What is new here, besides the fact of actually having an instance of the nomothetai at work on financial matters, is the earmarking of specific sources of revenue for a specific purpose.⁴ Even at a lower level than that of the state, *I.G.*, II², 1172 is not an exact parallel, for there the deme is merely making sure that it has a regular income, out of which it hopes to fulfill all its religious obligations. The concept of making sure that there are specific funds for a specific purpose seems quite new in Athenian public finance. The need to do this in this case seems to arise from the date of the Panathenaia, towards the end of the first prytany of the year. Admittedly, the biggest inflow of Athenian revenue came in the ninth prytany (*Ath. Pol.*, 47, 4), but this was probably followed by the biggest out-payments. At the end of the tenth prytany, officials would have to be paid off and deficits might have to be met on certain funds. At the beginning of the first prytany, floats would have to be provided for the new boards. The Panathenaia would fall a little later than these big demands on the revenue, and in a bad year there might not be enough to meet the proper demands of the festival. I suspect that we find this happening as early as the last years of the Peloponnesian War. In 415 the tamiai hand over 9 talents to the hellenotamiai for the athlothetai of the Lesser Panathenaia.⁵ The payment is indicated by ἐδανείσα[μεν], not by παρέδομεν, and, despite the doubts of Meyer,⁶ this ought to indicate a difference in the circumstances of the payment. That difference consists, I suggest, in the lack of precedent for the payment. The Panathenaia would normally be financed out of ordinary revenue, but in this case the ordinary revenue was not in a position to meet what may have been an extraordinary demand. The payment was made out of what was technically the wrong fund, and ἐδανείσαμεν, I think, expresses this.⁷ Similar payments follow in 410 (*I.G.*, I², 304, lines 5-6) and 405 (*I.G.*, I², 305, lines 8-9).

But the possibility of such a crisis is most clearly documented in the fourth century by Demosthenes, XXIV, 26-29. There is some uncertainty as to whether we are dealing with the Lesser or the Greater Panathenaia here, since, although Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ad Ammaeum*, I, 4) dates the speech to 353/2, there is a case for

³ See, most recently, for the whole topic, A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy*, pp. 102-103.

⁴ But compare Isokrates, *Areopagiticus*, 27, where he seems to complain that, while lavish state-aid is given to ἐπίθετοι ἑορταί, some traditional sacrifices are forced to depend on μισθώματα.

⁵ *I.G.*, I², 302, lines 56-58. The amount seems large, and it may have been thought that a lavish celebration was in order after the departure of the great fleet and the political troubles of the year. For an alternative view of this and the later payments, see Davison, *J.H.S.*, LXXVIII, 1958, pp. 32-33.

⁶ *Forschungen zur Alte Geschichte*, II, p. 135, note 1.

⁷ Cf. the later similar use of προδανείζω, *S.I.G.*³, 298, line 39, *I.G.*, II², 330, line 62.

354/3,⁸ which would imply the Greater Panathenaia. Whatever the truth is about this, the meeting of the nomothetai which gave rise to the speech was originally occasioned by an alleged crisis, discovered seventeen days before the festival, about its financing. The nomothetai were summoned *ὅπως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ θύηται καὶ ἡ διοίκησις ἱκανὴ γένηται καὶ εἴ τινος ἐνδεῖ πρὸς τὰ Παναθήναια διοικηθῇ*. Demosthenes alleges that there was in fact no crisis and says that no one proposed any law to meet the crisis. The second statement must be true, and it is difficult to think of any law which would have met such a crisis in time for that year's festival. But it is hard to think of the crisis as anything but a fact; it must have at least seemed plausible that the *διοίκησις* would not be able to meet the demands of the festival. Timokrates could have related his law to the crisis by claiming that he was making sure that adequate revenues to carry the *διοίκησις* over its crisis period did at least come in during the ninth prytany. Demosthenes stands the solution on its head, and complains (paragraphs 98-99) that the result will be that no money will come in until the ninth prytany and that there will be a shortage of money during the rest of the year.

Twenty years later the possibilities of such a crisis are still before Aristonikos, and, to protect the Panathenaia, he devises the solution of earmarking specific revenues for it. It seems likely that there was a separate law for the Greater Panathenaia, and that other income besides the revenue from the Nea was provided for it. Our stone continued with general regulations for the conduct of the festival, laid down by normal assembly procedure, after the result of the leasing of the Nea was known. I have little to add on *I.G.*, II², 334. There is a later text in *S.I.G.*³, 271, with a small correction in line 31 and a restoration contrary to the traces on the stone in line 30. The standard discussion is now Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 24-26. There is an important note on the disputed restoration in line 10 by C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias*, p. 31.

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⁸ *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 32.

ATHENS AND TROIZEN

THERE is a little to add on the difficult document, *I.G.*, II², 46, to which Woodhead¹ has added two new fragments and of which he has recorded Schweigert's important joins on Face A. I was able to assemble all the fragments, including the new ones, except *l*, in Athens in 1954, and, thanks to the kindness of Vanderpool who has sent squeezes of the new fragments, the Ashmolean Museum now possesses a complete set of squeezes, including *aA*, which was not available to Woodhead.

I fully agree with Woodhead on the difficulty of determining to which face the fragments belong. Spacing is an uncertain guide, since it is clear that no rigid chequer was drawn on either face. I rest my attributions on the fact that two hands are clearly at work. The fragments which I attribute to Face A have a much smaller, neater appearance. This is due not so much to any difference in the vertical size of the letters as to the absence of the tendency, persistent in the letters of Face B, to sprawl out sideways. In addition, there is the tendency to double-cutting. Not absent entirely from Face A, where it is particularly marked on fragment *b*, although it has been eliminated from the joining lower fragments *d* and *m*, it never there reaches the ugliness of its appearance on Face B, where there are *deltas*, *kappas* and *upsilons* of which all strokes have definitely been cut twice. The difference between the hands is to be observed most clearly on fragment *aB*, where the whole fragment is in the Face B hand except line 4, where the Face A hand has cut [— — ἐννέ' ἄρχ]οντας [—] in an erasure. The same thing has happened on fragment *i*, where the single sigma which survives in line 22 is in the Face A hand. Using this guide, I would attribute all fragments to Face A, except *aB*, *i* and *f*. In *f* the double-cutting is under better control, but, despite Koehler's original attribution, I am confident, with Kirchner, that the general character of the hand assigns it to Face B. I see no trace of the Face B hand in the new Agora fragments *q* and *r*, and therefore think that they should be assigned to Face A provisionally, until and unless new evidence shows that the Face A hand worked on Face B in other places than the erasures. My only doubts are about *l*, which I have not seen and of which my squeeze is not very good, but I believe that this too belongs to Face A.

A little more may be said about the erasures, since any progress with the document will depend on aligning them correctly. Besides those recorded in the Editio Minor for *c*, line 50, *k*, line 24, *l*, line 3, *i*, line 22, *aB*, line 4, and by Woodhead in the new fragment *q*, lines 5-6, I add *n*, line 73, where I read [[ἐννέ' ἄρχο]ντας] ἐς Τρο[οῦ ἡνα] and the line above *p*, line 40, where there is an erasure in which nothing has been cut. I am sure Woodhead is right to say that many of these are probably connected with the

¹ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 225-229, No. 85.

nine archons, but there is another which cannot be so connected, in the name-list, fragment *o*, below line 83.

To Woodhead's warning against excessive restoration, I would add the probability that Face A had nearly 90 letters to the line, since the likely restoration of the title in *a*¹, line 3, suggests that the stele had a width of 0.850 m. Fragment *a*¹ is of course from the bottom of the stone, with the first two lines probably forming part of a name-list, since fragment *b*¹ clearly preserves the top of the stone and shows that there was no prescript.

My observations of the actual stone in fact lead to an abandonment of restorations already made. One would naturally assume from the Editio Minor that Hiller had actually joined *aA* and *g*, but in fact they do not join, and the restorations made on the basis of this conjunction must be dropped. It still seems likely that the text of *aA* can be brought into some kind of relation with the joining fragments, *b*, *d*, *m*.

A few points on readings and restorations:

Face A:

*b*¹: line 32,]θόντος; line 35, perhaps ἐπ]ιτίμῳι ἐπιω; line 36,]ν ἀποδκεν ||; line 42, ιτων ν.

aA: line 10, δρα]χμὰς; line 12, [ἐκατὸ]ν δραχμ[ὰς]; line 15, [ὀφθ]αλμὸν ἐ[]; line after 22, with Mitsos (*Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, p. 349)]ιτων.

In the combined group, *b*, *d*, *m* (as printed by Woodhead, *op. cit.*, p. 228): line 9, γμω; line 15, [.]εα ἐκτυφλ[; line 18, [. .]ν ἀδύνατον δι[. In line 19, the problems raised by Woodhead (p. 229 note 11) can be resolved by observing that the offending *mu* is quite unlike any other on the stone and is best regarded as a *mu* of which the fourth stroke has not been cut. Read [. . ᾶ]ποτο<μ>ῆς. Line 20, the last letter is *tau*; line 22, κκε.

g: line 17, apparently ΑΣΑΓ.

k: above the *eta* of line 23, an *iota* or *tau*; below the first *omega* of line 30, a *sigma*.

h: line 7, αἰωναν.

e: line 62, presumably [ἐν σάνισ]ι λελευκ[ωμέναις]; line 63, [Ἀθήνησι μὲ]ν ἐν τῶι θε[σμοθετείῳι]; line 64, [τ]ῆς δίκης ἐ[; line 65, the readings are as given in the Editio Minor, but I suspect a scribal error and a reference to ἀπενιαντισμός.

p: line 41, [τῶ]ν θηλειῶ[ν].

In the new fragment *q*, [ὕπ]όδικος ἔσ[τω --] seems most likely in line 3, and, since so many crossbars are omitted in this inscription, I prefer [Ἀθη]ν<α>ίων μ[in line 13.

The name-list, fragment *o* (E. M. 63), has a clear left-hand edge, and will have stood towards the bottom of Face A. There was at least one name, beginning with

καρρα, above line 75. In line 78, there are several other possibilities besides [Τ]ίμων. In line 83, an initial *sigma* is clear, and [Ἀρι]στόδ[ημος] is far too short. We need something like [Ἡφαι]στόδ[ημος]. After line 83, there is an erasure, and below that [...⁵⁻⁶...]εμ[.

*a*¹: line 1, τω seems certain.

Face B:

aB: line 1, I prefer θε.

i: line 22, there is a clear *iota* at the end of the erasure; line 25, *sigma* is the last letter of the line, as is *nu* in line 26, and the restorations must be carried over into the next lines. In line 29, there is a misprint in the Editio Minor. The line runs [χ]ίλια δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκ[άστ -].

I have said that the hand of Face A can be seen at work on Face B. This would not in itself prove that the two faces were parts of the same document. Woodhead suggests that there are two documents and that Face B is an agreement with an unknown city. But there is a clear reference to Troizen in line 27 of fragment *i*, which certainly belongs to Face B, and, since we have no evidence that any other city is referred to on Face B and no reason to assume that Troizen is referred to on Face B purely as a precedent for the agreement with the unknown city, I feel that the probabilities at the moment are that both faces of the stele are concerned with Troizen.

Lastly, the date. Woodhead argues with conviction for an increase in the number of agreements of this type after the foundation of the Second Athenian Confederacy. If our stele belongs here, a suitable date would be 368/7, when Troizen crowned both the boule and the demos of Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 227-231). But Wilhelm's view was that the letter-forms pointed to a date round 400, and, although I can think of no closely similar stones which can be precisely dated, I should still prefer to think this stone fifteen or twenty years earlier than 375.

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SEVENTH CENTURY SHERDS FROM THE OLYMPIEION AREA

(PLATE 44)

THE fragments described below, interesting both for their provenience and for themselves, were found by Mr. John Travlos in his excavations of 1956 in the area north of the peribolos of the Olympieion at Athens.¹ Mr. Travlos discovered additional stretches of a previously unidentified structure which he believes to belong to the Themistoclean city wall. It appears in *Πρακτικά*, 1886, pl. 1 (on the bottom sketch at the very left, drawn in broken line; gray tinted stones)² just north of the peribolos of the Olympieion and west of its propylon. Only the southeast part of a tower into which were built poros columns from the Peisistratid Olympieion is shown; Mr. Travlos has found the northwest wall as well. Although the previous excavation had swept away most of the fill in the area, a plot of about 0.60 x 1.00 m. remained in the corner between the northwest wall of the tower and the curtain wall; this plot yielded the pottery a selection from which is presented here. This pottery extended in date from the last quarter of the eighth through to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and appears to be ceremonial ware and therefore grave refuse. There is reason to believe that it indicates the site of an early cemetery, since Mr. Travlos considers the southern finished spur of the wall, which can be seen on the *Πρακτικά* plan, to belong to a gate through which ran a road which passed also under the later Arch of Hadrian. At the northern side of this road and close to the Arch was found a Geometric grave which indicates that the cemetery lay along the edge of the road.

There were only four figured sets of fragments, all of which could be attributed to painters. This is interesting since it confirms what we know from the Kerameikos and Vari finds—that the production of fine ware was in the hands of a very few painters who supplied all Athens and Attica.

1. Wall fragment of an Early Protoattic Amphora or Hydria. Pl. 44.

Pres. H. 0.135 m.

By the Analatos painter. Compare the chariot processions on his amphora in the Louvre (*Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, p. 28, fig. 1 and p. 29, fig. 2) and on his late krater in Munich (*B.S.A.*,

¹ Mr. Travlos was good enough to allow me to prepare this catalogue and to explain the circumstances of finding to me. For the photographs I am grateful to Miss Alison Frantz.

² The earlier excavations were by Koumanoudes in 1886 and are reported in *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 14, pl. 1. See also Welter's short summary in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1923, p. 185. Plans and discussion of the area will appear in Mr. Travlos' forthcoming book on the topographical history of Athens. The Geometric Kynosarges cemetery lay to the south, across the Ilissos, see *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-6, pp. 80 ff.

XXXV, 1934-5, p. 137, pl. 41). Both of these seem later than the present fragment since, e.g., the faces of their charioteers are in outline. Taken as a whole, the closest parallel is the name amphora of the Analatos painter (*op. cit.*, pls. 38, 39) dated to *ca.* 700 B.C.

Ca. 700 B.C.

2. Fragments of a Late Protoattic Standed Bowl. Pl. 44.

Pres. H. of stand fragment with sphinx's head 0.047 m.

The fragment with rays belongs to the bowl, by the Nettos painter. Compare *C.V.A.*, Berlin 1, pls. 46-47 for the curly coiffure and fill ornament.

Last quarter of the seventh century B.C.

3. Fragment of a large Early Black-figure Amphora. Pl. 44.

Pres. H. 0.07 m.

By the Nettos painter, attributed by Sir John Beazley, August 1957. Half of leg and top of sickle-winged boot to right, end of a staff behind. Applied red on boot. Probably from a Hermes or perhaps a Perseus, but the staff and the fact that the leg is not in motion speak against the latter. I know of no earlier Hermes in vase painting. For the Nettos painter's works, see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase Painters*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 4-6.

Last quarter of the seventh century B.C.

4. Fragments of an Amphora (?). Pl. 44.

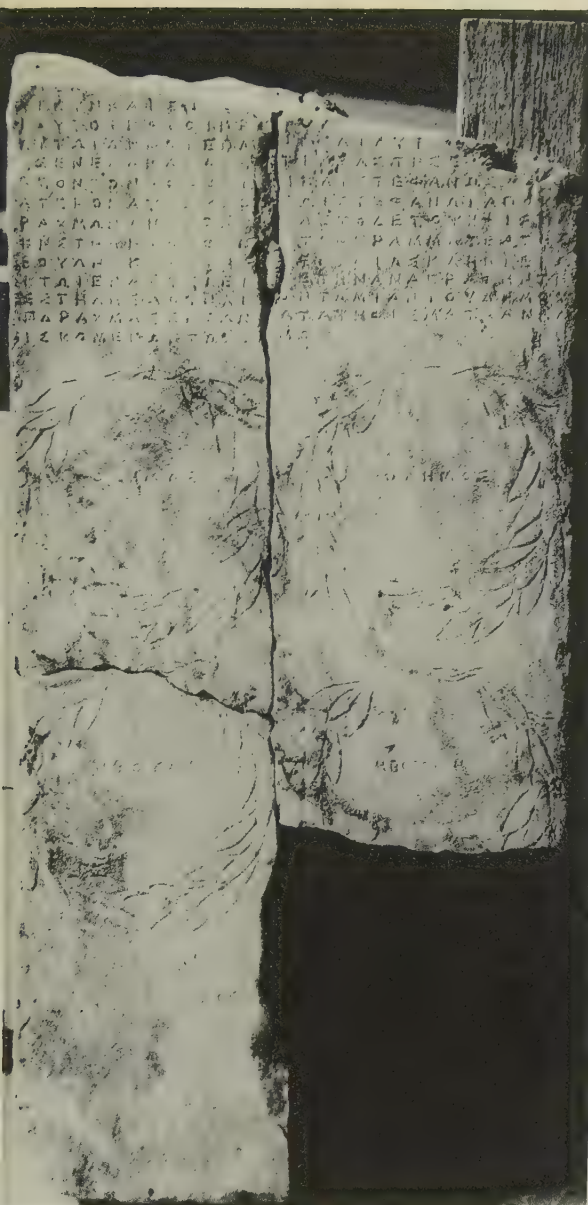
Pres. H. of sphinx fragment 0.06 m.

Applied red on shoulder and face of sphinx, on alternate petals of rosette. By the Gorgon painter; compare B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1909, Vol. 1, pl. 19, no. 506 left. For other works see Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

Early sixth century B.C.

EVA BRANN

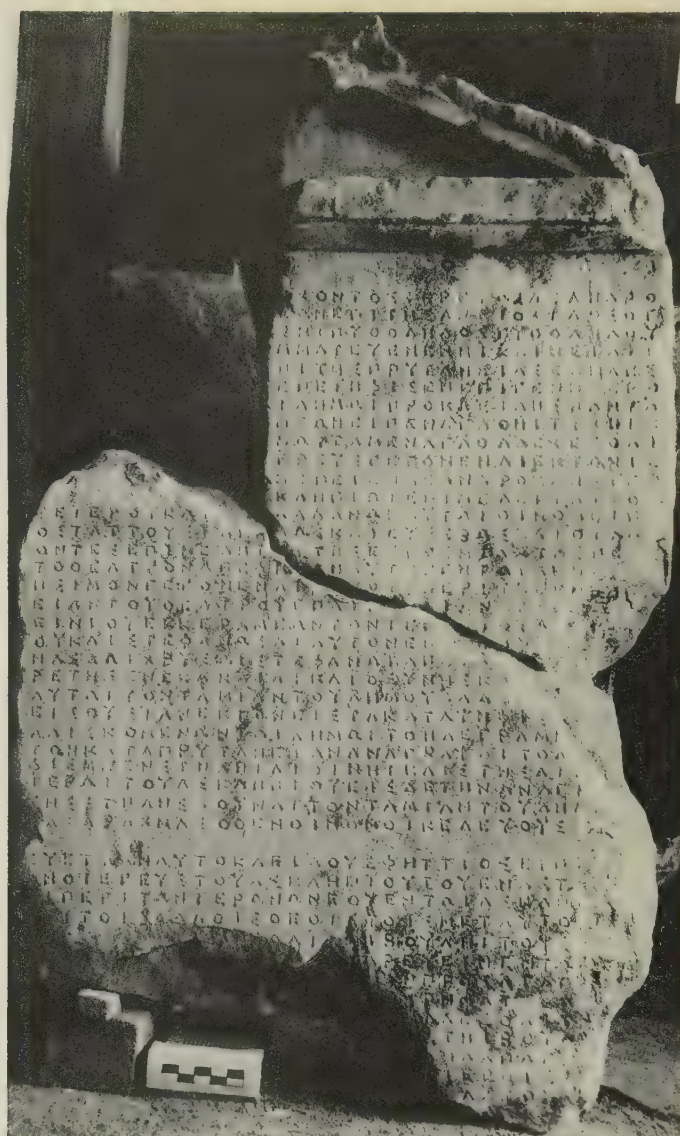
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE



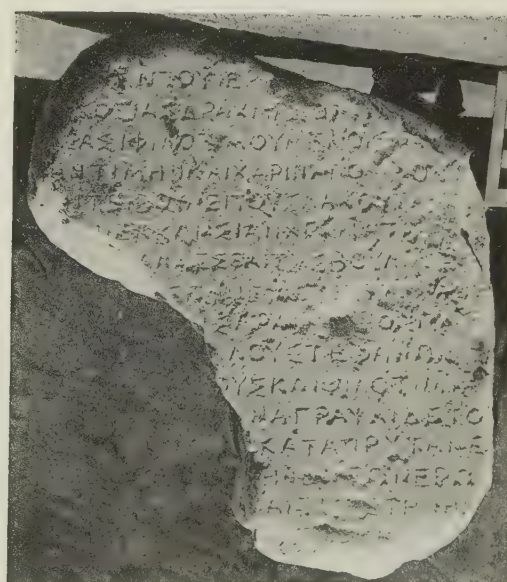
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No. 1, Detail



No. 2



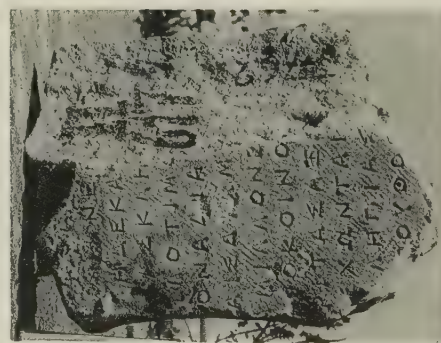
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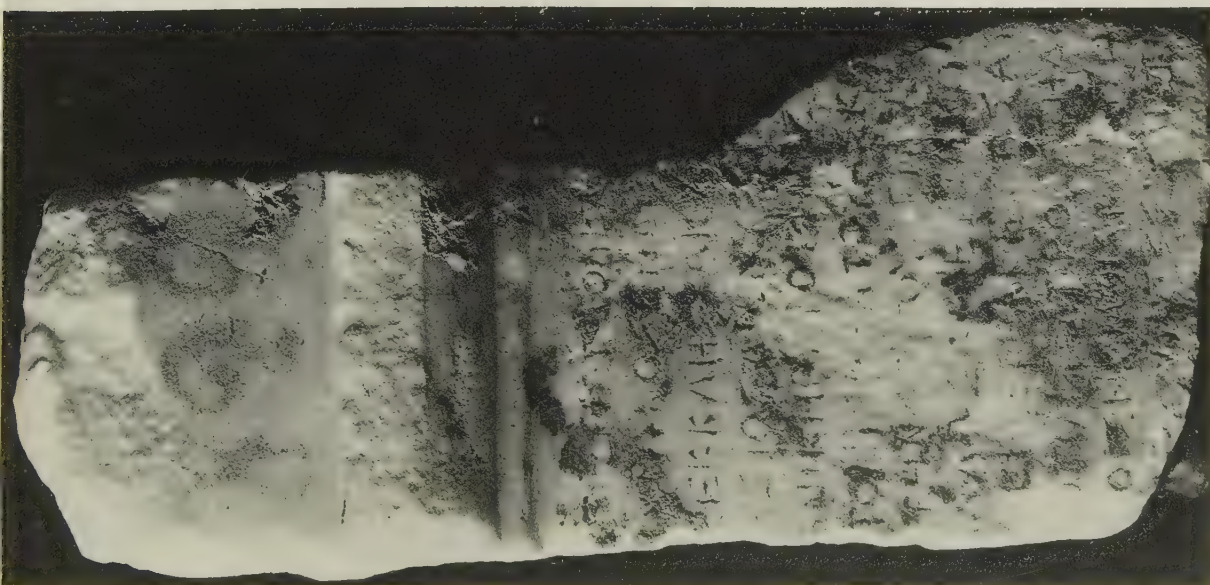
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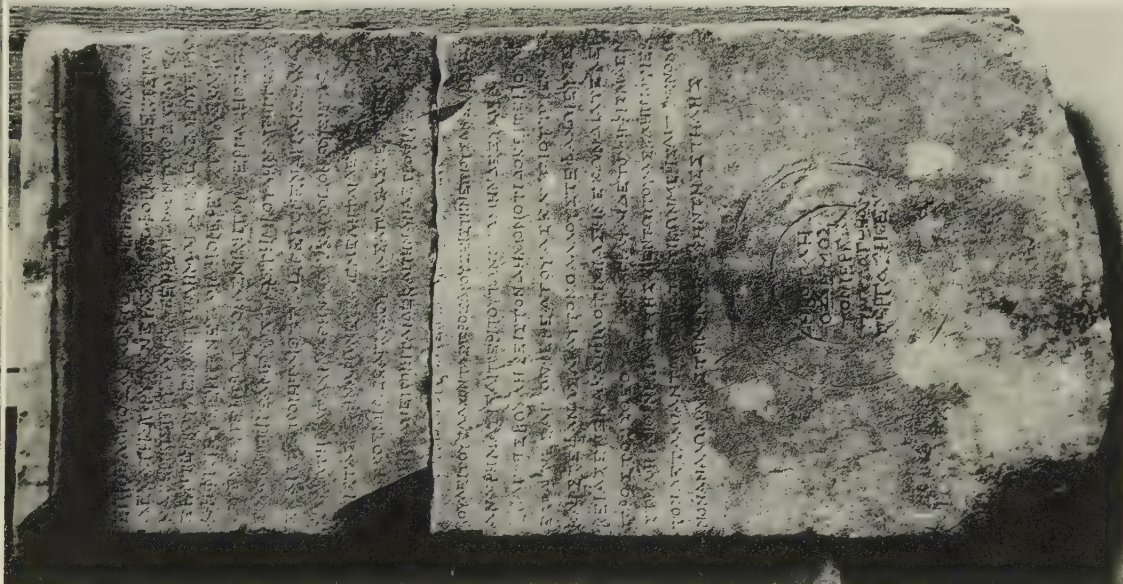
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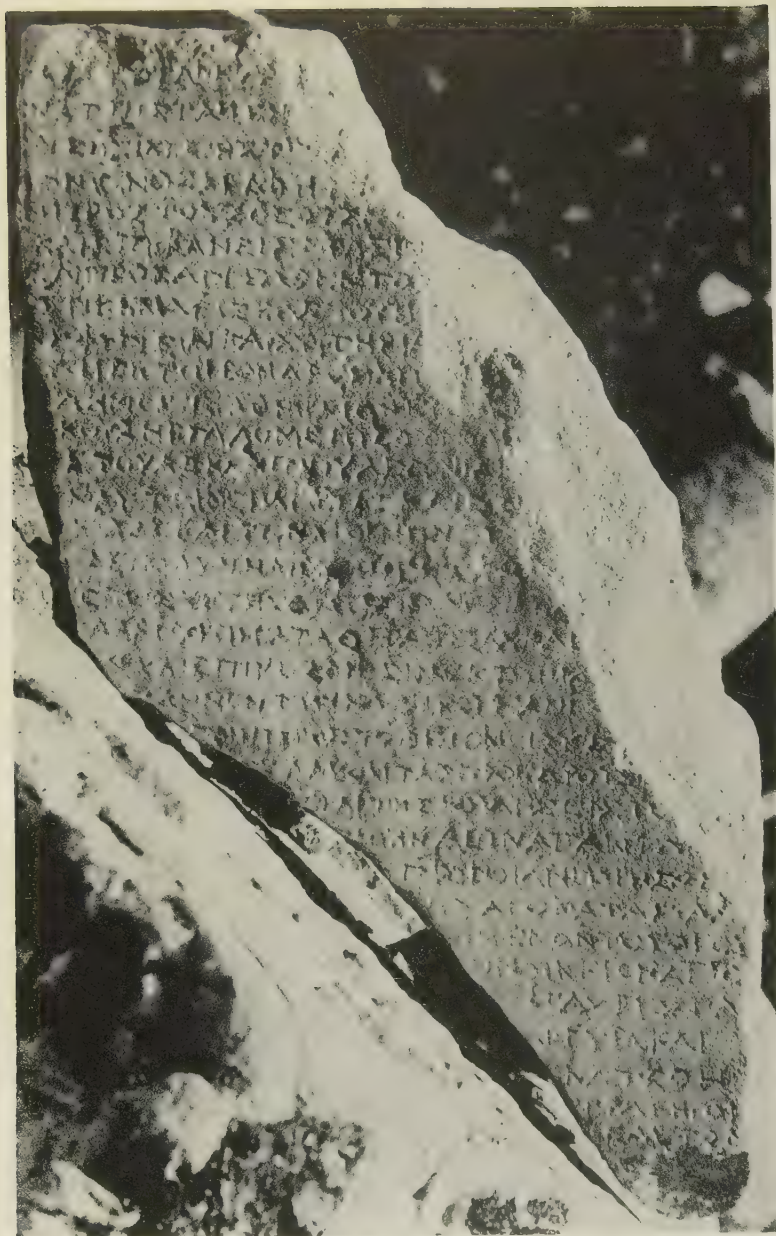
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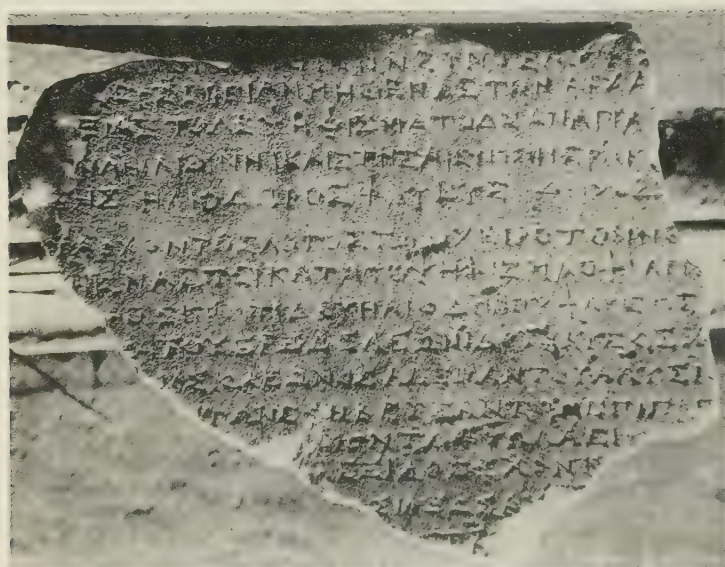
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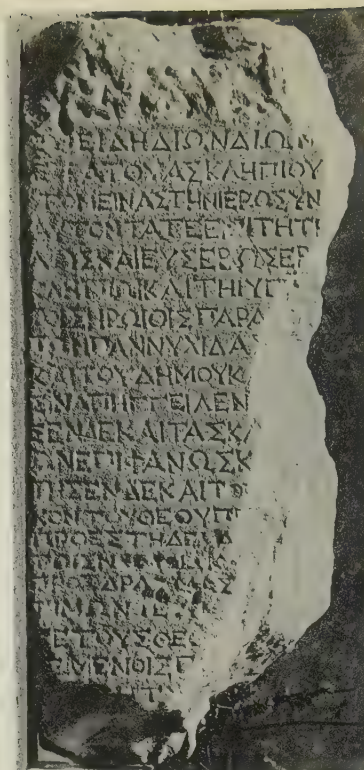
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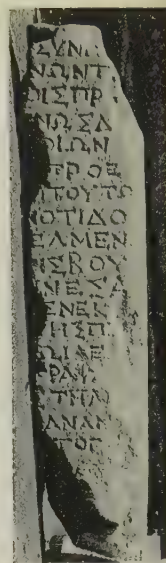
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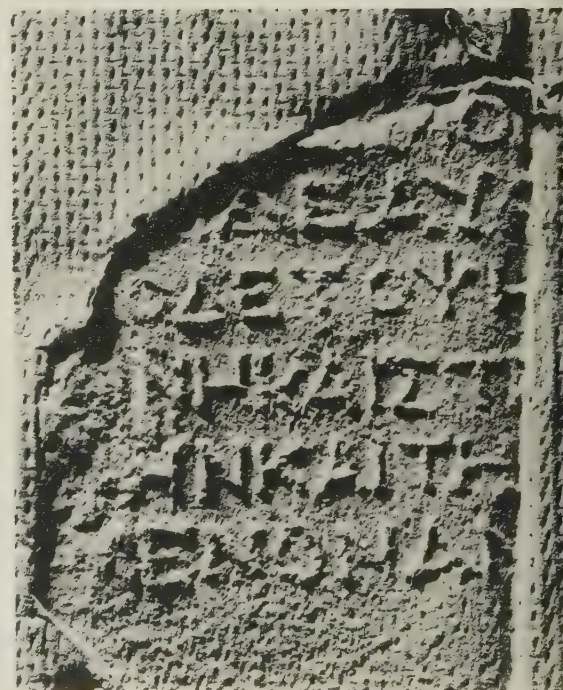
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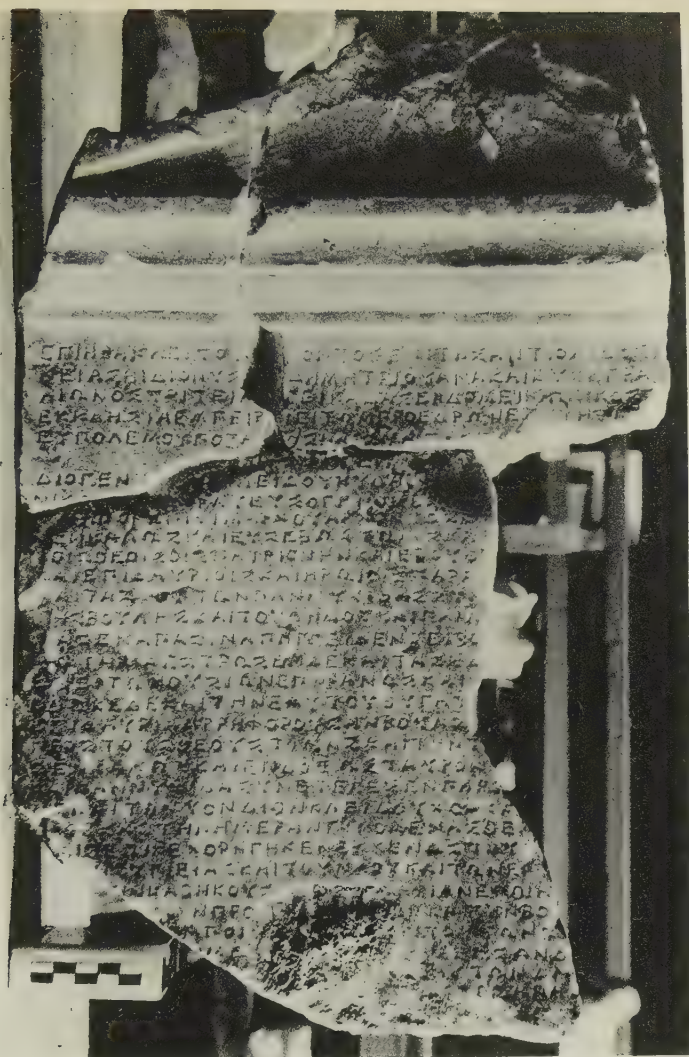
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No. 11, Fragment *b*



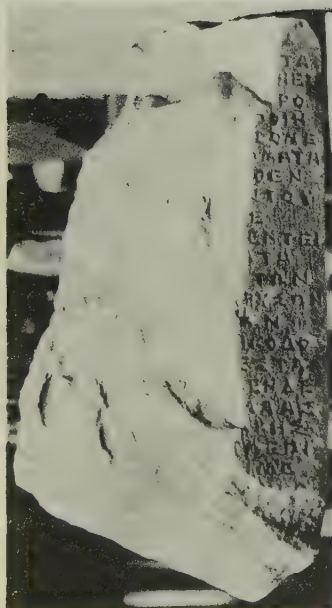
No. 11, Fragment *c*



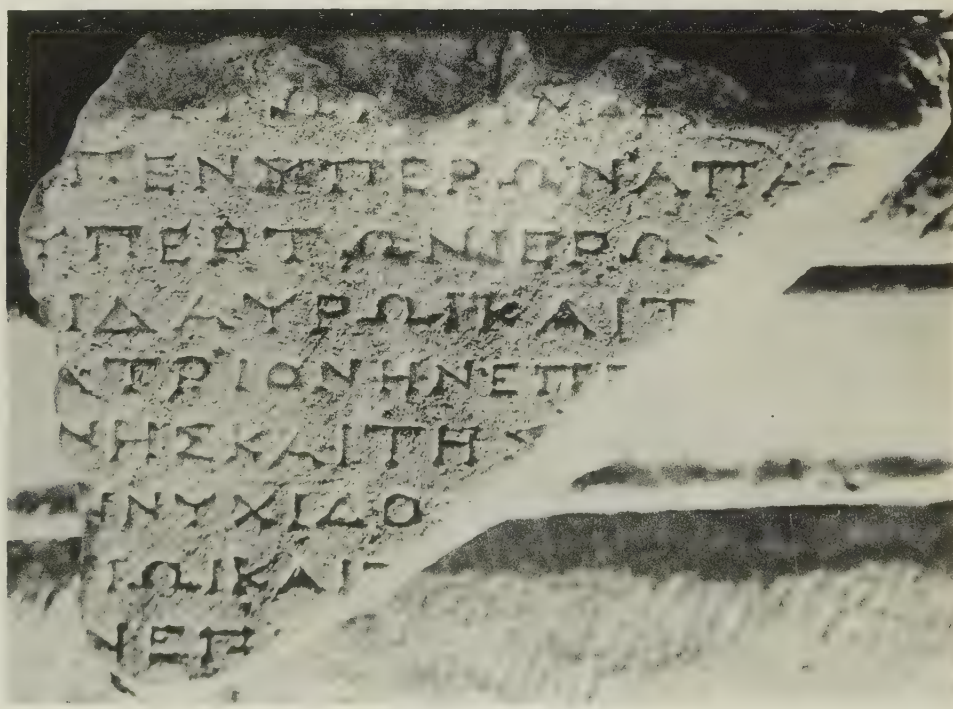
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No. 13



No. 10, Fragment *d*



No. 12



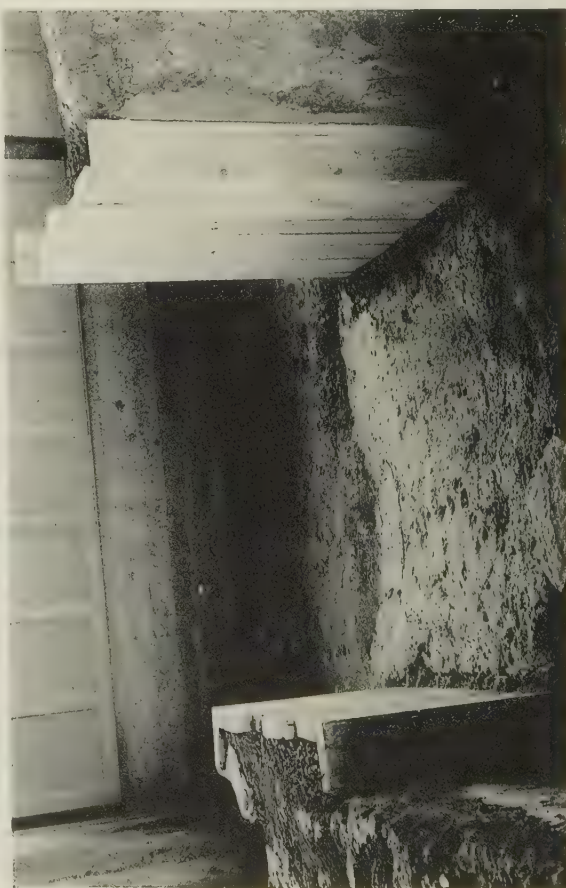
a. Walls of Building BG from Northwest.



b. East Walls of Building BG from North.



c. House of the Tiles. Jamb of Door P from Southeast.



d. House of the Tiles. Jambs of Door A from within.



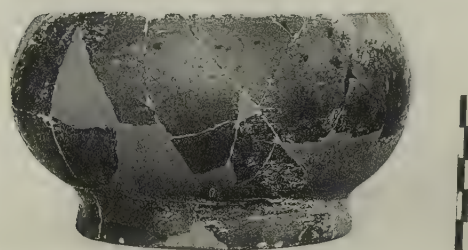
e. House of the Tiles. North Side of Shelter from within.



a. Trench JC. Late Neolithic Grave.



b. Jug from Grave in Trench JC.



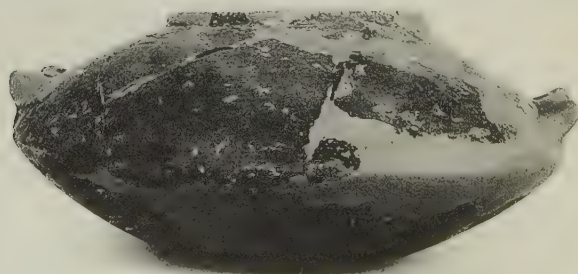
c. Neolithic Bowl.



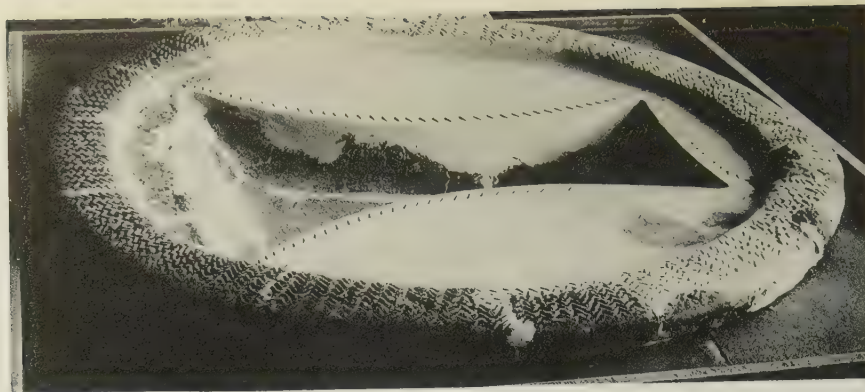
d. Late Neolithic Bowl with Foot.



e. Early Helladic Askos.



f. Early Helladic Pyxis.



a. Early Helladic Ceremonial Hearth, Restored.



b. Rim of Hearth. (Piet de Jong)



c. Early Helladic Pithos Band, No. 1564a.



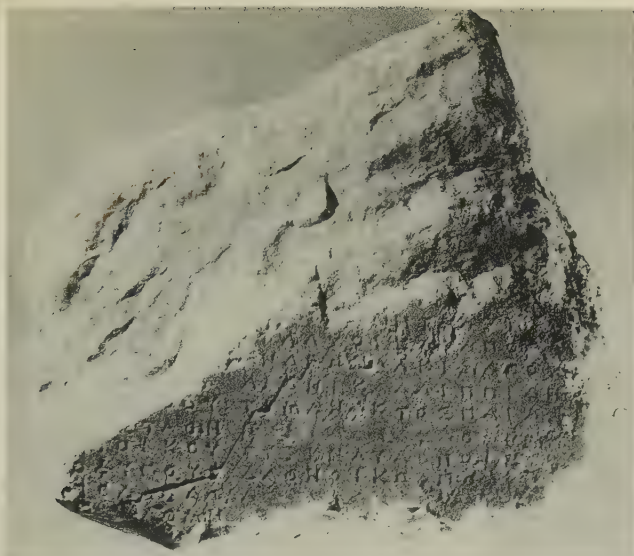
d. Pithos Band, No. 1564. (Piet de Jong)



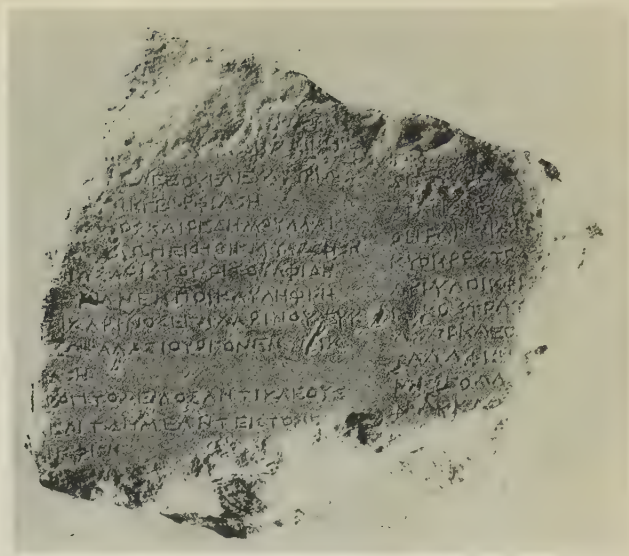
e. Pithos Band, No. 1564b.



f. Pithos Band, No. 1570a.



Face A



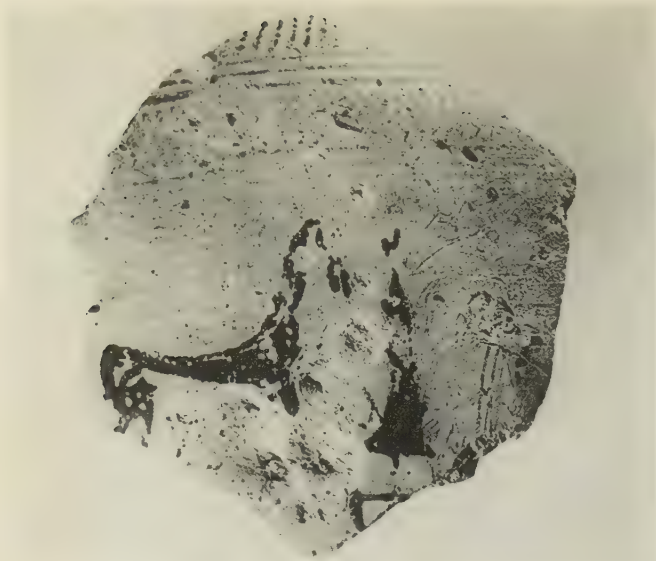
Face B

Agora I 3183

DAVID M. LEWIS: ATTIC MANUMISSIONS



DAVID M. LEWIS: LAW ON THE LESSER PANATHENAIA



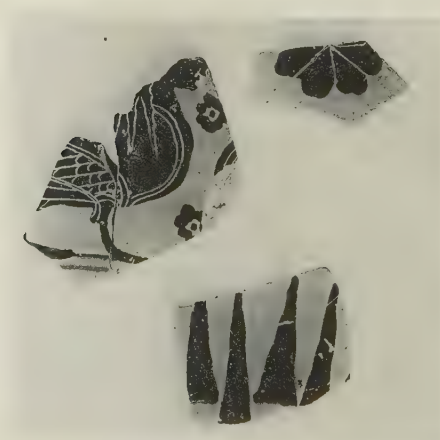
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

Scale 1:2

SPIRALLY FLUTED COLUMNS IN GREECE

(PLATES 45-53)

INTRODUCTION ¹

ONE of the most neglected creations of the ancient stone-cutter is the spirally fluted column. That will be evident from the examples presented here. Although nearly all are from well-known sites or near-by areas, they have seldom attracted enough attention even to be mentioned in excavation reports. Victor Chapot, enumerating examples in 1907, was unable to mention a single example from Greece,² although at least some of those listed below must have been known at that time. It is true that they are more often than not sporadic, or even completely isolated, finds which cannot be connected with specific building complexes. Taken as a whole group, however, they are far from being devoid of interest in themselves. Their mere existence is important for the larger question of the origin, meaning and widespread use of the twisted column in the ancient world; one has only to think of the so-called Asiatic sarcophagi.³ These larger connections appear to be complicated and must be dealt with eventually on a broader scale;⁴ when the question is re-opened, however, it must take into account monuments and evidence of the sort to be discussed below.

¹ It is a pleasure to thank many organizations and persons—too numerous for all to be named individually—for their assistance in the preparation of this study. It was written during a sojourn at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens where I held Fulbright and Guggenheim grants. I am indebted to the Ephors of the districts concerned in the catalogue for permission to study and publish various pieces, to Dr. Ohly of the German Institute and Professor Homer A. Thompson of the Agora Excavations for permission to publish the Kerameikos and Agora examples respectively. Dr. P. Topping of the Gennadeion gave me bibliographical assistance; Professor Orlandos of the University of Athens and Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, Director of Antiquities, Cyprus, read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions. The majority of the photographs were taken by Linda Benson, who also gave invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript, but in addition I wish gratefully to acknowledge the contributions of Miss Alison Frantz (Agora photographs), Miss Virginia Grace (Pl. 45, f), Prof. D. A. Amyx (Pl. 45, e), Dr. G. Rizza (Pl. 49, b-d) and Dr. H. W. Catling (Pl. 51, a).

² *La colonne torse et le décor en hélice dans l'art antique*, Paris, 1907. He mentions (pp. 119-120), however, coin representations which point to the existence in Samos and Thrace of temples with this type of column.

³ Cf. C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi: Sardis V*, Pt. I, Princeton, 1924; M. Lawrence, "Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi," *M.A.A.R.*, XX, 1951, pp. 115 ff.; "Season Sarcophagi of Architectural Type," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 273 ff.

⁴ I am dealing with the background of the spiral column in Mycenaean and Early Greek art in another place. K. Schefold has kindly called my attention to a note by C. Picard on conches and columns in *Rev. Arch.*, XIV, 1939, p. 79 (cf. also *Orient, Hellas und Rom*, Bern, 1949, p. 202).

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The first and thorniest problem in dealing with our examples is that of chronology. Many of them are too worn and fragmentary to offer much basis for classification. Chronological departure points are at best few and hard to come by. The present *terminus ante quem* is the destruction of Pompeii as regards actual monuments,⁵ but excavations will some day surely push this back considerably;⁶ in fact, it may prove that there was never really any interruption in the existence of such columns from prehistoric times. In any case, it is unthinkable that there was ever any interruption in the knowledge that they had existed.

The lower limit is more difficult to define. No indications seem to lead necessarily beyond about the seventh or eighth century of the present era as the date by association of any of our fragments. This is rather surprising as one might expect on the general basis of ecclesiastical conservatism to find the practice of placing this type of column in new churches to continue almost indefinitely. At the very least we know that already existing columns were long visible; the sixth century Silver Ciborium of Santa Sophia in Constantinople continued in use until the thirteenth century⁷ and the ciborium of San Apollinare Classe (Pl. 52, f) still exists. However, it cannot be claimed that all the evidence has been collected; the present collection of material, though undoubtedly representative, does not pretend to exhaust the resources even of Greece in this type of monument. The northern provinces, particularly Thrace and Macedonia, and certain islands are not represented, owing to the fact that it has not been possible for me to look there, but other examples (some of which might be of interest to the chronological problem) must be awaiting discovery in these places. Also a full con-

⁵ See *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 387, note 18. The column referred to is actually in Stabiae which was destroyed in the same eruption as Pompeii, A.D. 79. It has been published by L. d'Orsi in *Gli Scavi di Stabia (A Cura del Comitato per gli Scavi di Stabia)* Naples, no date, pl. 5.

⁶ Cf. Chapot, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff. They are represented in the fanciful constructions of Pompeian wall-painting, Fourth Style (cf. K. Schefold, *Pompejanische Malerei*, Basel, 1952, p. 176, pl. 37; H. G. Beyen, *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration*, Haag, 1938, fig. 44). It is most interesting that plain columns appearing to be garlanded and sometimes flanking a doorway also occur in Roman painting (cf. Beyen, figs. 22, a-b; 58; 60). Cf. also the relief from the Haterii Tomb, best illustration, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, II, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, fig. 130. I point out the connection of garlanded and spiral columns in earlier times in the paper referred to above. Apparently garlanded columns occur on a black-figured lekythos by the Amasis Painter described by D. von Bothmer in *Gnomon*, XXIX, 1957, p. 538; photograph and mention of same (not showing columns) in *Bul. Met. Mus.*, XV, 1956, p. 54. A representation which must undoubtedly be considered a spirally fluted column appears on an Apulian krater (*Délos*, XVIII, *Mobilier Délien*, p. 54, fig. 77, 1 from *C.V.A.*, Lecce, 1, IVd r, pl. 8:2, 3, 5). Moreover, the existence of Hellenistic copies of Minoan seals is supplementary evidence that the subjects of Minoan seals (which include spirally fluted columns) were directly known and admired in the classical world.

⁷ E. Antoniadou, *Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, II, Athens, 1908, p. 42.

sideration of the monumental evidence from the Latin world is wanting but cannot be undertaken here. The following remarks are not therefore intended to be definitive but rather to illuminate as much as possible at the present stage the monuments actually known to be in Greece.

COMPOSITE SPIRALLY FLUTED COLUMNS

Perhaps the most interesting and certainly the best-documented type of column is a composite of vertical linear fluting on its lower part and spiral fluting on its upper part. The vertical "channels" have slightly arched upper and lower terminations in a manner obviously derived from the Ionic column, but the actual channels, instead of being hollowed out are left convex or flat, giving a distinctly linear surface effect as opposed to the usual effect of alternating volume and space.⁸

The earliest known example of this occurs at Stabiae⁹ (Pl. 52, b). I take the column from the fountain house of the Sultan Moustapha Mosque in Rhodes (Pl. 45, e, f) to be the latest specimen of those collected here (I shall discuss its date in some detail below). Somewhere between the Stabiae and the Rhodes columns, undoubtedly closer to the latter, will lie Athens A, B, K (Pl. 45, a-d) and Corinth A. Athens A and K are sufficiently similar in design to suggest contemporaneity and they may even have belonged to the same building complex, for which the near-by basilicas of the Asklepieion or the Olympieion—both belonging roughly to about the mid-fifth century A.D.—might be considered as candidates.¹⁰ In any case it seems quite certain that both columns were used in Christian buildings because of the cuttings and holes for a railing or balustrade such as one finds in early Christian churches¹¹ (Pl. 53, e). The same feature occurs on the mosque column. Such cuttings and holes probably were made after the column was installed in place and cannot be considered *per se* as a sign of re-use of non-Christian elements. A contemporary column can be as easily mutilated as an old one.

There is, moreover, a certain unpretentious simplicity about all these examples

⁸ Cf. e. g., fluting of Pl. 52, d with examples of conventional Ionic: W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, pl. XLIX; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, 1957, pl. 96, B. The latter author refers to the type of fluting under discussion here as "cannelations, separated by fillets" (cf. p. 224, pl. 112, B). "Cannelated" is described by the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as archaic, meaning "fluted." I use the term "filled fluting" suggested by A. H. S. Megaw.

⁹ *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 6, 1954, p. 802, fig. 2 (from which our Pl. 52, b). Reproduced with permission of Professor D'Orsi.

¹⁰ Cf. J. N. Travlos, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1939-1941, p. 64; *idem*, *Πρακτικά*, 1949, pp. 36 ff.; cf. *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 235. There is, of course, always the possibility of the basilica in the Parthenon itself! Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII-XLIV, 1938-1939, pp. 127 ff., esp. 134 ff.

¹¹ *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1939-1941, p. 43, fig. 6 (from which our Pl. 53, e); Sir Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, London, 1946, p. 258, L.

which sets them off considerably from the more sophisticated articulation of the Stabiae column and brings them into the Early Christian sphere. The quite Baroque contrast between the elegant linear stylization of the vertical fluting and the deep-cut shadow-catching spiral fluting of the Roman example has been eliminated on the surface of Athens A and the elements of design merely engraved. Athens B goes perhaps even farther in this direction and the mosque column adds a certain plump provinciality to it.

Before turning to a closer inspection of the last-mentioned piece, I should like to draw attention to another type of composite column represented in the propylon¹² of the Olympieion in Athens. The one remaining bit of evidence for the reconstruction is a handsome pedestal (Pl. 52, d) supporting a beautifully moulded column base¹³ and the lower part of a column displaying exactly the filled fluting which has been discussed above. It is worth noting that such fluting, as a lower element, was combined with ordinary concave fluting¹⁴ as an upper element no doubt more frequently than with spiral fluting. Although the Olympieion columns, in harmony with the porch columns of the Library of Hadrian (Pl. 52, e), no doubt should be restored with the former type, it cannot be maintained that spiral fluting of itself is entirely unsuitable for a propylon, since the propylon of the possibly contemporary Temple of Aphrodite (Pl. 53, d) at Aphrodisias in Caria is characterized by spiral fluting.¹⁵ In any case, the Olympieion fragment provides a local Greek example of filled fluting in Hadrianic times¹⁶ and by its appearance a confirmation of the assumption that the composite (spiral) columns mentioned above as Christian are not re-used classical columns. They are far in conception from the elegant monumentality of the propylon fragment.

¹² For plan cf. *J.H.S.*, VIII, 1887, p. 272; F. Versakis, 'Ο Περίβολος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ, Athens, 1910, p. 13, fig. 7, where a matching propylon to the west is postulated; Πρακτικά, 1949, p. 27, fig. 2. The existing pedestal is that farthest to the west. I have noted the following indications for the propylon column. Pres. H. 130 cm., with moulded base 152 cm., Distance between centers of arrisses 7.5 cm., D. ca. 70 cm., H. of pedestal 62 cm., 24 flutes. Pentelic marble.

¹³ This is literally a duplicate of the pedestal, base and lower column from the Library of Hadrian as shown by Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1762, I, Ch. 5, pl. VII (from which our Pl. 52, e). It is an easy assumption that the same architect or architectural firm was involved in both structures. Cf. also Versakis, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Notice that the library columns have Corinthian capitals.

¹⁴ Lawrence, *loc. cit.*; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 225, A, S. Sabina, Rome; obviously re-used columns (cf. also p. 228).

¹⁵ *Antiquities of Ionia published by the Society of Dilettanti*, III, London, 1840, Ch. 2, pl. 23 (from which our Pl. 53, d). For dating cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 277. For general views of Aphrodisias see Freya Stark, *Ionia: A Quest*, New York, 1954, pp. 209 ff. (reference from A. H. S. Megaw).

¹⁶ The propylon is a purely Hadrianic structure; cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, p. 384. Date of consecration of the Zeus Temple is A.D. 131/2; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 41, 49. The same author (p. 220) calls the propylon Ionic; cf. note 12 above.

Returning now to the column in Rhodes which seems to be the latest of the series, we must consider its dating more closely. I became convinced on inspecting the fountain house¹⁷ that all its six columns, with their capitals and bases, originated in one building, presumably a Christian church. The capitals and bases, then, should yield some chronological connections. Although the capital (Pl. 45, e) looks and undoubtedly is Early Byzantine,¹⁸ really close architectural parallels are difficult if not impossible to find. I assume that the double hooked U's on each face of the block are to be explained as extremely stylized versions of the acanthus motif of the Corinthian capital in the same sense that this process can be seen to have taken place on certain capitals in Salona.¹⁹ The closest example (Kautzsch no. 26) is not doubled and does not have the hooked terminations. Nevertheless, the fact that it is dated more or less securely in the sixth century after Christ may have some indicative value for the date of our example. A silver bowl (paten),²⁰ perhaps of the fifth century after Christ, from Riha in Syria, with a representation of the communion of the Apostles, shows two spirally fluted columns in the background with highly stylized double U ornaments (?) which are very much run together. It is, of course, doubtful that much weight should be given to such a schematic representation in interpreting real architectural forms. In the same category as evidence belongs the representation of a capital occurring in a wall-painting in a Macedonian church²¹ of the eleventh century (Pl. 53, a). Nevertheless, it may be noted that in both these cases the capitals are represented with spiral columns.

A somewhat similar U motif (never doubled, as far as I know) also occurs fairly frequently, for example in the ikonostasis of Ayios Stratagos in Boularioi, dated according to R. Traquair²² to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. I should not like to suggest, however, that this is by any means the earliest occurrence of the ornament. The fact that it has volutes relates it to the motif on the Rhodes capital.²³ The

¹⁷ See A. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes 1310-1522, architecture civile et religieuse*, Paris, 1923, fig. 112, e (Sultan Moustapha Djami) and pp. 210 ff. where modern mosques, but not this one specifically, are discussed. The general statement is made that the cupola of the fountain house of all these rests on ancient columns. I do not suppose that there is any hope of associating such columns with any specific ancient (or Byzantine) monument.

¹⁸ For the shape of the block, cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1914, p. 237, fig. 9, γ in a group dated fifth to seventh centuries.

¹⁹ R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 3, 23-26. See pp. 18 ff. for the date.

²⁰ W. Neuss, *Die Kunst der Alten Christen*, Augsburg, 1926, p. 110, fig. 138. See also H. Pierce and R. Tylor, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1934, II, No. 144. This has some resemblance to the grapevine capital of St. Mark's (A. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Βασιλική*, Athens, 1952, p. 333, fig. 291).

²¹ D. E. Evangelidi, *Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκίων* ("Ἐκδοση Ἑταιρείας τῶν Φίλων τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μακεδονίας"), *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1954, pl. 12 (from which our Pl. 53, a); cf. p. 10.

²² "The Churches of Western Mani," *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-1909, pp. 177 ff., esp. 211, pl. 16.

²³ Cf. R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1957, p. 107, nos. 29-31,

tendency for it to enclose rosettes or other floral motifs²⁴ may show a lingering recollection of the origin of the motif in the acanthus foliage of the Corinthian capital.

If the capital of the mosque column defies close placement because of its originality, so also does the base. A comparison with the convenient collection of profiles prepared by Orlandos²⁵ would suggest that it be ranged with those Early Christian examples which have most departed from the classical norm (his fig. 219), or even beyond these in time, depending on what role pure provincialism played in its formation. On the whole, if it is justifiable to date the Rhodes column on the basis of the capital and base associated with it, one can state that it could belong to the fifth or sixth century but that it would be safer to allow for a somewhat wider range upward in time.

A number of monuments furnish evidence that the composite column was popular in the fifth and sixth centuries. The most spectacular of these was the Silver Ciborium of Santa Sophia in Constantinople;²⁶ in addition there are several minor monuments to be mentioned below. San Apollinare in Classe, which is contemporary with Santa Sophia, also has an impressive ciborium²⁷ of which, however, at least the canopy must be dated not many years before A.D. 810, on the basis of an inscription. The possibility has to be weighed, nevertheless, that the actual columns may have belonged to an earlier ciborium²⁸ in San Apollinare or some other church. In these columns the proportion of convex fluting to spiral fluting is unequal, the latter being taller. This agrees with Athens A and probably the mosque column (discounting its truncation) and bears out Orlandos' restoration of the Santa Sophia ciborium columns.²⁹ If this arrangement seems to be the rule for ciborium columns, there is nevertheless evidence that an equal distribution of upper and lower portions prevailed in other contexts. An ivory diptych of Monza (Pl. 52, a) assigned to the fifth century³⁰ shows a Muse

35-36, etc.; strictly speaking, not capitals but tops of posts which presumably appeared below the capitals. Scranton calls this ornament an inverted omega. A. Orlandos ('Η Όμορφη Έκκλησία, Athens, 1921, p. 13) more cautiously refers to it as lyre-shaped.

²⁴ Cf. 'Αρχαίον, II, 1936, p. 26, fig. 21; Μονή Βλαχερνών, second half of thirteenth century.

²⁵ Ξυλόστεγος Βασιλική, pp. 226 ff., figs. 212-221.

²⁶ See note 7. It is clear, of course, that this type of ciborium existed before the one in Santa Sophia; G. Soteriou, Χριστιανική καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, I, Athens, 1942, p. 179, fig. 101.

²⁷ H. Holtzinger, *Die Baustile*: 3. Band, Heft 1: *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Baukunst*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 75, fig. 77; M. Mazzotti, *La Basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe*, Città del Vaticano, 1954, pp. 215 ff., fig. 78. Date of San Apollinare in Classe, A.D. 549 (cf. W. Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, New York, 1947, p. 266).

²⁸ Mazzotti, *op. cit.*, p. 217, mentions a tradition of an "argenteo" ciborium (in connection with Pope John V) in San Apollinare in Classe. He thinks that the present ciborium was actually made for San Eleucadio and transferred to San Apollinare in Classe around A.D. 1000. If my suggestion about the columns is right then this might refer only to the canopy.

²⁹ Ξυλόστεγος Βασιλική, p. 476, fig. 437; cf. also p. 473, fig. 434 (not identified in the text). For another restoration of the silver ciborium cf. Antoniadou, *op. cit.*, p. 114, fig. 259.

³⁰ K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, pp. 184-185 with further references; also Pierce and Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 75, pl. 34 (from which our Pl. 52, a).

playing a lyre which is resting on a projecting low column of this type, hardly higher than a table leg. This is presumably inspired by the familiar ancient motif of a figure leaning on a column.³¹ Again, a relief from Baouit (Pl. 52, c) assigned to the sixth century has a very similar column in company with another composite column of more bizarre type.³² It is perhaps too much to postulate a conscious distinction in proportions between strictly sacral and more decorative applications of the composite column. More likely it was a matter of convenience. A mausoleum³³ at Souma Djazzia in Algeria, built probably in the fourth to sixth centuries of our era,³⁴ provides a prototype in stone for the equal composite column. Rather fanciful variations of this scheme, not to be taken seriously as imitations of real architecture, occur in manuscript illuminations.³⁵

ORDINARY SPIRALLY FLUTED COLUMNS

There are a few points of reference for the use and dating of ordinary spirally fluted columns. They were used for pulpits, as evidenced by the basilica of Nea Anchialos,³⁶ between Almiros and Volos, the sculpture of which has been specifically dated to about the mid-fifth century. One might expect them to have been used for ciboria as well, but I know of no actual example of this, and fragments of spiral fluting found in connection with Christian buildings may in some cases be the upper portions of composite columns (as those in Preveza from Nikopolis which I have not been able to control, and perhaps many in the miscellaneous groups of the catalogue appended to this article). They were employed in balusters (τέμπλα). Their use in supporting the galleries, perhaps even the lower arcades, of basilicas is suggested by the balustrades of Al Mafjar.³⁷

³¹ Cf. e.g., Chapot, figs. 127, 150.

³² Pierce and Tylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff., pl. 100, b (from which our Pl. 52, c). Notice that the upper portion of the lefthand column displays the so-called Treasury of Atreus pattern. Cf. also pl. 155, ivory, Aix-la-Chapelle. There is a similar example in Thasos, 'Αρχαίον, VII, 1951, p. 25, of pre-Justinian date.

³³ S. Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, II, Paris, 1901, p. 94 and inscription *C.I.L.*, VIII, 17654.

³⁴ Chapot, p. 133. There is no reason why the magistrate apparently referred to in the inscription could not have been a Christian.

³⁵ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, II)* Princeton, 1947, fig. 95. For date (ninth to twelfth centuries) cf. p. 73. Also *J. Warb. Inst.*, XVIII, 1955, pls. 2, e, f; 3, d.

³⁶ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1929, p. 24, fig. 26; reconstruction, p. 87, fig. 107, pl. Δ. Cf. also Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, p. 211 and Orlandos, *Ἐνδόστειγος Βασιλική*, p. 551.

³⁷ *Q.D.A.P.*, XIII, 1947-1948, p. 32; for eighth century date cf. *Q.D.A.P.*, X-XI, 1940, p. 47, n. 1. The column in the gallery of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom*, Basel, 1948, pl. 65, right) may be a re-used Roman piece. Cf. also S. Agnese f.l.m. (A. Porter, *Medieval Architecture*, New York, 1909, I, p. 58, fig. 38).

In connection with the architectural use of the ordinary columns I wish to discuss a few technical matters. The specimen from Nea Anchialos exhibits a curious feature which I have noticed occasionally elsewhere (Group 2), viz., a kind of pared-away head. A possible explanation for this might be that such a head was intended to be inserted in a socket prepared in the capital. A considerable number of other specimens (Group 3) have a small square or rounded sinking in the worked end which is simply a continuation of the classical usage in connection with drums.³⁸ All the spirally fluted and composite examples I have examined are, or appear to have belonged to, monolithic columns (except, of course, the archaic poros fragments from the Acropolis of Athens).

Ordinary spirally fluted columns, unless they are found with a capital, are very difficult to date. The only general criterion I am prepared to offer is that most monumental columns were probably connected with Roman theatres, as illustrated by a group I have isolated in Cyprus.³⁹ I therefore consider Group 7—pieces with a diameter of thirty centimeters or more—to belong to the Roman period. Even this is not an infallible criterion, as is shown by the fact that a column with a diameter of about fifty centimeters was employed to support the apse arch of St. Phokas in Syria,⁴⁰ dated A.D. 491/2 (Pl. 53, f). This could, of course, be a re-used Roman column (a point which only a local investigation of the matter could decide), but there can at least be little doubt that its windblown capital is contemporary with the construction of the church.⁴¹ On the whole, however, it seems fair enough to conclude that a sense for the monumental possibilities of spirally fluted columns was strongest in the early imperial period, as is evident in Roman theatre façades,⁴² in temple façades, of which an example (Pl. 53, g) confirming the many coin illustrations has been found at Lagon in Pamphylia,⁴³ and in propyla, such as that of Aphrodisias (Pl. 53, d). In Christian architecture, the type occurs seldom in a façade⁴⁴ (the only example I know is Pl. 53, h) but frequently in subordinate structures in the interiors of churches, less frequently as interior structural supports, and then one is inclined to suspect a re-use of ancient columns.

³⁸ Cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff.

³⁹ *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 385-387.

⁴⁰ H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, Princeton, 1929, Pt. I, pp. 69, 239, fig. 263 (from which our Pl. 53, f).

⁴¹ Cf. Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-142 for a characterization of the earlier classical type of windblown capital.

⁴² Cf. *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 386.

⁴³ *Annuario*, III, 1921, pp. 135-141, fig. 69 (from which our Pl. 53, g). Third century (?). For coin illustrations cf. Chapot, figs. 129-149.

⁴⁴ A representation of S. Lorenzo shows four spirally fluted columns in a façade of six; A. Lenoir, *Architecture monastique*, I, Paris, 1852 (*Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, troisième série: archéologie*), p. 116 (from which our Pl. 53, h). Such columns flanking church portals occur occasionally; cf. *ibid.*, II and III, 1856, p. 186, fig. 417, "Porte Romane à Patras."

The foregoing remarks seem especially applicable to our Group 6, possibly also to Group 5. Group 4, however, stands somewhat apart from the others. These columns generally have an elaborately moulded base and taper strongly. They are certainly to be explained as columnar supports for lustral basins, lamps or something similar, as Deonna supposed in the case of the examples found at Delos. The other specimens lack an upper termination but presumably, on the analogy of the Delian complete example, they did not have real capitals. For this reason, I have excluded the attractive colonnette Eleusis A (Pl. 47, e, f) from this category. It may be a little later than a capital from Latomou monastery assigned to the end of the fifth century.⁴⁵ The acanthus leaves of Eleusis A cling more rigidly to the central cylinder, but I take this to be the result of the fact that capital and column were carved from a single block, a not uncommon practice in subordinate Byzantine structures. It might be well to remark here that the spirally fluted column type seldom escaped being combined with the universally popular Corinthian capital (or some derivative of it).⁴⁶ The already untectonic spiral column was thus heightened by combination with a stylized symbol of the plant world into a particularly exotic creation which satisfied a human need for fantasy in a world which was becoming increasingly hieratical in government and religion.

CONCLUSION

The attempt has been made, on the basis of factors which necessarily remain somewhat tentative, to place in the light of historical consideration the numerous examples collected and described in the appendices. The use of spirally fluted columns and a composite variety related to composite Ionic columns is attested in Greece from Roman imperial times to the sixth century after Christ and possibly later. In the majority of cases association with ecclesiastical architecture or appointments is indicated or can reasonably be resumed. Regional studies like the present provide a basis for investigating iconographical and symbolic aspects of the spirally fluted column.

APPENDIX

A description, and in some cases a brief discussion, of each piece is presented in Section A on the basis of geographical distribution, with find-spots arranged alphabetically. This is followed in Section B by a grouping undertaken on the basis of types or, when this is not possible, by any available characteristics, including size. This is not the sort of categorization which can be called

⁴⁵ Δελτ., 1929, p. 154, fig. 14, p. 178. Cf. also Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 231, D, for a similar but unidentified Early Christian capital.

⁴⁶ Ionic capitals are represented in the façade of S. Lorenzo (see note 43) and sometimes on grave monuments (in miniature scale); W. Altmann, *Römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, p. 171, fig. 138; p. 214, fig. 173 (from which our Pl. 53, b). The Roman Tuscan capital is combined with spirally fluted columns occasionally, *ibid.*, p. 156, fig. 127 (from which our Pl. 53, c). Another example of Ionic capitals; G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, I, Rome, 1958, no. 226.

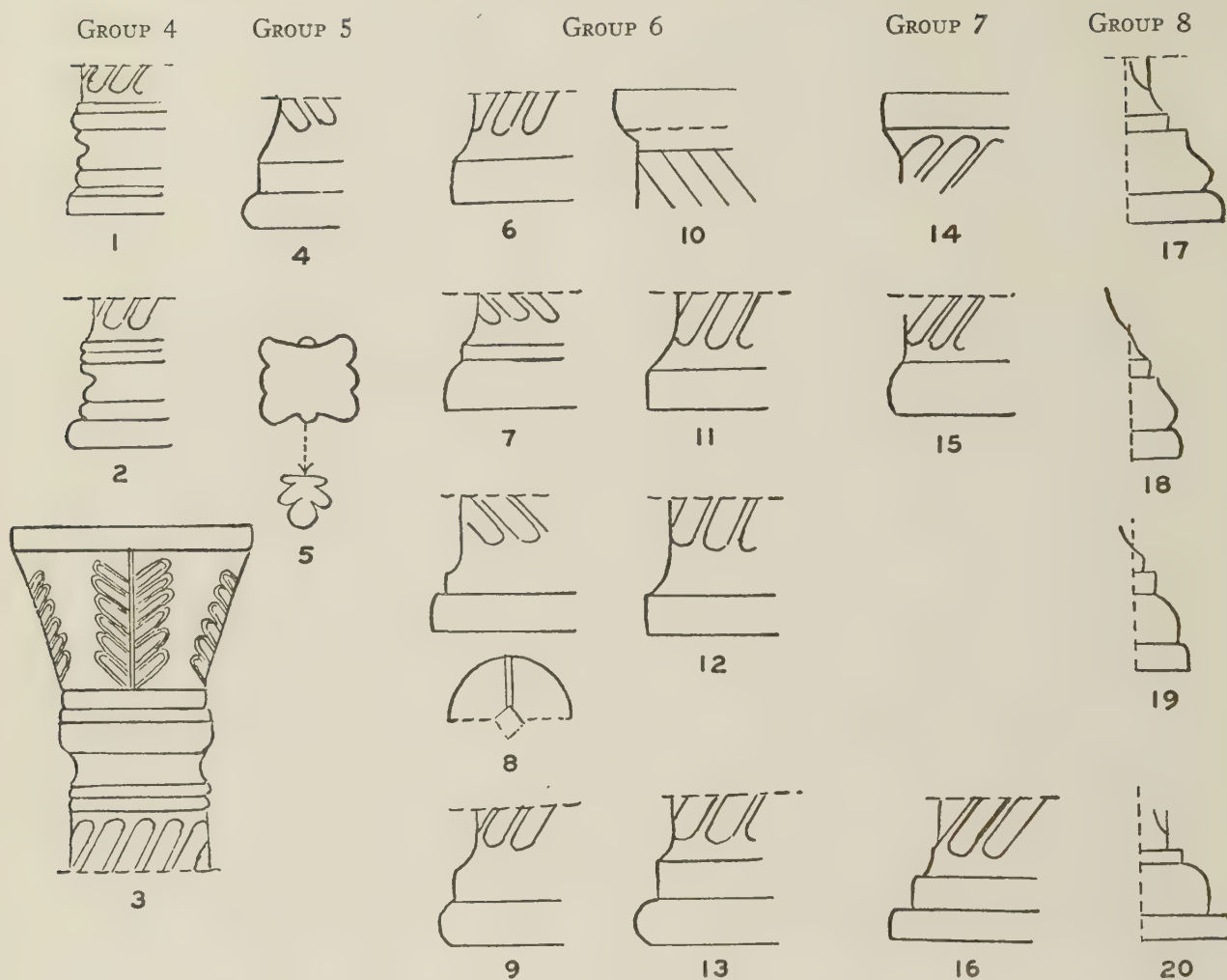


FIG. A (not to scale)

GROUP 4: 1. Eleusis B. 2. Epidauros. 3. Athens J.

GROUP 5: 4. Athens C 2. 5. Eleusis A, Top view and Detail of Palmette.

GROUP 6: 6. Athens H. 7. Athens I. 8. Ayious Deká B. 9. Kos D. 10. Athens M. 11. Kos E. 12. Kos F. 13. Samos.

GROUP 7: 14. Corinth F. 15. Kos C. 16. Naxos.

GROUP 8: 17. Athens G. 18. Piraeus A. 19. Piraeus B. 20. Piraeus C.

ideal; I cannot, however, at the present time offer anything better, for it seems the only basis on which to make a few general observations on possible chronology and use, as can be seen from the text. Some pieces are listed more than once under this system. A supplement on columns in Cyprus is offered in Section C.

Abbreviations used: L.—length; D.—diameter (of actual column, not worked end unless otherwise stated); Dist.—distance between centers of arrisses; Depth—depth of fluting measured from arrisses; H.—height of worked end measured to fluting; Rht.—righthand twists; Lht.—Lefthand twists. All measurements given in centimeters unless otherwise noted.

SECTION A: CATALOGUE OF MONUMENTS

ATHENS A 1-2 (Acropolis). Outside museum on north revetment. Two fragments, one seemingly broken at both ends (see below) with spiral fluting only (Pl. 45, c), the other certainly broken at both ends, with spiral and vertical fluting separated by a band of lightly incised continuous horizontal chevrons 5 cm. wide (Pl. 45, d). The two fragments, which have a diameter of 26.5 cm. throughout and are of the same marble, are obviously from the same monument, if not column. It was not feasible to test for joins. The marble is very light, almost white, but with gray streaks and weathers to a dark gray; in general, reminiscent of the coarser variety of Parian.

A 1: L. 88, Dist. 4.5, Depth *ca.* 0.3. One end may possibly represent a badly mutilated worked end but D. still normal. Rht. 10.

A 2: L. 73, Dist. 8.5 (filled fluting). Small hole 3.5 (D.), 4 cm. deep, bored in spiral fluting. Rht. 10.

One or both of these must be the column referred to by Belger, *Arch. Anz.*, 1895, cols. 15-16.

ATHENS B (Acropolis). Outside walls, on left side of path leading up to new entrance. Entire lower portion (filled fluting) preserved plus a small portion of spiral fluting (Pl. 45, b). Coarse white micaceous marble weathering to dark gray. Small hole bored in spiral fluting. Very flat arrisses in spiral fluting apparently influenced by extremely linear treatment of vertical fluting.

L. 108 (vertical fluting alone, 73), D. 30, Dist. 4.5 (spiral), 9 (vertical), H. 6, Lht. 12

(?), 10(?) vertical flutes (both estimated because piece could not be moved).

ATHENS C 1-2 (Acropolis). On terrace inside new entrance. Two fragments of dark gray limestone of which one preserves a worked end (Fig. A, 4; Pl. 47, a). It is quite possible that both belonged to the same monument.

C 1: L. 28, D. 16, Dist. 2.5, Depth *ca.* 0.3, Lht. 16.

C 2: L. 42, D. 14.5, Dist. 2, Depth *ca.* 0.3, H. 8, Rht. 16.

ATHENS D (Agora A 2718). Part(?) of column buried upright in ground on first terrace below Church of the Holy Apostles. 58 cm. exposed. Extremely battered and weathered. Rather coarse-grained light gray stone with dark gray mottling and much mica. An approximate diameter obtainable in only one spot because of extensive damage to one side, 21.4. Dist. 3.5. Arrisses extremely eroded. Number of flutes could only be estimated at 10 or 12 (Lht).

ATHENS E (Agora A 2707). Fragment in very bad condition, fluting nearly obliterated; traces of a worked end approximately 6 cm. high which seems to have been chipped away (Pl. 46, b). Light to dark gray flaky stone with some mica, in consistency between marble and limestone.

L. 37, D. 15 (may have tapered slightly), Dist. 2.5, Lht. 16.

ATHENS F 1-4 (Agora A 2708 a-b; A 2709 a-b). Fragments from various collections of

architectural fragments in the Agora. F 1-2 (A 2708 a-b) are badly eroded fragments of a very coarse granular marble, crumbly and with conspicuous quartz, weathering to a slightly yellowish gray. Very possibly from the same monument.

F 1 (Pl. 47, b): L. 20, D. 10.5 and 12 resp., Dist. 2.5, Depth (est.) 0.3, Lht. 7.

F 2 (Pl. 47, c): L. 27, D. 15 and 16 resp., Dist. ca. 3, Depth (est.) 0.2, Lht. 12.

F 3-4 are slightly better preserved, though jaggedly broken, fragments of dark gray micaceous stone in consistency between limestone and marble, and exhibiting large lumps of carbonized material. Probably from the same monument.

F 3 (Pl. 47, d): L. 36, D. 16.5 and 18 resp., Dist. ca. 3, Depth ca. 0.2, Lht. 18.

F 4 (Pl. 48, a): L. 26.8, D. 22, Depth ca. 0.2, Lht. 20.

In general, cf. *Annuario*, IV-V, 1921-1922, p. 35, fig. 2, in which an unidentified fragment of spirally fluted column from Ayia Pyriotissa is visible.

ATHENS G (Agora A 2710). Lower part of well-head with vertical wavy fluting and moulded base (Fig. A, 17; Pl. 51, f). Dead-white, fine-grained micaceous marble.

L. 21.5, Pres. circumference of base 26, Dist. 3.5, H. 9.8, Width of wall (to arrisses) 4.5.

ATHENS H (Kerameikos). Outside apothekē at corner of Kerameikos. Fragment preserving one worked end (Fig. A, 6; Pl. 48, b). Very coarse-grained gray to blue-gray marble weathering to a rather light gray-blue; in fair condition.

L. 88, D. 26.5 (apparently no taper), Dist. 3, Depth 0.5, H. 9, Lht. 20.

ATHENS I (Kerameikos). Location as foregoing. Fragment with one worked end (Fig. A, 7; Pl. 48, b). Blue-gray stone of rather poor, coarse quality, in consistency between limestone and marble, weathering to a bituminous appearance. Badly eroded on one side.

L. 58, D. 22.5 (apparently no taper), Dist. 2.5, Depth 0.3, H. 6, Rht. 20.

ATHENS J (Ναὸς Μεταμορφώσεως, Plaka, at foot of Acropolis). In a kind of alcove built onto the righthand side of the church, in which there are also other small Byzantine architectural fragments, one sees a small part of a tapering column with a moulded base (Fig. A, 3) buried upright in an earthen floor. The column appears to be of Pentelic marble and is subject to the depredations of continual moisture. On top of the base rests a capital of the same marble 27 cm. in height and flaring from a circular base to a 30 cm. square face at top. A simply stylized leaf pattern adorns the block. The question of the relation of capital to column and of both to the church is obscure to me (cf. 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1913, pp. 137-143 for a discussion of the history of the church, which is assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth century). The capital must surely be dated centuries before the construction of the church (cf. its similarity to a capital from the Asklepieion, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1915, p. 39, fig. 10) and may possibly have been used with the column on which it now rests. Professor Orlandos suggests a date in the eighth or ninth century for the capital, and in this case it is surely later than the column.

L. (above ground) 40, D. 19, Dist. 4.2, Depth 0.5, H. 18, Lht. 12.

ATHENS K (Odeion of Herodes Atticus). Lying just inside east portal are two fragments which join to comprise a complete column (Pl. 45, a). There is a certain amount of damage to both pieces around the fracture. Gray, rather coarse-grained marble which weathers dark. There is a simple worked termination at both ends. The base has a sinking 4.5 cm. square. On one side of the filled fluting there is a prominent well-cut sinking (82.5 cm. in length, 6.5 cm. in width, 2 cm. in depth), presumably to receive an orthostate. A band of horizontal incised chevrons (4 cm. wide) separates spiral and vertical fluting (cf. Athens A 2).

L. 224.5, L. (of spiral section) 146, D. 30 and 32 resp. giving a slight upward taper, Dist. 4, Depth 0.5, Rht. 16.

ATHENS L (Stoa of Hadrian). Fragment of flint-gray limestone in bad condition (Pl. 46, a). One end chipped away to less than diameter of column. This end is flat and has a roughly circular sinking 7 cm. in diameter and 5.5 cm. deep. Opposite end broken. Arrisses quite wide and blunt (not entirely due to weathering).

L. 55, D. 28.5 (no taper), Dist. 4.3, Depth 0.6, Rht. 20.

ATHENS M 1-2 (Theatre of Dionysos). Lying just behind the raised stage of the latest period are two fragments obviously belonging to the same column but not joining (Fig. A, 10; Pl. 48, d). Dark blue-gray fine-grained limestone now badly weathered. M 1 has a worked end from which there is a distinct flare to the largest part of M 2.

M 1: L. 71, D. 25, Dist. 3, Depth 0.2, H. 8.5, Rht. 22.

M 2: L. 67.5, D. 25 and 27.5, otherwise like M 1.

AYIOUS DEKA, CRETE A 1-2 (Main street).⁴⁷ Two fragments of gray(?) marble now completely whitewashed and used as pillars of a small porch (Pl. 49, b-d). Dr. Rizza was of the opinion that they belonged to the same column. I am puzzled by the supplementary fragments used to raise the spiral columns to the desired height. One of these has apparently vertical fluting, similar to, but not identical with, filled fluting (see Pl. 49, d). The other looks like, but may not be, a crude square capital (or cement base?).

L. of both given as 115, D. ca. 27 with a very slight taper in each column, Lht. 20.

AYIOUS DEKA, CRETE B (Museum). Fragment

with worked end, split laterally, half remaining (Fig. A, 8; Pl. 49, a). Rather fine-grained, yellowish marble with blue-gray veins (local?) There is a 5 cm. square sinking in the worked end with a channel ca. 0.5 cm. deep diagonally to perimeter (cf. Corinth D 2).

L. 21, D. ca. 20, Dist. 3, Depth 0.7, flat, well-cut arrisses 0.4 wide, H. 5.5, Rht. 20 (est.).

CHIOS. Column probably from the colonnade of the Basilica of St. Isidore; A. C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, II (planches), Athens, 1930, pl. 2c. Two columns are illustrated: one with concave fluting above, filled fluting below; the other has spiral fluting which becomes almost vertical in the lower portion and is left unfluted in the upper portion. If these belong to the sixteenth or seventeenth century period of the basilica, as seems indicated by the plan on pl. 1, then they must have been re-used or have remained from an earlier period.

CORINTH A (R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1957, p. 108, pl. 24, 43, AM 425). Fragment of Pentelic marble. "Treated at bottom with fluting resembling an Ionic shaft, above this with spiral fluting. Excellent work." As the author seems to imply, this is obviously Early Christian rather than mediaeval.

L. 104, D. at bottom 31, at top 26.

CORINTH B (Julian Basilica). In a pile of architectural fragments. Small piece of rather dark gray limestone with much mica. Very jagged breaks which have resulted in the virtual destruction of the piece. It can be stated with certainty that there were more than 17 twists.

L. 45, D. (est.) 28, Dist. 3.5, Depth 0.8.

CORINTH C (between Babbios monument and West Shops). Large fragment with simply worked end (Pl. 51, d). Coarse-grained white

⁴⁷ I am greatly indebted to Dr. G. Rizza for his kindness in furnishing me with photographs and measurements of these columns. Dr. Platon tells me there is also a spirally fluted column in Rethymno.

marble weathering to a light blue-gray and the appearance of limestone. A large sliver is broken free from the side of the column but still rests on it.

L. 107, D. 30, Dist. 4.3, Depth 0.4, Lht. 15.

CORINTH D 1-5 (Peirene Fountain). Various fragments obviously deriving from one monument (Pl. 51, b, c). All are of the same material, a white, somewhat coarse-grained marble with gray mottle, and same cut: Dist. 3.5, Depth 1, 24 twists, some righthand, some left-hand.

D 1: L. 150, D. 34 (possibly tapering), Rht.

D 2: L. 80, D. 30 and 32 resp. Remains of a sinking about 7 cm. square with a small channel 2.5 cm. wide, 1 cm. deep running off at right angles to side of square. Lht. Cf. Ayious Deka B.

D 3: L. 45, D. 33 and 34 resp., Rht.

D 4 (Pl. 51, b): L. 65, D. 33, H. 6. Simply worked end; very much battered. Lht.

D 5: L. 20. Sliver of same type as D 4.

CORINTH E (Lechaion Road, near city gate). Small badly damaged fragment of grayish coarse-grained marble. The worked end, pared down and badly destroyed, has remains of sinking at least 8 cm. square.

L. 22, D. 32, Depth 0.5, 24 twists.

CORINTH F (near Fountain of Glauke). Fragment with simply worked cut end (Fig. A, 14; Pl. 50, c). Coarse gray marble with considerable mica. Part of worked end missing. This has a roughly circular sinking 7 cm. in diameter. There is another sinking 6 cm. square, 5 cm. deep on the column itself.

L. 176, D. 38 (with possible taper), Dist. 4, Depth 0.9. Arrisses broad and flat. Lht.

CORINTH G (Acrocorinth). Large fragment standing upright on wall inside third gate of fortress. No details available. For possible provenance see buildings described in *Corinth*, III, i, pp. 21 ff.

DELOS A (W. Deonna, *Délos*, XVIII, *Le Mobilier Délien*, Paris, 1938, p. 55, pl. XXV, 174).

"White marble." No exact provenance given. Curious, apparently complete, column with spiral flutes in a very nearly vertical position, rising from a large tuft of acanthus. The low height (65 cm.) makes the purpose of the object uncertain but it must be a stand of some sort unless hollowed out (which is neither stated nor implied in the text). The fluting is terminated against a plain moulding at the top.

DELOS B (*Délos*, XVIII, p. 56, fig. 80). Fragment of white marble(?) representing the lower part of a column like pl. XXV, 176 of same publication. L. 57. Found in the ruins of a house between the Hypostyle Hall and the sea. The very schematic drawing makes it appear that the column is hollow.

DELOS C (*Délos*, XVIII, p. 56, pl. XXV, 176).

"White marble." Complete colonnette from north of the Agora of the Competaliastes. L. 64. Elaborately moulded termination at each end. Placed on a high square plinth. The sketch (*op. cit.*, p. 55, fig. 79) is poor and misleading; the flutes are cut, not moulded. The piece appears to be eroded.

DELPHI A-B. Among numerous architectural fragments on the first terrace parallel to the motor road between the museum and the sanctuary are two fragments of dark blue-gray, rather fine-grained limestone with some mica. Very probably from the same monument. I am grateful to Monsieur P. Courbin for procuring me the following information: "Elles ont été trouvées pendant la 'grande fouille' (1890-1904!) 'avec' beaucoup d'autres vestiges de date chrétienne. Elles ne figurent pas dans les croquis du carnet de fouilles."

A: L. 74, D. 22 (with slight taper), Dist. 3, Depth 0.3, Lht. 17. Very jagged break at each end.

B (Pl. 48, c): L. 98, D. ca. 22. Dist. and Depth as A. One end pared down to less than diameter of column. Same end has a sinking 2.5 cm. square, ca. 3 cm. deep. Lht.

ELEUSIS A (outside Museum). Fragment of a small column with simply stylized Corinthian capital carved from the same block (Fig. A, 5; Pl. 47, e, f). The marble is dark gray, fairly coarse-grained and does not appear to have weathered much although there is a certain hard, golden-colored incrustation over much of the surface, which is otherwise light-colored.

L. 35 (including capital which is 18.5), Width of capital block 15.5, D. 13, Dist. 2.5, Depth 0.25, Lht. 16.

ELEUSIS B (outside Museum). In a heap of architectural fragments at the side of the museum is a fragment of column with an elaborate moulded base (Fig. A, 1; Pl. 46, c). Dark gray coarse-grained marble similar to that of Eleusis A but not weathered nor encrusted. Professor Orlandos tells me that this was almost certainly part of a baluster.

L. 39, D. 17.3, Dist. 2.8, Depth 0.6, H. 10, H. (of plinth) 4, plinth *ca.* 22 square, Lht. 12.

Barely visible in the photograph behind this column is a sliver of another much larger fragment with fluting only slightly deviate from the vertical, something like Delos A.

EPIDAUROS (in front of Museum, near caretaker's house). Fragment with an elaborate worked end (Fig. A, 2; Pl. 46, d). Material is white coarse-grained marble, probably Naxian, with some gray imperfections, badly weathered on one side. The worked end consists of two narrow rings set on a concave, then a convex, element; below this, a plinth.

L. 66, D. 17.6 and 21.6 resp., Dist. 2.9, Depth 0.6, H. 8.3 (not including plinth), plinth 23 square, Lht. 12.

GORTYN, CRETE (opposite Ayios Titos). On river bank opposite Ayios Titos (on other side of river) is a large column (fragment?) buried upright in the ground (Pl. 50, e). Near by is another similarly placed column (exposed end *ca.* 117 cm. in height) with completely eroded surface (Pl. 50, d). Both stand only several

hundred meters distant from the cavea of the theatre, a circumstance which, taken together with their large size, lends credence to the natural assumption that they originated there (on theatre, cf. *A.J.A.*, VI, 1902, pp. 105-112; *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, cols. 178 ff.). The material of the spirally fluted column is a dark gray, coarse-grained limestone(?) with white spots. The exposed end has been chipped away to less than the diameter of the column and has a sinking 4 cm. square and deep. The arrisses are wide (0.8 cm.) and carefully cut, though now badly chipped.

L. 116, D. 43 and 45 resp., Dist. 4.5, Depth 1, Rht. 24.

Kos A (Casa Romana). In front of house enclosure. Large column fragment of dark gray, close-grained stone, basalt or something similar to basalt (Pl. 50, b). Cf. Kos C. Both ends appear to be roughly cut and one has a circular sinking 5 cm. in diameter and 7 cm. deep.

L. 153, D. 42 and 44 resp., Dist. 4, Depth 0.5, Lht. 24.

Kos B (Casa Romana). Fragment of column broken at both ends which have been evened up with cement (Pl. 47, g). Dark gray close-grained stone like Kos A. Only known provenance: courtyard of Catholic church formerly opposite Akteon Hotel.

L. 90, D. 18.5 and 20 resp., Dist. 3, Depth 0.4, Lht. 18.

Kos C (Kastro). On spit of land before Kastro at harbor entrance. I am indebted to Mr. Nikolaides for the information that this piece and others in the same location were probably collected from various places after the 1933 earthquake and that they had been built into buildings. Drum with simply worked end (Fig. A, 15; Pl. 50, a). Cut of unworked end quite rough. Material and cut same as that of Kos A. Considerable traces of a whitish incrustation which looks like stucco.

L. 125, D. 44, Dist. 4.3, Depth 0.5, H. 7, Lht. 24.

Kos D (Kastro, as C). Fragment of column with simply worked end (Fig. A, 9; Pl. 50, a). Stone similar to Kos A. Piece badly cracked and chipped.

L. 68, D. 24.5, Dist. 3, Depth 0.3, Lht. 20.

Kos E (Kastro, as C). Fragment of column with simply worked end (Fig. A, 11; Pl. 50, a). Small sinking at center of both ends roughly 4 cm. square. Stone similar to Kos A but lighter and more like marble in consistency. Numerous traces of incrustation.

L. 90, D. 27.5, Dist. 3, Depth 0.5, H. 8, Lht. 22.

Kos F (Kastro, as C). Fragment of column with simply worked end (Fig. A, 12; Pl. 48, f). Broken jaggedly and much encrusted (not stucco). Workmanship in general quite inexact, giving an asymmetrical appearance to the column, although the individual flutings are cut cleanly and sharply. Coarse-grained white marble (Naxian?).

L. 59, D. 25, Dist. 4, Depth 0.4, H. 11, Lht. 16.

LINDOS (Acropolis). In Commandant's Quarters, upstairs. Fragment of dark blue-gray marble, undoubtedly hewn on the Acropolis itself, roughly broken at both ends (Pl. 48, e). Arrisses cut squarely. I should not postulate any direct connection with the adjoining Ayios Ioannis tou Kastrou of the thirteenth century ('*Αρχαίον*', VI, 1948, pp. 80-83, figs. 64-65), unless it was re-used there, but possibly with a predecessor.

L. 68.5, D. 19.7 and 21.5 resp., Dist. 3.5, Depth 1.2, Rht.

There is also a tiny fragment of a much smaller spirally fluted column in the Commandant's Quarters.

MAVROMATI-ITHOME (Museum). On doorstep outside museum, a fairly well preserved fragment with an elaborate worked end on a plinth (Pl. 46, e). Light gray marble showing rust-colored stains.

L. 68.5, D. 12.7 and 19.7 (notice pronounced taper), Rht. 13.

NAXOS (Museum). Fragment with worked end from church in ruins of temple 'Sto Palati' (Fig. A, 16). Very dark stone, blue-gray in hue, which weathers to a volcanic-looking, completely honeycombed surface. Badly weathered.

L. 76, D. 33, Dist. 3.2.

Also in the museum are two fragments of a small column of a type suitable for stand or ciborium. Naxian marble. D. 10.2.

NEA ANCHIALOS A-B (Basilica). (G. Sotiriou, '*Αι Χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας*', Έφ. 'Αρχ., 1929, pp. 1-158). Soteriou, p. 24, fig. 26 shows a large fragment of fluted column with pared-down end. Apparently resting on it is a fragment of capital. Another column fragment of the same kind is mentioned on p. 95 (no. 4). A reconstruction of the pulpit to which this belonged is presented in fig. 107 (p. 87) and plate Δ.

NIKOPOLIS (Mosque). (Πρακτικά, 1914, p. 237, fig. 9, a). Rough sketch of a spirally fluted column with a moulded termination and above this a six(?)-sided capital. No dimensions nor other details are given. All the architectural pieces of fig. 9 are designated as Byzantine. Πρακτικά, 1915, p. 61, fig. 1, apse of the Christian basilica with a fairly large fragment of spirally fluted column (unfortunately in shadow) lying in a mass of debris. Perhaps 60-70 cm. in length.

PATMOS (Church inside Monastery of Ayios Ioannis Theologos). Casually illustrated in *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, 3, pp. 707-801, figs. 4, 5.

PATRAS (Odeion). Between modern street and Odeion (near wall of same) in underbrush. Two perfectly joining fragments in poor condition on one side and at worked end (Pl. 46, f). Coarse-grained white marble weathered to gray.

L. 101, D. 16 and 19 resp., Dist. 4, Depth 1, Rht. 12.

Cf. also A. Lenoir, *Architecture monastique*, II and III, p. 186, no. 417.

PIRAEUS A-C (Theatre). Numerous small fragments among the architectural debris with nearly vertical wavy fluting. Among these I noted three separate types of moulded base. Presumably the other fragments without bases belong to one of these types. Since in all cases the columns seem to have been hollowed out, they must be well-heads.

A: Close-grained light gray limestone (Fig. A, 18). L. 33, Pres. D. 53 (est. total D. 56), Dist. 4, Depth 0.6, Width of wall 5.5.

B: Close-grained light gray limestone with schist(?) (Fig. A, 19). Pres. D. 62 (est. total D. 70), H. 8, Width of wall 5.2.

C: Close-grained dead-white marble with mica (Fig. A, 20; Pl. 51, e). L. 55, Pres. D. 29, Dist. 4.5, Depth 0.5, H. 10, Width of wall 7.5.

RHODES A (Fountain house of Sultan Moustapha Mosque). The fountain house is an octagonal structure supported by eight Byzantine columns with separate capitals, all broken off about 3 cm. below the "abacus" ring (Pl. 45, e, f). Likewise bases are all separate, having been broken off just above moulding. The plinths were all originally tetragonal. It appears from material, cut, proportions and general effect that all members of the present peristyle (capitals, columns and bases, now rejoined artificially with cement) were originally created for one architectural complex. The only explanation which occurs to me for such a procedure is that the builders of the fountain house needed to reduce the height of the columns to suit their own specifications.

One of the eight columns is of the composite type with the two types of fluting separated by an undecorated ring. There is a roundish hole several centimeters wide at the upper end of the vertical fluting with a lump of iron in it. The marble (like that of all the other columns, capitals and bases) is rather coarse-grained with much mica and irregular pockets of dark gray osseous-looking material. Flakes and weathers to dark gray.

L. (without capital and base) 145.5, upper fluting 8.5, lower fluting (with ring) 60.5, D. 29.6 and 32 resp. (notice upward taper), Dist. (spiral fluting) 4, Depth 0.8, Dist. (filled fluting) 6.4, Capital 18.2 (height), Base 40.7, Rht. 16.

RHODES B (Museum). Fragment of a baluster; *Ἀρχαῖον*, VI, 1948, p. 18, fig. 13. Evidently serving as a division between two plaques of the orthostate, to one of which it is attached, is a small spirally fluted column with simplified Corinthian capital.

RHODES C (Ialysos). Fragment of a sarcophagus of the Asia Minor type; *Ἀρχαῖον*, VI, 1948, pp. 51-53, figs. 44-46. Spirally fluted columns with capitals very similar in appearance to Eleusis A.

SAMOS (Pythagoreion). Fragment built into garden wall of house on main street leading west out of Pythagoreion (Tigani) towards the Heraion; near edge of town. Worked end turned up and visible, lower end plastered into wall (Fig. A, 13; Pl. 48, g). Mottled dark gray close-grained limestone containing veins of coarse-grained white marble; said to come from Kouphia Spelia near Tigani.

L. 68, D. (est.) 28, Dist. 3, Depth 0.3, H. 10, Lht. 24.

SECTION B: SUMMARY BY TYPES

1. Composite columns. It need hardly be pointed out that, in addition to the examples listed under this category, various other fragments of spirally fluted columns listed under other categories could be the upper portions of composite columns:
 - Athens A 1-2, B, K
 - Corinth A
 - Rhodes A
 - Cf. also Ayious Dekia A 1-2
2. Columns with pored ends:
 - Athens E, L
 - Corinth E
 - Gortyn
 - Nea Anchialos A
3. Columns with a small sinking in the worked end (or cut end):
 - Athens K, L
 - Ayious Dekia B
 - Corinth D 2, E, F
 - Gortyn
 - Kos A, E
4. Small columns of type suitable for stands, lampholders, etc. (Fig. A, 1-3):
 - Athens J (?)
 - Delos B, C
 - Eleusis B
 - Epidauros
 - Mavromati-Ithome
 - Patras
 - Cf. also notes on Lindos and Naxos
5. Miscellaneous columns of small size,⁴⁸ under 20 cm. in diameter. This group is obviously related to the foregoing with which its pieces may in some cases be interchangeable (Fig. A, 4-5):
 - Athens C 1-2, E, F 1-3
 - Eleusis A
 - Kos B
6. Miscellaneous columns of medium size, between 20 and 29 cm. in diameter (Fig. A, 6-13):
 - Athens D, F 4, H, I, L, M 1-2
 - Ayious Dekia A 1-2, B
 - Corinth B
 - Delphi A-B
 - Kos D-F
 - Lindos
 - Samos
7. Miscellaneous columns of large size, 30 cm. or more in diameter (Fig. A, 14-16):
 - Corinth C, D 1-5, E, F
 - Gortyn
 - Kos A, C
 - Naxos
8. Objects with vertical wavy fluting (Fig. A, 17-20). These are noted here as being related to the theme of spirally fluted columns. They are almost certainly well-heads with the exception of Delos A. I have also noted a large hollowed-out drum (of vertical fluting) on the Athens Acropolis between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon (East side) which must certainly have been a well-head.
 - Athens G
 - Delos A
 - Piraeus A-C
 - Cf. also note on Eleusis B

⁴⁸ It should be noted that no dimensions are available for Corinth G, Nea Anchialos and Nikopolis.

ANALYSIS OF SPIRALLY FLUTED COLUMNS AT KOURION
(measurements in meters)

i COLUMN	ii MATERIAL	iii PRES. LENGTH	iv DIAMETERS (a) (b) (c) (e)	v NO. OF CHANNELS	vi ARRIS WIDTH	vii CHANNEL Width	viii Depth	ix PITCH L.	x F.	xi TWIST
A. Demeter	?Basalt, dk. gray	2.00	0.59	22	0.015	0.044	0.018	2.40 (?)	4.06	R
B. "	" "	2.32	0.58	22	0.012	0.042	0.019	2.024	3.86	R
C. Basilica	Marble, gray	0.93	0.31	20	0.008	0.025	0.005	0.97	3.73	L
D. Theater	" "	1.86	0.45	0.37	0.008	0.034	0.015			R
E. Curium House	" "	1.64	0.40	24	0.009	0.033	0.012			R
F. Turk. House	" "	1.57	0.446	0.39	0.007	0.030	0.010			R
G. Ay. Erm.	" "	0.40		0.39	0.009	0.028	0.010			L

SECTION C: ADDITIONAL COLUMNS IN CYPRUS

There are two complete columns lying outside the church of Kyra (Nicosia District), alleged to have come from the ruined church of Ayios Stephanos (Cyprus Survey Serial No. 207) in Kyra village. I wish to thank Dr. H. W. Catling of the Cyprus Survey for information and photographs (Pl. 51, a) of these columns as well as for permission to publish them.

A: L. 233.8, D. 26.7 and 30.5, H. 6.3, Lht. 16.

B: L. 241.5, otherwise as A.

Base: 42 cm. square at bottom, 35.6 cm. in diameter at top, 12.7 cm. in height.

These columns, being complete and of good workmanship, illustrate very well category 6 of Section B and were no doubt used in an interior colonnade of the church from which they came. There is in this case, however, no reason to suspect that they are re-used ancient columns; they must be contemporary with the church.

Mr. J. S. Last of Episkopi, Cyprus has kindly furnished me with an enlarged table of data concerning spirally fluted columns from Kourion, set up in a form which has possibilities for use in a corpus of such columns. It seems desirable to publish this here in order to facilitate comparison with the categories established for columns in Greece. I am responsible for an error which occurred in the transcription of a heading in his original table (*A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 386), which is, of course, superseded by the present table.

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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 54-56)

THE inscriptions here published continue the systematic exploration of the inventory of epigraphical texts discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The last such reports appeared in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 198-270, and above, pp. 65-90, 208-250.

DECREE

1 (Plate 55). A fragment of an official document, presumably a decree, preserves no more than ten letters and the remains of an eleventh, but this is sufficient to give it a date, to suggest within reasonable limits the width of the stele when complete, and to offer certain conclusions with regard to its association with other documents of the same period.

Fragment of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back, found on October 21, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (R 18). Part of the pedimental top, with mouldings, is preserved; the fragment is otherwise broken all round.

Height, 0.180 m.; width, 0.132 m.; thickness 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5032.

a. 164/3 a.

NON ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 34

[Ἐπὶ Εὐ]εργέτου [ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς (e.g.) Ἱπποθωντί]

[δος ἐνά]της π[ρυτανείας ἡ Διονυσόδωρος]

[Φιλίππου Κεφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν κ.τ.λ.]

That 164/3 was the year of Euergetes was demonstrated by Meritt (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 73-77), in connection with the publication of a decree honoring the prytaneis of Hippothontis, which is shown to have been the ninth prytany of the year (*Hesperia*, *op. cit.*, no. 22; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 95).

Other inscriptions of Euergetes could as a result be dated to 164/3 and augmented, where apposite, with the name of the secretary, hitherto not known; of these, S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 79, was reproduced in full with corrections and additions (see now *S.E.G.*, XVI, 96), and the didascalia inscription *I.G.*, II², 2323 could be restored at line 220 (*S.E.G.*, XVI, 141). S. Dow, *op. cit.*, no. 80 (= *I.G.*, II², 972), is also of the same year.

This fragment is clearly not a part of *S.E.G.*, XVI, 95, and the character of the lettering precludes an association with *S.E.G.*, XVI, 96. That it forms part of *I.G.*, II², 972, the upper part of which is missing, remains a possibility, but it is probable that this fragment comes from a stele narrower than *I.G.*, II², 972, which, as restored by Dow, was *ca.* 57 letters in width.

The letters ΤΗΣ in line 2 should belong either to the last part of the ordinal numeral of the prytanizing phyle or to the citation of the day of the conciliar month. If we consider the former possibility and select the phyle with the longest name, the restoration works out as shown above. To accommodate the second possibility would require a text of phenomenally wide proportions: in *S.E.G.*, XVI, 96, this formula occurs in line 5 of a stele 37 letters wide, 140 letters after the archon's name, and in *S.E.G.*, XVI, 95, a wider text of *ca.* 48-61 letters, it occurs in line 4. It appears to follow that the shorter version is to be preferred, and in that case the fragment cannot form part of *I.G.*, II², 972. Unless chance should associate it with some other stray piece, it must for the present remain isolated.¹

The secretary Dionysodoros, now fully established in history, may be further evidenced in No. 2 below.

DEDICATION TO EILYTHEIA

2 (Plate 54). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with smoothly dressed right side, top and bottom preserved, found on October 1, 1937, in the wall of a modern house west of the Late Roman Fortification (R 19). The top is a bearing surface dressed with a tooth chisel, and has a smooth band at the edges. A rectangular cutting pierces the block from top to bottom behind the first four letters preserved in line 1 of the inscription; its front edge is 0.13 m. from the front face of the stone. The inscription, in three lines, preserves the right-hand section of a dedication to Eilytheia.

Height, 0.118 m.; width, 0.217 m.; thickness, 0.294 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5016.

ca. a. 180 *a.*

[— — — — — ^{ca. 13} Φ]ιλίππου Κεφαλῆθ[εν]

[ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡ] μήτηρ Ἴλυθείαι

[ἀνέθ]ηκαν.

For dedications to Eilytheia see *I.G.*, II², 4547, 4669, 4682, 4793; of these 4669, with a name in the accusative, provides the closest parallel to the present text.

¹ Association with Dow, *op. cit.*, no. 81, is made impossible by the width of line; in Dow, no. 78, of approximately the correct width, the demotic of the secretary, Ἀτηνείς, is partially preserved.

Philippos of the deme Kephale was the father of Dionysodoros, the secretary of the year of Euergetes, 164/3 (see No. 1 above). On grounds of style this dedication may be attributed to the late third or early second century B.C., and it is worth suggesting that the lady whose fearful or grateful parents made so substantial an offering for her safe delivery in childbirth was the secretary's sister. If so, the dedication should presumably be dated a decade or so earlier than the secretary's year of office, but there is obviously room for movement of the suggested date within reasonable limits.

GRAVE STELE

3 (Plate 54). Upper part of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble found on April 4, 1938, re-used as part of the paving of a building of the Byzantine period (T 22). The lower part of the stele and the apex of the pediment are broken away; the inscription is complete.

Height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.

Height of letters, 0.01-0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5384.

saec. IV *a.*

Δεικράτεια Πρωτίου

Ἀλαέως θυγάτηρ.

The name Πρωτίας is of rare occurrence in Attic prosopography, and has not hitherto been specifically linked with this deme. Δεικράτεια seems to be new; its masculine equivalent, Δεικράτης, occurs on the island of Tenos,² but has not so far been found in Attica. Since the character of neither name seems to be at all extraordinary, this rarity is rather remarkable.

DEDICATION OF A CHOREGOS

4 (Plate 56). Inscribed fragment from a choregic monument, found on October 15, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (P 21). The top, left side, and rough-picked back are preserved.

Height, 0.227 m.; width, 0.38 m.; thickness, 0.273 m.

Height of letters, 0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 5051.

saec. IV *a.*

Ἀριστομ[.....^{ca. 15}..... ἔχορήγει]

Οἶνῃ(ι)δι πα<ιδ>[ων, ..^{ca. 7}... ἡϋλει,^{ca. 14}.....]

ἐδίδασ[κε,^{ca. 11}..... ἦρχεν]

² *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, line 100, 885, line 30; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1635 *bA*, line 53.

The engraving is not well done; the two *deltas* in line 3 are of unequal size, and in line 2 *nu* is written as though the engraver had begun to write a *delta* and corrected himself in the nick of time. At the end of the same line it appears that the engraver wrote ΠΑΔ, began to write an *iota*, ΠΑΔΙ, but then crowded it between the *alpha* and the *delta*; indeed he may even have made a first attempt to write the *iota* over the *delta*—hence the superficial semblance of ΠΑΙΝΙ as the reading at this point. It is however possible that the engraver's eye travelled forward on his copy, and that he wrote ΠΑΙΝ for παίδων. He has also omitted the second *iota* in Οἰνηίδι. Altogether a careless piece of work, especially if similar blunders occurred in the right-hand section now lost. The relative spacing of the lines requires comment, that of lines 1 and 2 being conditioned by line 3, the most widely spaced, in which according to the general pattern of similar monuments, the archon's name will have appeared, without patronymic or demotic. On the assumption that this name was a fairly lengthy one, such as Λυσισμαχίδης (archon 339/8 B.C.) line 1 will have consisted of *ca.* 30 letters and line 2 of *ca.* 37.

The formula employed, with the name of the phyle in the dative, is that of the Thargelia; see in particular *I.G.*, II², 3064-7; but in the Thargelia it was customary for two phylai together to provide the chorus, and in the present dedication there is room for only one. The formula for the Dionysia placed the phyle in the nominative and would have run as follows:

- (i) Οἰνηῖς παίδων ἐνίκα
- (ii) Ἀριστομ . . . , *patronymicum*, *demoticum* ἐχορήγει
- (iii) ὁ δέῖνα ἡῦλει
- (iv) ὁ δέῖνα ἐδίδασκε
- (v) ὁ δέῖνα ἦρχε

Cf., e. g., the monument of Lysikrates (*I.G.*, II², 3042), *I.G.*, II², 3052, 3054, etc. The respective positions of (i) and (ii), and of (iii) and (iv), may be reversed. The closest parallel for the present text among the monuments of the Dionysia is *I.G.*, II², 3061; and 3062 may have been similar. Since there was clearly a fair amount of variation in the terms of the formula employed, according to the wishes of the choregos concerned, it may be suggested that this dedication should be referred to a Dionysiac festival in the year of an archon with a long name, later rather than earlier in the century if one may judge from the character of the writing.

Since the choregos' name is regularly followed by his patronymic and demotic, there is likely, on the assessment made earlier, to be room only for ἐχορήγει rather than χορηγῶν ἐνίκα, more usual in Thargelia dedications. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 3063 (late 5th century?),³ 3072. This may offer an additional confirmation that the monument

³ See *S.E.G.*, XVI, 156.

should be referred to the Dionysia. In line 2 the name of the chorus-master is followed regularly by an ethnic only; with the flutist the ethnic may or may not be included; here, on the pattern proposed, it was clearly omitted.

GRAVE STELAI

5 (Plate 55). Upper section of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble with sculptured relief, found on March 7, 1938, in a disturbed late Roman context south of the Market Square (O 21). The inscription is written along the foot of the pediment; on the body of the stele, framed by a pilaster on either side, are two heads facing each other in high relief, each broken at the neck and badly battered. The head on the right is of an elderly bearded man; that on the left is of a woman. Apart from being broken at the bottom in this way the fragment preserves the original edges of the stele. The inscription is complete save for a chip on the extreme right.

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.635 m.; thickness, 0.113 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5311.

saec. IV *a.*

Σίμη Θεώνος Πλαταιική, Εὐκτῆμων Καλλιμάχο Σινωπε[ύς].

None of the names concerned appears among the citizens of Plataia or Sinope hitherto commemorated in Athenian inscriptions.

6 (Plate 54). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on January 27, 1938, in a late mixed fill west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 7). The rough-picked back is preserved; the fragment is otherwise broken on all sides. The inscription is written on a recessed fascia at the top of the monument below a plain rounded pediment.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.313 m.; thickness, 0.059 m.

Height of letters, 0.008-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 5186.

saec. IV/III *a.*

[...⁷⁻⁸...] ν Ἀριστοκλέους

[*vacat?*] *v a c a t*

It is a valid suggestion that a demotic of approximately eight letters may have stood at the beginning of the second line; the character of the fascia leaves room for it, even though it would not have been symmetrically placed. If this is so, one might go a stage further in proposing to restore the whole inscription as [Καλλιφῶ] ν Ἀριστοκλέους | [Αἰξωνεύς]. The family in which the names Kalliphon and Aristokles alter-

nated was a rather notable one in Aixone, and Kirchner (*P.A.*, 1856) constructed a stemma for it on the basis of *I.G.*, II², 1199, lines 10-11, and *I.G.*, XII, 8, 63 *b*, line 7. The Καλλιφῶν Ἀριστοκλέους of Kirchner's stemma was thus a cleruch on Imbros; it is his son who was honored, *ca.* 325/4, by his fellow demesmen in *I.G.*, II², 1199. If this gravestone provides further evidence for the same family, it could be of the next generation, the grandson of the cleruch, who had received, as commonly, the name of his paternal grandfather.

This is all very tentative, and other personal and deme-names will fit the spaces, but the suggestion has some plausibility in view of the other evidence and is worth putting on record at the least.

DEDICATION TO ARTEMIS Καλλίστη καὶ Ἀρίστη

7 (Plate 56). An interesting addition to our data regarding a lesser-known Athenian cult is provided by a dedicatory inscription which appears to have strayed into the Agora from a sanctuary outside the gate to the northwest, on the road to the Academy. It is cut on the front face of a rectangular pillar of Pentelic marble, smoothly dressed on all four sides and of the type more usually associated with herms, found on March 4, 1938, on the surface south of the Market Square (O 18). The pillar is broken below, and has been recut at the top; at the center of the upper surface is a square dowel hole. Above the inscription, part of the moulding which surmounted the front face is preserved.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m. (lines 1-2), 0.01 m. (lines 3-6).

Inv. No. I 5290.

a. 249/8 *a. vel paullo post.*

Κ α λ λ ί σ τ ε

καὶ Ἀ ρ ί σ τ ε

Ἀντίβιος Προκλέους

Φρεάρριος

[ιε]ρεὺς γενόμενος

[ἐπ]ὶ Πολυεύκτου.

The lettering is of the third century B.C. and the archonship of Polyeuktos in whose year Antibios' priesthood fell is to be dated to 249/8.⁴ Antibios is not a common name at Athens; it is not unreasonable to regard the priest of this dedication as a member of the family comprehensively commemorated in *I.G.*, II², 7717 and 7718,

⁴ W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940, p. xxi; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 315. That the priesthood was annual appears from *I.G.*, II², 788, lines 9-10.

of the previous century, the *stemma* of which is drawn up by Kirchner (*P.A.*, 982). The name Prokles does not occur among those there commemorated, but the family clearly had no hesitations in choosing its names widely.

The evidence for the sanctuary of Artemis 'fairest and best' rests on an account by Pausanias (I, 29,2), who saw *xoana* there, and on excavation by A. Philadelphus, who found a number of dedications, some of them inscribed, and suggested on the basis of his findings that the cult was a popular one.⁵ Pausanias alone gives Artemis' title as *Καλλίστη καὶ Ἀρίστη*; the dedications refer only to *Καλλίστη*, as do *I.G.*, II², 788 and 789, in honor of a priest of Kalliste, which were to be set up in the same sanctuary. From the same area, however, *I.G.*, II², 1298 (like 788 and 789, of the third century B.C.) makes no mention of a title at all, and *I.G.*, II², 1343 (first century B.C.) refers to a precinct and priest not of Kalliste but of Soteira. The dedication *I.G.*, II², 4695, to Artemis Soteira, has the same provenience.⁶ On the basis of this evidence W. S. Ferguson argued⁷ that Artemis Kalliste and Artemis Soteira were in fact united in a single cult with a single priest.

J. H. Oliver, in editing⁸ a new *titulus honorarius* of the imperial period concerning a priest of Kalliste which had been found in the Agora, hesitatingly adopted Ferguson's hypothesis in restoring (lines 5-6) [*Ἀρτέμιδος*] | *Καλλίστης καὶ* [*Σωτείρας*]. He was careful to note, however, in view of Pausanias' account, that *καὶ* [*Ἀρίστης*] was an equal possibility, and the discovery of the new dedication, which for the first time offers epigraphical evidence for the double *epiklesis* at Athens to corroborate Pausanias, adds weight to Oliver's alternative suggestion, which we may now be emboldened to adopt.

Oliver's stone may or may not have been transported to the Agora from the sanctuary near the Academy. I 1349, found in a late context near the Tholos, seems, like the present dedication, to be a *pierre errante*.⁹

DEDICATION OF PATRAS AT ATHENS

8 (Plate 56). A contribution to the history of Patrai in the early years following its restoration as a *colonia civium Romanorum* by the Emperor Augustus in 14 B.C. is

⁵ *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 155-163.

⁶ For other dedications to Soteira see *I.G.*, II², 4631 (uncertain provenience), B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 62-63 no. 28 (Agora Inv. No. I 1349). See also R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, 1957, p. 59.

⁷ *Klio*, VII, 1907, pp. 213-214.

⁸ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 242-243, no. 42.

⁹ On the sanctuary of Kalliste see also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², 1931, p. 412; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, 1953, pp. 219-220, 250 note 6. It is noticeable that these dedications retain the use of *epsilon* for *eta* in the goddess' name as late as the third century, a spelling perhaps regarded as sacrosanct and, for reasons of conservatism or superstition, not lightly to be altered.

provided by the remains of a dedicatory base which, with the statue it carried, offered the friendly greetings of the new colony to the Athenian people.

Three joining fragments of a bilingual honorary monument of Pentelic marble; two fragments (left and center: I 5370) were found on March 30, 1938, in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification (T 22); the third fragment (right: I 5210) was found on February 12, 1938, used in the curbing of a modern well south of the church of the Hypapanti.

Height, 0.143 m.; width (overall), 0.66 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.029 m. (line 1), 0.032 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 5210 + 5370.

paullo post a. 16/14 a.

[COL]ONIA · PATR[E]NSIS · CIVI[T]ATI · ATH[ENIENSIIUM]

[᾽Απ]οικία Πατρέων πόλιν [᾽Αθηναίων]

Pausanias, in his description of Achaia, mentions the decline of Patrai as the result of losses in the war against the Gauls (280-279 B.C.), when the men of Patrai alone of the Achaeans went to the assistance of Aitolia.¹⁰ That this account is an oversimplification has been demonstrated by Ernest Meyer,¹¹ but the value of the port in the communications-system of the Roman world, especially in the war between Octavian and Antony, gave it a new significance. Augustus refounded it as *Colonia Augusta Aroe Patrensis*, partly by concentrating in it the inhabitants of small settlements in the vicinity (Paus., VII, 18, 7) and partly by the introduction of time-expired veterans.¹² Strabo notes it as a city well-populated in his day, although Pausanias found that the women outnumbered the men by as much as two to one; he adds, moreover, that they were the most attractive women one could meet anywhere.¹³

The present text belongs to the earliest period of the refoundation, and its expression in both Latin and Greek is significant of the mixed population of the city and of its status as a Roman *colonia*. It is designated *Colonia Patrensis*, and it seems doubtful whether the addition *Augusta Aroe* ever entered into general parlance, although COL.A.A.PATR. is standard on the coinage. The Greek section of the dedication is written in an elegant monumental style which makes its Latin equivalent seem provincial by comparison. It is however from the Latin texts that the best confirmation of the date is to be had. Although by the middle of Augustus' reign monumental epigraphy in Rome had reached a high point of excellence, there was

¹⁰ Pausanias, X, 22, 6.

¹¹ P.-W., *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Patrai, cols. 2207-2209. Polybios assigns the chief disaster to the time of the war between Rome and the Achaian League (XXXVIII, 16, 4-6).

¹² Strabo, VIII, 7, 5.

¹³ VII, 21, 14.

much that was reminiscent of the republican style, especially in the script employed in longer or more crowded texts. A comparison between *C.I.L.*, VI, 1274 and 32323, for example, makes this abundantly clear.¹⁴ The style of the lettering in line 1 of the present dedication has much in common with *C.I.L.*, VI, 23532, of 14 B.C.,¹⁵ possibly the very year of the foundation of the colony at Patrai, and with the *Fasti Capitolini* inscribed on the Augustan arch in the Roman forum at the same period.¹⁶ While it is notoriously hazardous to assign dates for Latin inscriptions within narrow limits on the basis of their letter-forms, it may be claimed with reasonable confidence that the characters of P and S in particular make it desirable to date this dedication as early as may be.

There is some controversy, summarised by Meyer, regarding the year of the foundation of Patrai as a Roman colony. That this foundation fell between 16 and 14 B.C. is an acceptable hypothesis. During that period the term of service of legionaries enlisted for or retained after the Actium campaign would have come to an end. Dio Cassius places in 15 B.C. extensive settlements of veterans in Gaul and Spain,¹⁷ and Augustus himself refers to 14 B.C. the completion of payments in compensation for the land compulsorily acquired for the veteran-colonies.¹⁸ Meyer is perhaps too definite in naming the year 14 as the foundation-date of the colony at Patrai; 16 or 15 remain as possibilities.

The new dedication can contribute nothing to resolve so detailed an issue. It raises nevertheless some speculation about the relationship between Athens and the new colony, and whether Athens was in some way involved in the actual foundation. There is nothing, at any rate, to support so direct a connection as this; the two cities are not connected at this time in any other source, and it may be supposed that after the vicissitudes of the later Republic, Athens had sufficient leeway to make up for herself.¹⁹ However, it was a natural move for the new colony to inaugurate good relations with the most notable city of Greece, and the presentation of a statue as a token of goodwill, to stand in a prominent position in the neighborhood of the Agora, was a sensible way of doing so. What is more, both cities shared some sort of bond in that each had uncomfortable pre-Actian memories to live down. Antony had resided both in Athens and Patrai; and if Athens had placed statues of Antony and

¹⁴ As illustrated in A. E. Gordon (in collaboration with Joyce S. Gordon), *An Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions*, I, 1958, nos. 13 and 12, pl. 9, *a-b*. For the best monumental style of the time see also *C.I.L.*, VI, 701, 1244, etc.

¹⁵ A. E. Gordon, *op. cit.*, no. 15, pl. 9, *c*.

¹⁶ A. Degraffi, *Fasti Capitolini*, 1954, pp. 12-16, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, I, 19-20. Cf. L. R. Taylor, *Class. Phil.*, XLI, 1946, pp. 1-11, XLV, 1950, pp. 84-95.

¹⁷ LIV, 23, 7.

¹⁸ *Res Gestae*, 16.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman domination*, 1942, pp. 132-138.

Kleopatra on a lofty base at the entrance of the Akropolis,²⁰ Patrai could match this with a coinage bearing the head of the Egyptian queen.²¹

DEDICATION

9 (Plate 55). Part of an honorary monument of Hymettian marble, found on April 1, 1938, in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification (T 22). The top of the inscribed face is preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken all round. The inscription is written on a fascia above a moulding.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 5373.

saec. I *p.*

[Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου β]ουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ [τῶν]

[^{vv} ἐξακοσίων καὶ] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων [*vac.*]

The dedication groups itself with the series *I.G.*, II², 2803-2807, all of which are dated by Kirchner to the first century after Christ. A symmetrical arrangement seems to have been preferred in the setting-out of these inscriptions, and it is likely that line 2 was indented vis-à-vis line 1, the uninscribed space which must occur at the end of the line being matched by a similar uninscribed space at the beginning.

GRAVE STELAE

10 (Plate 56). Fragment of a grave monument of Pentelic marble, of which the top and left side are preserved, found on March 29, 1938, in a modern context over the Panathenaic Way southeast of the Market Square (S 17).

Height, 0.106 m.; width, 0.299 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 5360.

aet. Rom.

Πυθείδης Κλεάρχ[ου]

Ἀγρυλῆθεν. *vacat*

On the left side appears the single letter N, in larger writing, apparently a later addition and of uncertain significance.

²⁰ Cf. I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, p. 184.

²¹ *B.M. Cat., Peloponnese*, p. 23, nos. 14-15.

A Klearchos of Agryle is known from as early as the fifth century B.C.;²² apart from that there is no direct evidence to associate the name with this deme, although it is a name of fairly frequent occurrence. The only other instance of the name Pytheides known to me in an Attic context occurs in a list of prytaneis of the phyle Erechtheis of the year 367/6 B.C.²³ The Pytheides of that list is *Εὐωνυμεύς*.

11 (Plate 55). Fragment of an inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, found on March 17, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Market Square (P 20). It consists of part of the pedimental top of the stele, with acroteria; a disc occupies the center of the pediment. The inscription is on a fascia below the pediment; below the fascia is the roughly finished upper surface of a recessed niche. The fragment is broken at the right and at the back; chips are missing also at the top and left end of the inscribed fascia.

Height, 0.193 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5340.

aet. Rom.

[Ἄσ]κληπιάδης Μάρκου Κολλυτεύς, [...^α.⁸...]
Εἰρηναίου ἐκ Φλυ[έων].

The demotic ἐκ Φλυέων shows that the name to be supplied in line 1 belonged to a woman; she was the wife of Asklepiades. The persons named cannot be otherwise identified, and the names are familiar enough, although *Εἰρηναῖος* is less common in Attic prosopography than one might have supposed. In line 2 *Εἰρηναίου* is almost centered with regard to the line above; it is as if the demotic were added as an afterthought, although not as a hurried afterthought, as its lettering is in the same style as that of the rest of the inscription.

CATALOGUE OF PROMINENT MEN

12 (Plate 56). To the catalogue fragment I 5177 published by J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 74-75, no. 38, a new piece may now be added. It makes no join with Oliver's fragment, but its contents permit an alignment of the two sections of the text to be made.

Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on November 13, 1940, in a Dark Age context west of the Late Roman Fortification (T 20). The right edge and rough-picked back are preserved, but the stone is broken above, below and to the left.

²² *I.G.*, I², 398, II², 4136; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, 1949, no. 167. Cf. J. Meletopoulos, *Πολέμων*, III, 1947, p. 39.

²³ W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 231-239, no. 43, line 6.

The composite text of the two fragments (5177 = *a*, 5897 = *b*) is given below.

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5897.

ca. a. 175-185 *p.*

- [----- φαι]
 (a). δυντήν τοῦ Διό[ς. *vacat*] *vac.* (b).
 Ἀριστοκλείδην Θ[έωνος (?) Π]ειραιέα
 Αὐρ. Φιλωνίδην[ν^{ca. 8}]ν
 [Ἀ]σκληπιάδην[ν^{ca. 7} Παλ]ληνέα
 5 Καρίναν Δι[ονύσιον^{ca. 5-6}] *vac.*
 Τί Πομπήϊον[ν Φλαβιανὸν Πρ]εῖμον Γαρ
 γήτιον [*vacat*] *vac.*
 Τί Φλάουιον[.....^{ca. 12}.....Κ]λωπίδην
 τὸν πυθόχ[ρηστον ἐξηγητήν] Πυθίου
 10 Ἀπόλλω[νος-----] *vac.*
 Δεῦ· Ἴου[λιανόν-----]

If the lacuna between the fragments has been accurately assessed, the stele will have been approximately 0.48 m. in width; since I 5177 has its left side preserved, both edges of the stele are now defined. Of Oliver's restoration, that in line 1 – τοῦ Διό[ς τοῦ ἐν – –] seems invalidated for lack of space, unless the place-name was extremely short. The letters in this line are packed closely together; but the first letter is inset, as in the case of other short lines (7 and 10), and it seems advisable to postulate either an uninscribed space after Διό[ς] or a short epithet, e. g. τοῦ Διό[ς τοῦ Ναίου].²⁴ In line 9 Πυθίου must be added to Oliver's πυθόχ[ρηστον ἐξηγητήν], a supplement which admirably fills the lacuna between the two fragments.

Oliver dated his fragments to the last quarter of the second century, on the basis of the appearance of Carinas Dionysius among the ἐπέγγραφοι of an ephebic list of A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 2097, line 104). With the additional information of the surviving demotics it is possible to suggest one or two confirmatory points. In particular, two of the persons on this list make their appearance also in *S.E.G.*, XIV, 92, a prytany-catalogue of A.D. 182/3: in lines 13 and 14, among the Γαργήτιοι occur Δέκκιος Ἰουλιανός and Πομ. Φλαβιανός. Although in editing fragment *a* of the present text Oliver thought of the name Δέκμος Ἰούνιος in connection with line 11 (his line 12),

²⁴ Uncommon at Athens, but *I.G.*, II², 4707, affords a parallel. Σωτήρος is too long a supplement. However, since it may be unwise to postulate an organised cult at Athens of Zeus of Dodona, it is not impossible that, e.g., Φιλίου could be accommodated here.

and in his original publication of *S.E.G.*, XIV, 92,²⁵ he proposed Πομ(πώνιος) as the full form of Flavianus' *nomen* (a proposal also adopted in *S.E.G.*), it is tempting to suggest the identity of this pair in the two texts; this would lead to the reading Πομ(πήϊος) in *S.E.G.*, XIV, 92, line 14, and to Δέκ(κιον) Ἴου[λιανόν in line 11 above. Flavianus may have had an additional name, which, in view of the limited space available, has a strong chance of being Πρεῖμος.

If this catalogue may be brought more specifically into relation with a catalogue of 182/3, it is perhaps reasonable to narrow its proposed dating to the decade 175-185. One further, though tenuous, point may be added. Among the Athenians of the name Asklepiades hitherto known, there have been several identified with the deme Pallene. In *I.G.*, II², 1076, as republished with additional fragments by O. Broneer in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 178-184, no. 45, the decree in honor of Julia Domna was moved by a certain Ἐλπιδηφ[όρος] Παληνε[ύς] (lines 9-11), who was presumably a person of some consequence. Of his patronymic only the final letters ΔΟΥ survive, leaving a lacuna of six or seven spaces. The letter before *delta* was printed by Broneer as a probable *alpha*. To restore [Ἀσκληπι]άδου therefore conforms to the data, and the presence of Asklepiades of Pallene among a list of distinguished men of the previous generation suggests that this was a family which remained prominent in public life. The name Elpidephoros is too long to be restored as the patronymic in line 4 of the inscription under discussion, where the lacuna can take eight letters at most.

DEDICATION TO APOLLO ὑπ' Ἀκραῖς

13 (Plate 56). Fragment of a thin slab of Pentelic marble, found on January 26, 1938, in a Turkish fill over the Panathenaic Way (S 19). The rough-picked back is preserved, but the fragment is otherwise broken all round.

Height, 0.102 m.; width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5170.

s. II p.

Inscribed within a wreath

Εὐφημ[ος]

Εὐδῆμ[ου]

Γαργήττ[ιος]

Ἀπόλλω[νι]

5 ὑπ' Ἀκρα[ις].

A number of dedications to Apollo ὑπ' Ἀκραῖς or ὑπὸ Μακραιῖς²⁶ (with one

²⁵ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 48-49, no. 11.

²⁶ To Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραιῖς *I.G.*, II², 2891, 2897-8 (restored), 2902 (restored), 2907-12 (2908

example of a dedication to Apollo ὑποακράϊος) have been found in this same area, and this one may now be added to the list provided by Wycherley.²⁷ Wycherley notes that, since many of these dedications are made by archons, it is tempting, though without certain foundation, to suggest that the Thesmotheteion lay close to this section of the Agora. It must in any case have been not far away.

But the location of the Thesmotheteion is not necessarily in point here. The majority of dedications of this kind published in *I.G.* are designated as found "prope antrum Apollinis"; this cave was on the north slope of the Acropolis,²⁸ and, since inscriptions have tended to move downwards from that area into the southwest corner of the Agora, as is also the case with many stones which must have stood near the Prytaneion, it may safely be assumed that the Agora dedications should be associated with the shrine rather than the Thesmotheteion, or at least that no argument concerning the site of the latter should be based on the fact that they have been found in this area.

It is also noteworthy that this cult seems to have been late in developing. None of the surviving dedications antedates the first century after Christ, and most are probably of the second century. It may have been a late growth to give the archons a religious focus analogous to that of Apollo Prostaterios (perhaps Pausanias' "Apollo in the Bouleuterion") which had long been particularly associated with the prytaneis. If this is so, and if the dedications are arrivals in the Agora from a point higher up the slope, it may in that case be permitted to reinforce the suggestion that the Thesmotheteion itself was situated not in the Agora but near Apollo's cave, perhaps not far from the Prytaneion as located in this area, which was mentioned by Pausanias.²⁹ H. A. Thompson's suggestion³⁰ that it may have stood in the Agora itself seems, on the evidence, unattractive.

DEDICATION TO THE DIOSKOUROI

14 (Plate 56). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on February 15, 1938, in a small Byzantine pit southeast of the church of the Hypapanti (U 22). The smoothly dressed left side and the rough-picked back are preserved.

and 2912 restored), 2915, 2924 (restored), 2929, 2930 (restored), J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 252, no. 55 (restored), p. 253, no. 56.

To Apollo ὑπ' Ἀκραις *I.G.*, II², 2893-4, 2922, J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 252, no. 54 (restored), p. 253, no. 57.

To Apollo ὑποακράϊω *I.G.*, II², 2914.

²⁷ R. E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, p. 179.

²⁸ Cf. O. Broneer and M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 247-272.

²⁹ Pausanias I, 18, 3-4, 20, 1. See I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, pp. 103 and 234 note 18 (bibliography). That the Thesmotheteion was situated above the Agora near the cave was first suggested by Köhler and is supported by Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 303.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 45 note 14.

Height, *ca.* 0.12 m.; width, *ca.* 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5231.

s. II/III *p.*
 [κατὰ] ἐνσέβ[ειαν]
 Νικόδικος [ὁ καὶ]
 Χαρίτων [vac. ?]
 Ἀζηνιῆ[ς]
 5 Διοσκοῦ[ροις]
 [ἀνέθηκε ?]

The spacing of line 4 is a little more generous than that of other lines, as if to give some balance to the inscription, and this leads me to believe first that the length of line was short and secondly that in line 4 itself it would be unwise to restore Ἀζηνιῆ[ς τοῖς]. If a longer line were permissible, the Χαρίτων of line 3 would suggest for line 2 Νικόδικος [ιερεὺς δήμον καὶ]; but in imperial times the cult of Demos and the Charites included that of Rome, and line 3 would then read Χαρίτων [καὶ Ῥώμης]³¹; in consequence of this the demotic in line 4 becomes awkward to accommodate. Lines 2-3 could also be supplied Νικόδικος [vac.] Χαρίτων[ος], which remains a possible alternative; by this period, however, the formal expression of *nomen, patronymicum, demoticum* is less to be expected, and Χαρίτων occurs as the second name of a certain Ἀντίοχος in its only other appearance in Attic epigraphy known to me (*I.G.*, II², 2061, line 31, for which see also M. T. Mitsos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950-1951, pp. 33-37).

The find-spot of the dedication coincides with the area to which the Anakeion must be assigned, and this inscription may therefore be added to those collected by Wycherley, *Testimonia*, under nos. 133-151.

GRAVE STELE

15 (Plate 56). Upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble with pedimental top, found on January 28, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Market Square (N 21). Part of the pediment and part of a circular medallion which decorated the stele below the inscription are preserved, as are the left edge and rough-picked back. There are also the remains of an iron dowel in the left side.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5203.

s. II/III *p.*
 Ἀρτεμεισία [. . .^{ca. 6} . . .]

³¹ Cf. *I.G.*, II² 3547, 5047; R. E. Wycherley, *Testimonia*, no. 131.

Μιλησία, Ἀφρ[οδᾶ τοῦ]
 Ἀνδρομάχο[υ . . .^{ca. 6} . . .]
 γυν[ή].

The final *alpha* of line 1 is cut over an *omicron* imperfectly erased, as though the engraver absent-mindedly began to inscribe the masculine form of the name and corrected his error as best he could. The rest of line 1 was presumably occupied by a short patronymic, and in line 3 a short demotic or ethnic such as Φλυέως must be supplied. The chief problem occurs in line 2: the normal form of such an inscription would run Ἀρτεμεισία *patronymicum* Μιλησία Ἀνδρομάχου *demoticum* γυνή, but here an additional name intervenes between the woman's ethnic and the name of her husband. The choice lies between a Roman *nomen* for the husband or the assumption that Ἀνδρομάχου is the husband's patronymic; for the first cf. *I.G.*, II², 9422—Ἀρέσκουσα Μητροδώρ[ου] | Μιλησία, Ἰουλίου | Διονυσίου Φυλασίου | γυνή, and for the second cf. *I.G.*, II², 9504—Διονυσία Διονυσίου | Μιλησία, Θεοφράστου | τοῦ Διονυσίου | [Λ]ευκονοέως | γυνή. To take the second alternative first, the addition of τοῦ would seem to be required, which not only comes rather awkwardly in the line preceding Ἀνδρομάχου but also, even if 7 or even 8 letters could be restored in line 2, restricts the possibilities among available names; Ἀφροδᾶς would alone be apposite.⁸²

Under the first alternative also choice is restricted, since a recognized *nomen* is alone in point and combinations of Greek names by themselves, e. g., Ἀφρ[οδίσιος] Ἀνδρόμαχος, cannot be proposed. Ἀφράνιος is however a reasonable suggestion, and the Afranii were not without their eastern connections; the family of the consul of 61 B.C. is commemorated in *S.E.G.*, XIV, 644, from Kaunos, and an Afranius Flavianus is known as legate in Asia Minor in the second century after Christ.⁸³ *C.I.L.*, III, 533, from Epidauros, also records the single word *Afranii*. The Afranii could thus have been responsible for Greek *liberti* from whom Andromachos was descended. The lay-out of the inscription seems to suggest *ca.* 7 letters as the most reasonable supplement, and the line may therefore be restored as shown.

Andromachos is a remarkably rare occurrence in Attic prosopography, and no identifications for the persons here named can be proposed.

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⁸² Cf. e.g. *I.G.*, II² 2001, line 25 (see M. T. Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1950-51, pp. 27-28), 2064, line 26(?), 2124, line 23, 2160, line 41, etc. The name occurs several times also at Tegea, *I.G.*, V, 2, 50 and 55.

⁸³ *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, pp. 127-147, no. 27, J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia (Hesperia)*, Suppl. VI, 1941), pp. 55-85, no. 3, with bibliography.

ROADS AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 57-58)

TWO opportunities have presented themselves recently to fix the position and direction of roads outside the northwest corner of the Agora. The first came in 1956 when foundations were dug for a new building at No. 7 Hadrian Street. The second came in similar circumstances in 1958 at No. 11 Hastings Street.

A glance at the accompanying plan (Fig. 1) will show the importance of these discoveries in determining the general lay-out of the area. We see that three important roads converge on the northwest corner of the Agora, two of them from a north-westerly direction, from the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate respectively, the third from the north. These roads enter the Agora at odd angles which must have made the architectural treatment of this corner of the square very difficult. The Eridanos too certainly passed this point, although its exact course is not known, and will have further complicated the situation. We will, of course, not know for certain how the problem was solved until the area is opened up by excavation, but we may perhaps form some idea from the analogous situation at the southwest corner of the Agora as it was before the construction of the Middle Stoa. Here we find, between the Tholos and the Southwest Fountain House, a wedge shaped area bounded by two streets and occupied by several buildings of irregular plan. In the similar areas at the northwest corner there were probably also small buildings; those known from literary sources which we might expect to find there are the Leokorion and the barber shop by the Herms which was frequented by the men from Dekeleia. In any case, it seems clearer now than ever before that no large building could have stood at the northwest corner of the Agora, and that the stoa with the projecting wings, already excavated, was the first building of importance on the right as one entered the Agora and must therefore have been both the Royal Stoa and the Stoa of Zeus.¹ The brief reports that follow give details of the excavations in the two lots.

¹ This idea, originally proposed by Valmin, was first set forth in detail by Thompson. Martin and Wycherley have been among its principal supporters. Those who oppose this idea and believe that the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa were two separate buildings generally identify the building with the projecting wings as the Stoa of Zeus; they differ widely, however, in their suggestions as to the location of the Basileios or Royal Stoa. Most are content to leave it vaguely somewhere to the north without specifying a definite position or a precise form for the building. Travlos once suggested setting it at an angle presenting a narrow end to the Agora and a long side to the Panathenaic Way, but he no longer shows it on the plans in his book on the development of the city. Rumpf and Orlandos see in the three aisled building on the shoulder of Kolonos Agoraios north



FIG. 1. Plan of the Agora, Early Third Century B.C.

of the Hephaisteion a building of basilica type and this, they argue, must be the Basileios Stoa, the ancestor of all basilicas. The building in question is, however, not on the Agora and is not Classical in date but Hellenistic (*ca.* 250 B.C.), two points which appear to be fatal to this idea. Edwards has recently suggested that this building may have been the headquarters of the military treasurer.

It is beyond the scope of this footnote to give a full bibliography of the controversy. Some of the principal articles and books are, however, listed below in chronological order, and through them others can be traced; Martin's *B.C.H.* article is particularly well documented. The ancient testimonia are conveniently assembled in Wycherley's book.

INVESTIGATIONS AT NO. 7 HADRIAN STREET

WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH MR. S. CHARITONIDES,
 EPIMELETE OF ANTIQUITIES

During the spring of 1956 a small two-storey house at No. 7 Hadrian Street was demolished for the purpose of erecting a new and larger building. The lot on which the house stood lies to the north of Kolonos Agoraios on the presumed line of the ancient Panathenaic Way or Dromos, the main street leading from the Dipylon Gate to the Agora (Fig. 1). Because of the significance of the location, the work of demolition and the subsequent digging of the basement for the new house were observed by the authors, at the request of Mr. John Meliades, Director of the Acropolis, and a trench was dug under their supervision to explore the deeper levels not reached by the house builders. Mr. John Travlos has kindly drawn the plan (Fig. 2).

The house which was demolished was built almost entirely of newly quarried stone and no re-used ancient blocks or fragments were noted in it. The cellar for the new building was dug to a depth of three meters over the entire lot. Down to this level the earth was soft and loose and nothing of interest appeared. Below this level eighteen pits of various sizes were sunk for another meter or so as foundations for the concrete piers for the new building.

In digging these pits, house walls and pithoi of Byzantine times began to appear just below the general cellar level, particularly in the western part of the lot. Along the entire southern edge of the lot the fill was sandy and quite hard, beginning at a

N. Valmin, *Bull. Lund*, 1933-1934, pp. 1-7.

O. Walter, *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936-1937, Beiblatt, pp. 95-100.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 64-76, 225-226.

A. Rumpf, *Jahrb.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 115-125.

R. E. Wycherley, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 95-96.

U. Kahrstedt, *Arch. Anz.*, 1941, cols. 92-99.

R. Martin, *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-1943, pp. 274-298.

R. E. Wycherley, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, pp. 152-155.

J. Travlos, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 389-390.

E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 128.

R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, 1951, pp. 319 ff.

The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations (1954), pp. 50-52.

A. K. Orlandos, 'Η Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική τῆς Μεσογειακῆς Δεκάνης, Athens 1954, Vol. I, pp. 64-67, note 1; p. 66, fig. 39a.

H. Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*, 1955, pp. 10, 11, 32.

R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957, pp. 21-31.

G. R. Edwards, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 334-337.

J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, 1959.

R. E. Wycherley, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, II, 1959, pp. 31, 37-39.

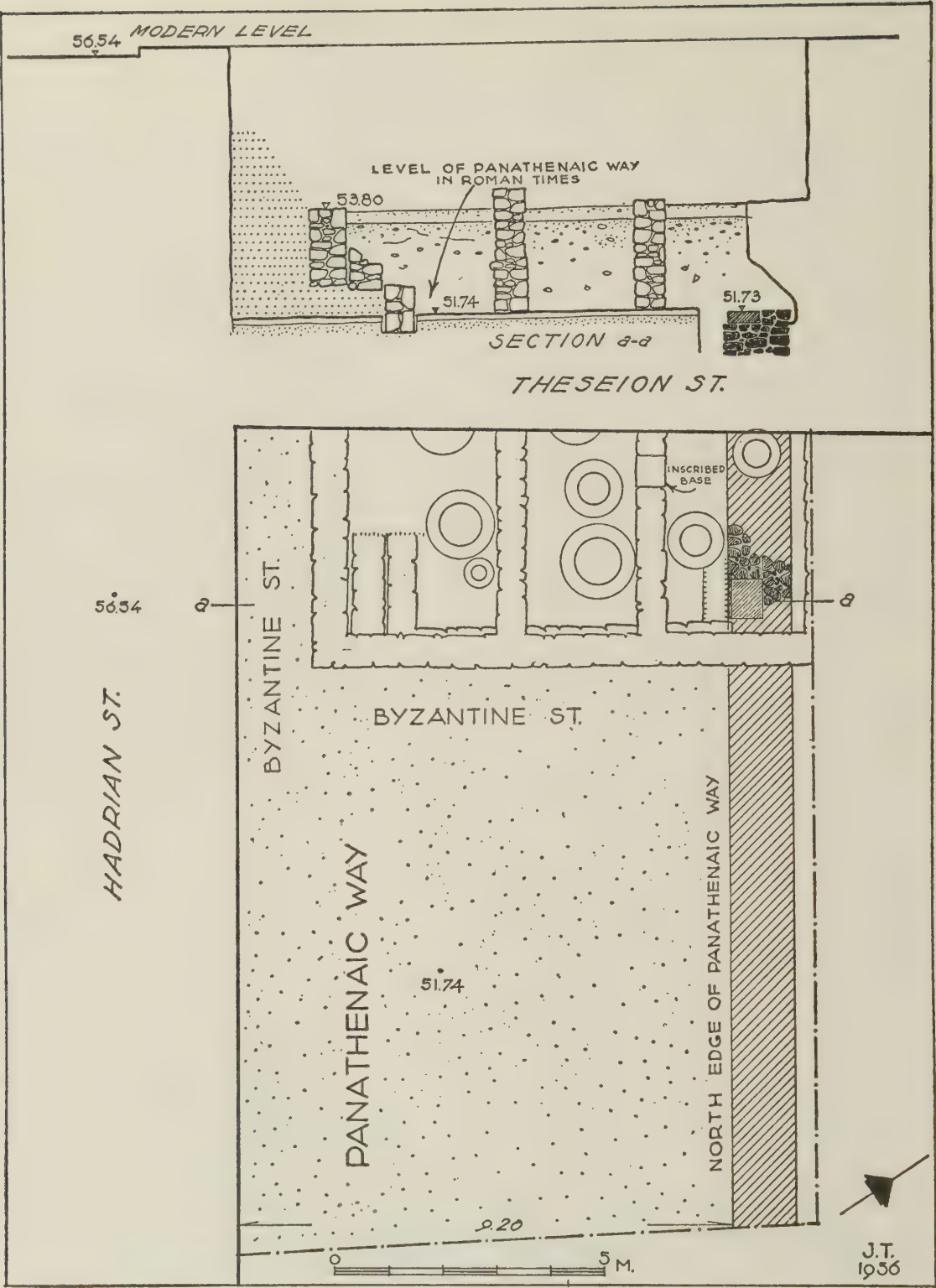


FIG. 2. Plan and Section of the Excavation at No. 7 Hadrian Street.

depth of about 2.50 m. from the surface, clearly indicating a road of Byzantine times running beside the houses. Since it seemed probable that this Byzantine road was the successor of the classical Panathenaic Way, it was decided to dig a trench into the deeper levels to fix the position of the earlier road if possible.

THE BYZANTINE HOUSE

In the western part of the lot there were considerable remains of the foundations of a house of Byzantine times. The house as we uncovered it consisted of three rooms. Parts of the exterior walls on the south and east were preserved. To the north just at the edge of the lot the south face of a wall appeared which may have been the north exterior wall. To the west the walls continued under Theseion Street and no limit was fixed.

In the southern room three storage pithoi were noted. In the middle room there were also three. In the northern room there were two. Nothing of interest was found in any of the pithoi, and several of them were quite empty with their cover slabs in place. An inscribed base with a list of bouleutai, to be published by Mr. Charitonides, was built into the wall separating the central from the northern room.

Three building periods could be distinguished in the house. Very little was preserved of the walls of the earliest period; a pithos in the southern room whose mouth was at a very low level probably belongs to this earliest period. In the second period the house was completely rebuilt, and the main walls that we found belong to this period as do most of the pithoi. This house was destroyed and subsequently rebuilt on the same foundations but with a higher ground level. The mouths of some of the pithoi were raised by means of a cylindrical collar of masonry to adapt them for use in the latest house.

Some brown glazed pottery of the tenth century which was found in the area probably indicates the date of the first house. A bowl decorated with a bird dating from the late twelfth century found below the level of the floor of the last period suggests a date for the destruction of the second house and its subsequent reconstruction. The Byzantine houses excavated in 1936 and 1939 south of Hadrian Street at this point had a similar history.²

To the east of the house there appears to have been a street, the continuation of a north-south street noted in the excavation just mentioned south of Hadrian Street. East of this street a few bits of walls of Byzantine times were noted at various points in the lot, but no plan could be recovered.

Deep down below the east foundation of the Byzantine House, and with a slightly different orientation, there was a rubble wall that may date from late Roman times.

² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 342.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY

In order to fix the position of the classical Panathenaic Way or Dromos we dug a north-south trench across the western part of the lot in the area of the Byzantine House. The trench (a-a on Fig. 2) was two meters wide at the top; lower down its width was reduced in places to as little as 0.30 m. because of the pithoi that were encountered.

Outside the house to the south our trench cut down through gravel road fill as far as we dug showing that there had been a road in continuous use here. We stopped at a very hard layer about five meters below the modern surface. Sherds above this layer were still late Roman, as late as the sixth century after Christ. Within the area of the house the fill was disturbed by the house builders for a depth of about two meters (five meters below the modern surface). Below this we came on an extremely hard road level. This road extended almost the whole length of our trench. At the north end of the trench, however, we found the edge of the road bordered by a wall of Roman times perhaps as early as the second century after Christ. The wall, 1.12 m. wide, was built of small rough stones set in cement and had in its euthynteria course a limestone block with drafted edge, re-used upside down (Pl. 57, a). There had clearly been similar limestone blocks to the right and left of the block found in position, but they had been removed. In front of the wall was a soft trench, 0.50 m. wide and 0.65 deep, perhaps for a drain.

A wall of exactly the same construction was found by Dörpfeld in 1897 when he made a small excavation at No. 3 Hadrian Street (Phinopoulos lot) some fifty meters to the west. Dörpfeld never published a detailed account of this excavation. A sentence in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 478-479 announces the start of the work; another sentence in *Antike Denkmäler*, II, 1899-1901, text to pl. 37, p. 1, reports the discovery of the Dromos; and the map, *ibid.* pl. 37, shows in squares C 1 and C 2 the remains he discovered.³ In the files of the German Institute in Athens, however, there exist several photographs made at the time of the excavation which show the remains quite clearly.⁴ We reproduce two of them here through the courtesy of Dr. Emil Kunze, Director of the German Institute. One of them (Pl. 58, a) shows a great depth of ancient road fill, and in the foreground the foundations of a building bordering the road.⁵ The other (Pl. 57, b) shows another portion of the wall of the building bordering the Dromos with two poros blocks with drafted edges in position in a thick

³ Cf. also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 185, plan I, D 3, D 4.

⁴ The photographs in question are in the series *Athen Bauten*, numbers 151, 152, 153, 154, 155 and 158; see Margarete Bieber, *Verzeichnis der käuflichen Photographien des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1912, p. 56.

⁵ No. A B 155. The title written on the Institute print reads "Ausgrabung des Dromos. Schichtungen der antiken Strasse (Grundstück Phinopoulos)."

wall built mainly of small stones and cement. In front of the wall part of a terracotta drain is preserved.⁶ Since the walls found by Dörpfeld appear to fall in the same line as the wall we found, and since the two are of the same construction, it seems clear that we have to do with a large building that bordered the north side of the Panathenaic Way in late antiquity.

The south edge of the road was not located, either by Dörpfeld or by us, but it must lie quite near by under Hadrian Street.

Because our trench was by now so narrow on account of the Byzantine pithoi and walls, and because of the extreme hardness of the road surface that we had encountered, it did not seem feasible to dig still deeper to expose earlier classical remains.

The result of the excavation is to confirm the line of the Panathenaic Way as established by Dörpfeld and as shown on the current plans of the Agora area.⁷

INVESTIGATIONS AT NO. 11 HASTINGS STREET

WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH MR. JOHN THREPSIADES,
EPHOR OF ANTIQUITIES

In July 1958 the opportunity presented itself of making a sounding in the area just north of where the northwest corner of the Agora must fall (Fig. 1). The owner of the lot at No. 11 Hastings Street⁸ demolished the house existing there and prepared to erect a somewhat larger one. The new house was designed with a basement under it about seven by twenty meters in area, and this was excavated by the owner to a depth of about four meters below the present street level without encountering any substantial remains. A Byzantine pithos located at about the middle of the west edge of the lot and similar in construction to those found at No. 7 Hadrian Street serves, however, to establish the mediaeval level.

When a depth of about four meters had been reached, ancient walls began to appear. Three main lines could be made out running parallel to each other in a north-south direction, evidently a street with houses on either side. A small archaeological investigation was therefore initiated by Mr. Threpsiades, the results of which are set forth below (Fig. 3; Pl. 58, b and c).

The street, whose direction is a few degrees west of north is about 3.30 meters

⁶ No. A B 151. The title written on the Institute print reads "Ausgrabung des Dromos. Stufe der Stoa. Weg von der Agora zum Dipylon."

⁷ For example, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, fig. 1; Wycherley, *Testimonia*, pl. I.

⁸ Ὀδὸς Ἀστυγγοῦ. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², plan I, E 4. Named after Capt. Frank Abney Hastings (1794-1828), British Philhellene who fought and died in the Greek War of Independence.

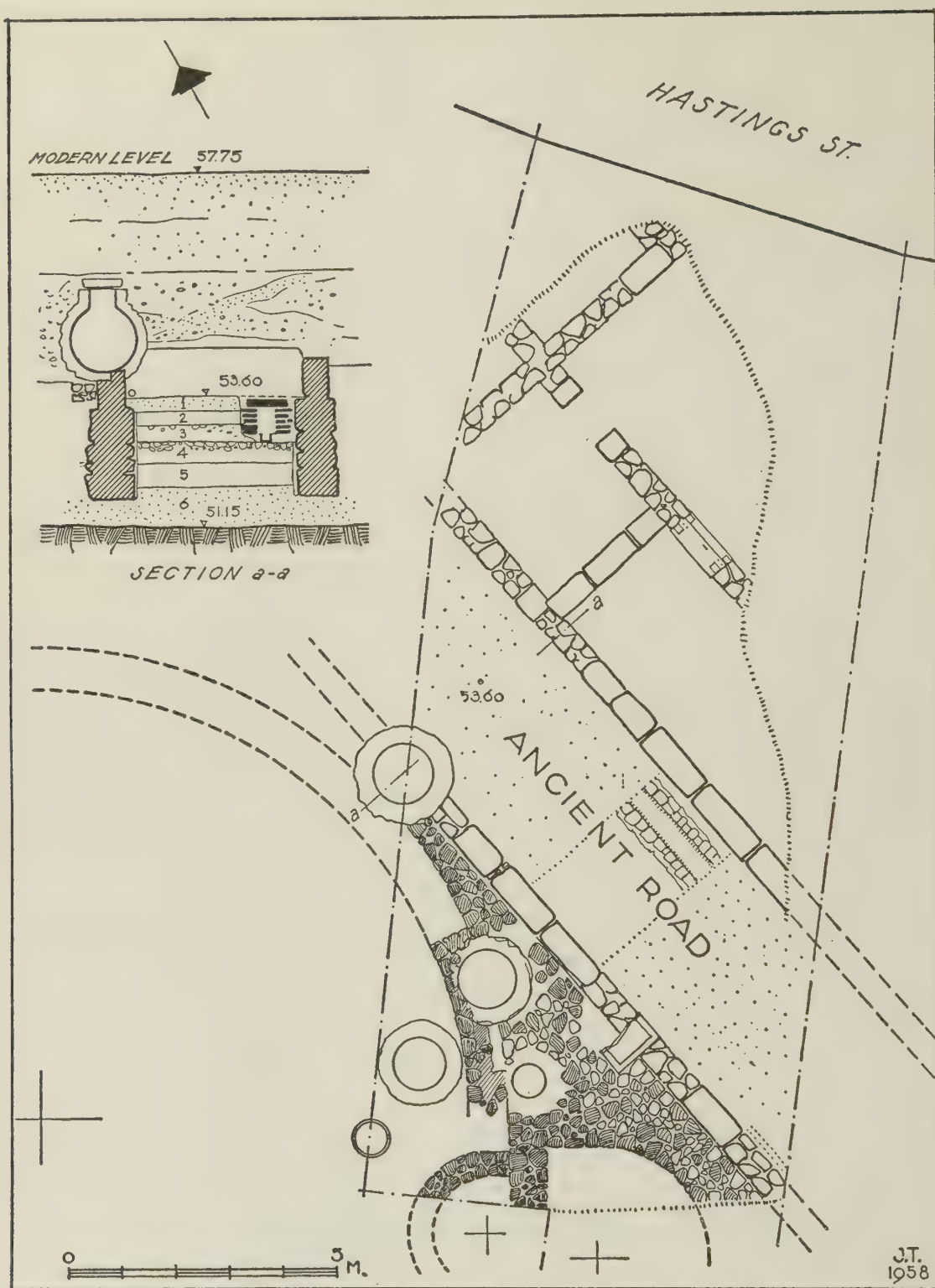


FIG. 3. Plan and Section of the Excavation at No. 11 Hastings Street.

wide. Along its east side is a drain built of tiles and rough stones and covered sometimes with irregular stone slabs, sometimes with large flat tiles about 0.50 m. square and 0.07 m. thick. The interior of the drain is choked with soft gray mud. The potsherds found around the cover slabs belong to very late Roman times, the sixth century after Christ, and the drain itself is probably not more than a century or two earlier, showing that the road was still in use at the very end of classical antiquity. Along the west side of the road is a round terracotta water pipe which carried water from south to north. Its fabric and especially its level show that it too is of late Roman times.⁹

In order to test the stratification, a trial cut two meters wide was made in the road, the results of which are most clearly seen in the accompanying section (Fig. 3). The upper layers of road gravel had been removed in the digging of the basement, and the first excavated layer contained pottery of the third and fourth centuries B.C. This layer ran up against the face of the house wall to the west. The second layer was very hard packed and had been cut through by the builders of the house to the west. The few sherds from the second layer seemed to be of the fourth century B.C. The third layer was also very hard and contained sherds of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. The surface of layer four was cobbled with good sized stones and probably represents the original improved road surface. Breaking through the cobbling, we found below it sherds of the sixth and seventh centuries B.C., which suggest a date for this earliest improved road. Lower down, in layer 5, there were a few sherds of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Layer 6 was sterile and probably represents a natural accumulation earlier than the time of the road. It rested on hardpan.

We thus have evidence for an important thoroughfare here which was in existence from at least the sixth century B.C. right on down through the sixth century after Christ.

Of the houses on either side of the street there is little to be said. In the narrow area to the west the wall bordering the street was of the fourth century B.C.; elsewhere there were concrete walls belonging to a large apsidal building of Roman times. To the east there were light house walls of both Classical and Roman times, but owing to the restricted space and limited time at our disposal no attempt was made to disentangle them.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

⁹ Interior diameter 0.11 m. Exterior diameter 0.14 m. Slight water deposit inside. Joints between sections of pipe sealed with white plaster.

EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA

FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958¹

(PLATES 59-73)

THE University of Chicago Expedition engaged in excavating the Isthmian Sanctuary has completed its fourth campaign.² Our chief efforts were concentrated on the clearing of the twin precinct of Poseidon and Palaimon, and at the same time we explored other areas within the perimeter of the ancient site. Inevitably the activities at a given season are determined by chance and unexpected developments, no less than by well-laid plans pursued over the years. Thus on the first day of excavation, October 2, 1957, two surprising discoveries led to extensive operations

¹ The major support for the season's work was a grant from the Bollingen Foundation. An additional contribution came from the American Hellenic Association (President Andrew Kanelos) through the Greek Cultural Foundation for the University of Chicago, and a very generous donation came from Mr. Horace Horton of Chicago. The American Council of Learned Societies made a special grant for a survey and mapping of the Corinthia.

Members of the staff who continued their work both through the autumn and the spring campaigns were John G. Hawthorne, William P. Donovan, and the writer of this article. During the spring season two members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Robert Charles and Matthew Wiencke, assisted in the field work. The Epimelites, Evangelia Protonotariou, who served under the Ephor of Antiquities, Nikolaos Verdelis, as representative of the Greek Archaeological Service, took active part in the excavations; and in the spring the Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities, Demetrios Pallas, supervised the excavation in the Fortress of Justinian. Eunice Work, also a member of the preceding campaign, studied the coins from Isthmia and in addition rendered valuable service in the field. The exacting task of keeping the inventories up to date was accomplished by Helen Besi and—during the autumn—by John Hawthorne and William Donovan. For a time in the summer of 1958 Synthia Yannatou assisted with the inventories and with typing. Franklin P. Johnson of the University of Chicago devoted the autumn months to a study of the pottery. The late George V. Peschke did the survey and mapping and made the plans of the excavations. His sudden death in March of 1959 was a great loss to the Isthmia Excavation. The photographs during the campaign were made by the members of the staff, and at the close of the season Emile Seraf did the major photographic work. Evangelos Lekkas served as foreman; George Kachros and Argyres Marines cleaned and restored the pottery and small finds.

The overseas staff members received accommodation in the Corinth excavation house of the American School of Classical Studies. To the donors whose generosity made the campaign possible, to the Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education, to the Director of the American School, John L. Caskey, to the members of the staff, and to all who have contributed to the success of the year's work the University's Isthmia Expedition is deeply indebted.

² Three preliminary reports on preceding campaigns at Isthmia have appeared in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 182-195; XXIV, 1955, pp. 110-141; XXVII, 1958, pp. 1-37.

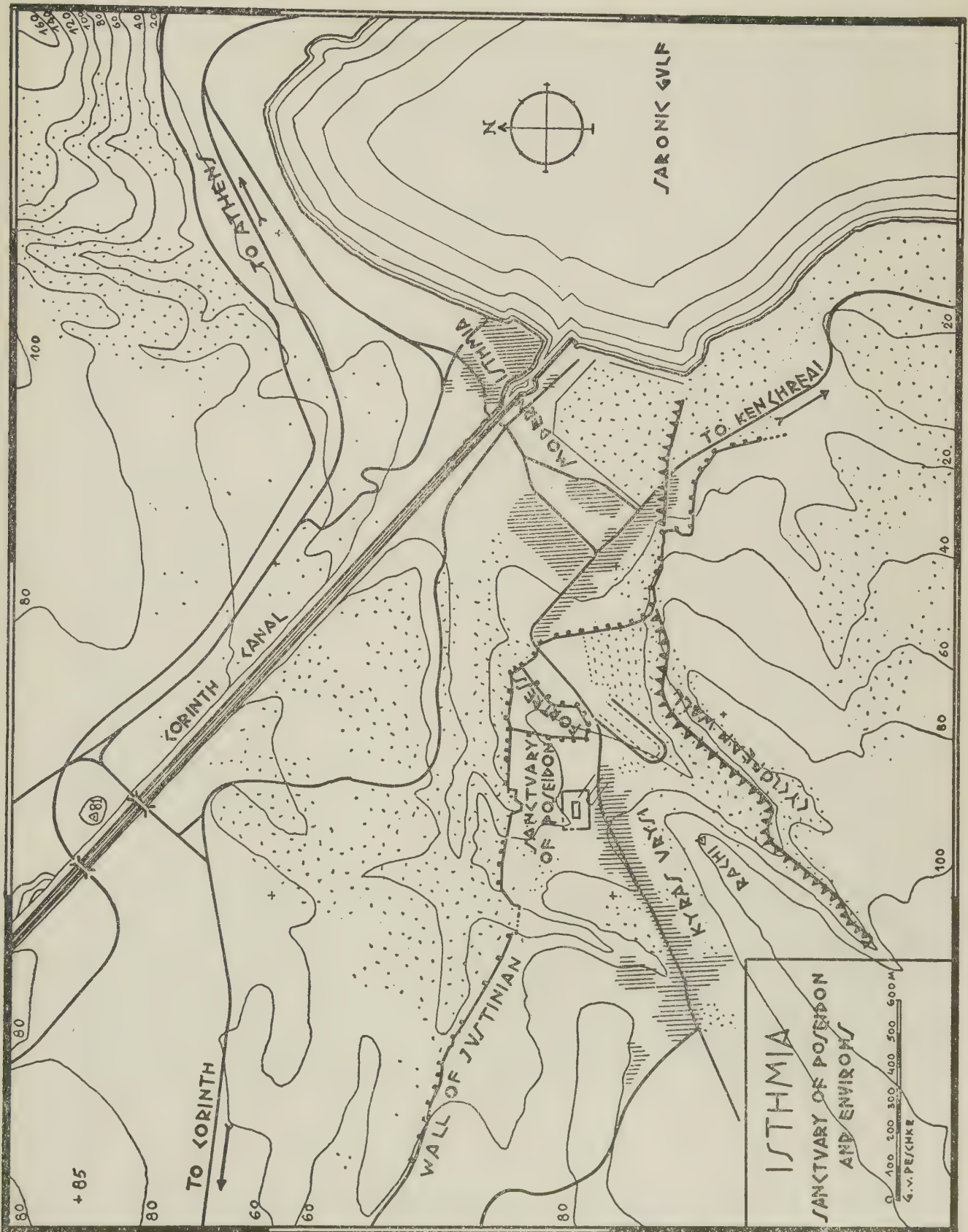


Fig. 1. Map of the Isthmia Area

that were not intended and could not have been contemplated in advance. During a cursory search for fortification walls across the Isthmus we uncovered evidence to prove that the earliest of the walls goes back to the late Bronze Age (Fig. 1; see p. 320, note 19); and in a trial trench near the Poseidon Sanctuary we found the mouth of a large circular pit, the exact depth of which still remains to be determined. These discoveries contributed in no small degree toward the success of the year's work; they did not, as this report will show, prevent or seriously delay our major project of clearing the Sanctuaries of Poseidon and Palaimon.

ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

Within the temple area a search was made for the scanty remains of the archaic temple, the construction of which goes back to the seventh century B.C. In the two ancient dumps to the north and east of the classical temple numerous building blocks with characteristic grooves for ropes were found both this year and in previous campaigns. The stones are readily recognized because of these grooves and because the material, a fine-grained poros, differs from that used in the classical temple. The abundance of this stone and the large quantities of archaic tiles from the temple indicate that the building was of considerable size. Since no fragments of architrave, frieze, or cornice appeared, we may assume that they were made of wood. Interior supports—as well as the peristyle, if one existed—would likewise have been of wood.

Of the foundation little remains in place, but beneath the floor of the classical temple is a well-preserved earth floor marked by a layer of ash and carbonized material from the fire that destroyed the temple, about the time of the Persian wars. The floor level of the archaic temple was *ca.* 0.40 m. below the level of the classical building. The only line of foundation that can be determined with any certainty is that of the north flank. Slight cuttings in rock and discoloration in the earth where the foundation has been removed show that the temple extended westward as far as the opisthodomos of the fifth century building. At the east end a trench sunk beneath the floor of the later pronaos revealed three blocks *in situ* from the foundation of the earlier building. The wall extended farther east, but all traces of it were removed when the foundations for the classical temple were laid. Presumably the east wall of the archaic temple ran along the same line as the front foundation of the classical pronaos. This would give the archaic temple a length between 33 and 39 m.

The exact width cannot be determined, since there are no certain traces left of the foundations for the south, east and west walls. The burned layer from the destruction extends southward as far as the south cella wall of the classical temple but does not appear in the fill between the foundation trench of this wall and the foundation for the south colonnade. Hence the south wall of the archaic building presumably ran along the line of the later south cella wall. This would give to the building a total

width between 9.20 and 10.90 m.³ From the line of the north wall we learn that the orientation of the archaic temple differed slightly from that of the classical temple.⁴ Beneath the floor of the east peristyle of the classical temple there are certain cuttings in the rock but they seem too narrow for the foundation of the temple proper. Presumably they mark the limits of an area on the east from which the temple was entered. In the exact axis of the classical temple lies the circular base which presumably supported the archaic *perirrhanterion*. It is not entirely certain that this base is now in its original position. It is slightly tilted and badly cracked, and the top has been mutilated by the plow. To the south of the base at a somewhat lower level we discovered the remains of a large metal tripod. Nothing is left but two Π-shaped pieces of iron *ca.* 1 m. apart. Small bits of rusted iron were found in the area where the third foot would have come. The photograph on Plate 59, a shows the relation of the tripod to the circular base of the *perirrhanterion*.

THE CIRCULAR PIT

In the autumn of 1957, while investigating the southward extension of the west waterworks, we came upon the rim of a large circular pit (Pl. 59, b) cut vertically through the rock and hard clay. Although outside the precinct proper (Fig. 2), it was probably closely related to it. At the rim the pit measures slightly under 5 m. in diameter. Though remarkably well cut with vertical sides, it varies somewhat at the bottom where it has a slightly elliptical shape. Around the edge there is a cutting in rock, 0.87 m. wide, which seems to indicate some kind of curbing. We began clearing the pit with no conception of its depth and soon came to realize that it would be a major undertaking to empty the whole immense shaft of its contents. Near the top there was a mixed fill containing Roman and late Greek pottery. Below the first 0.40 m. the fill was consistently archaic. Very few red-figured sherds were found and these seem to come down only to the beginning of the fifth century. The bulk of the pottery is Early and Middle Corinthian. The vases described below, Nos. 4, 5, and 10, and the bronze objects, Nos. 1, 7, and 10, came from the fill of the pit. Water was reached at a depth of 15.30 m., but the digging continued under water for some 0.40 m.

³ The ratio of width to length may have been *ca.* 1:3, or approximately the same as in the Temple of Apollo at Thermon. The Isthmia Temple is the earlier of the two. For the date of the Temple at Thermon (*ca.* 620 B.C.) see Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 51; and cf. Hans Riemann, *Zum griechischen Peripteraltempel*, pp. 16 ff. The proportions of the foundation of the temple in the Agora at Sikyon is approximately 1:3. See Orlandos' plan in *Πρακτικά*, 1937, p. 95, fig. 2, reproduced also in G. Roux' *Pausanias en Corinthie*, fig. 31. The type of tile used in the Isthmia Temple is a further indication of early date; see *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 111-112, 153-157.

⁴ The broad cutting for a foundation in the exact axis of the Classical Temple, which was at first regarded as part of the Archaic Temple, must now be explained as a feature of the fifth century building. It is too broad and has the wrong orientation for the archaic Temple.

ISTHIA EXCAVATION
1958

ONE GET

- == PRE-ROMAN REMAINS
 PREINCT OF POSEIDON
 ■■■■ FIRST ROMAN
 ■■■ SECOND
 ■■■ THIRD
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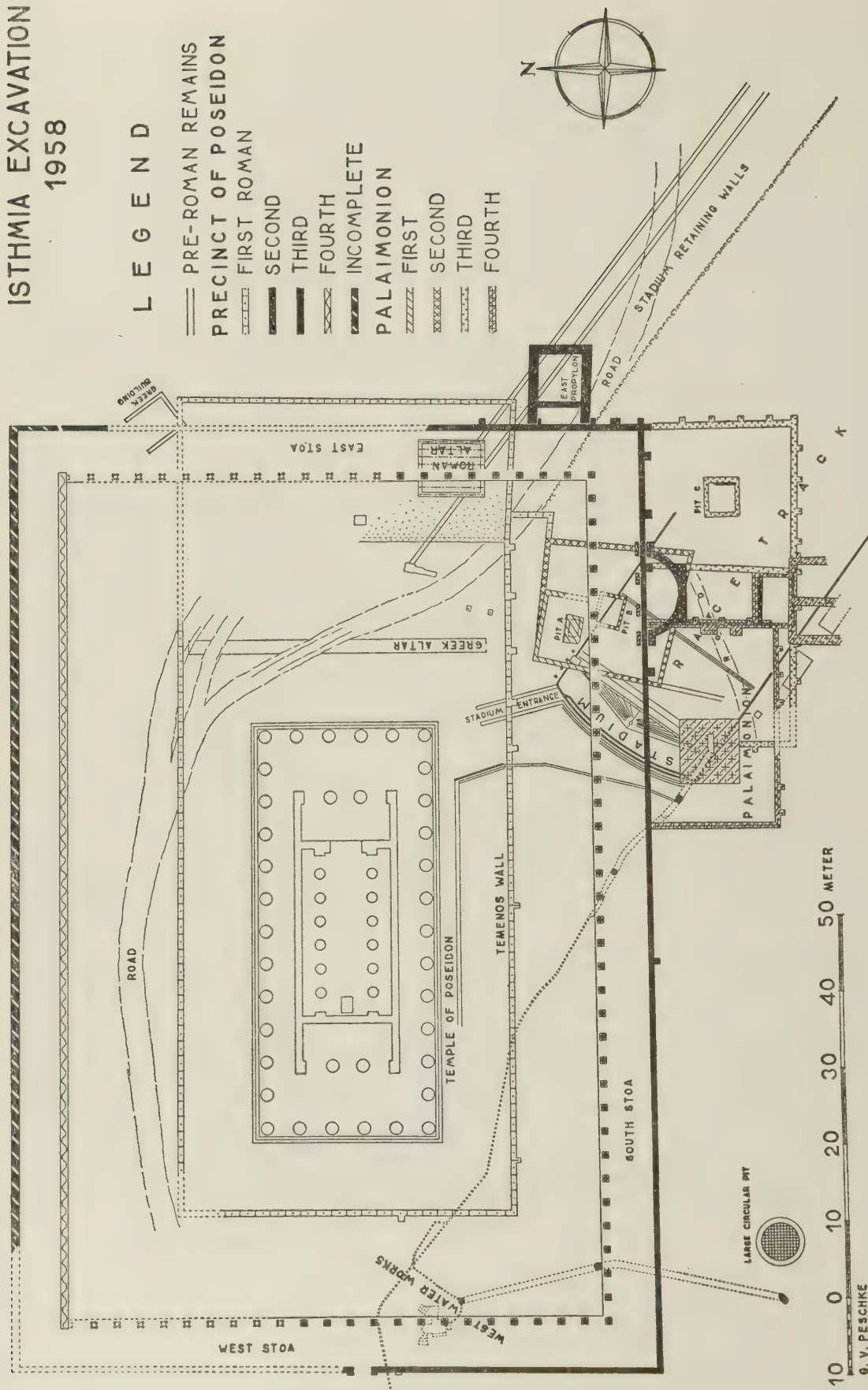


FIG. 2. Plan of the Excavations

more. As no equipment was available for removing water in such quantity we abandoned, reluctantly, the project for the season. At the end of a dry summer the water level may be lowered enough to permit resumption of the digging. The pit had been filled up at one time not later than the end of the sixth century B.C. We do not know when it was dug nor what purpose it was intended to serve; the fill near the bottom might hold the answer. If, as seems likely, the pit was used for some time before being abandoned and filled up, it is probably to be dated during the reigns of the Corinthian tyrants.

EAST TEMENOS DUMP

A little to the north and west of the second altar of Poseidon we excavated a small area, the fill of which consisted chiefly of dump from the two temple fires (Pl. 60, a). The original ground level here sloped perceptibly toward the east. There was a shallow stratum of early fill resting directly on virgin soil. It is comparatively smooth on top, and toward the south the surface is covered with pebbles about as large as hens' eggs. Over the area where these pebbles are found there was a layer of ash and burnt animal bones. Osteological analyses indicate that various kinds of smaller animals, sheep, goats, pigs, are represented. In the 1956 campaign, when the area immediately to the south was excavated, similar pebbles were found mixed with carbon and ash.⁵ It is fairly clear that the whole area was used in archaic times for sacrificial purposes. Perhaps the pebbles were used somehow in connection with the sacrifices, possibly in some primitive rite of stoning the animals before they were slaughtered.⁶ This we may conclude from the fact that although the same hard packed surface extends toward the north and west, the pebbles are found only in connection with the layer of ash and animal bones. No altar was found in the area, and it may be questioned whether an altar in the proper sense had ever existed. It is possible that the sacrifices took place at an open fire on the ground. The area, however, is criss-crossed with foundations of the early stadium, and walls of Roman times, and an altar might well have disappeared.

Over this sloping ground there was a layer of earth, varying in depth from 0.50 m. at the west edge, near the Long Altar, to over two meters at the east edge of the area. Two kinds of fill may be distinguished. On the upper slope toward the west the fill consisted chiefly of debris from the archaic temple. Large numbers of archaic

⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 3. Similar pebbles appeared along the front edge of the long altar.

⁶ For comparable practices see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, pp. 280 ff., especially the ceremony at Megara, where pebbles were used instead of barley for sprinkling on the victims. A kind of altar made of a rough stone pile is known from other sites (see C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, pp. 214 f.), but in such cases the stones are larger and piled in a heap, not scattered over a wide area as at the Isthmia.

roof tiles and building blocks from the temple came from this fill, and mixed with it considerable numbers of potsherds and bronzes (see below, pp. 327-335, 337.) Some sherds of red-figured Attic pottery found in this area come from vases, fragments of which were found during earlier campaigns in the north temenos dump. This proves conclusively, if such proof is necessary, that the fill in the two areas came from the same place. Above this archaic fill and to the east of it there was a layer of poros chips containing fragments of classical roof tiles and pottery but few other objects. These chips probably resulted from the repairs to the temple after the fire of 394 B.C.

The area just described is divided from north to south by a foundation of Roman construction. Its west edge is 5.80 m. from the west façade of the Roman altar. This foundation has been exposed for more than 25 m. toward the north from the early Roman south temenos wall. The distance from the wall to the altar is almost exactly the same as the distance between the east edge of the altar and the east temenos wall (Fig. 2). This relation between altar and walls can hardly be accidental. We may assume that the two walls marked the west and east limits of an area which in Roman times was set aside for sacrificial purposes. The fact that the early sacrificial area is located in the same place may not be of any significance, since it had been entirely covered with debris from the archaic temple several centuries before the Roman foundation was laid down. Future excavations to the north and east may be expected to cast further light on these problems.

NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE TEMENOS

To the northeast of the Temple of Poseidon, where the original ground level slopes rather steeply toward the east, we dug a trench in an effort to find the northeast corner of the early Roman temenos wall. Our search was unsuccessful, but in the course of our exploration we uncovered a small building of pre-Roman times. It is not oriented like the temenos and the Temple. The extant remains consist of three walls preserved to the height of the orthostate, 0.675 m. above the foundation. The walls are only 0.43 m. thick. The building measures 6.13 m. in length from southeast to northwest, and 5.45 m. in width. The two flank walls abut against an outcropping of rock; there was no wall at the northwest end (Fig. 2). The foundation for the rear wall of the East Stoa, which cuts across the Greek building diagonally, caused the removal of the orthostate blocks in the southwest corner. Possibly there was an entrance here from the south, but there is no clear evidence for it. This garage-like structure has the normal dimensions for a treasury, but the absence of a wall or cuttings for a foundation at the northwest end leaves it quite uncertain what purpose the building was intended to serve. After its destruction and before the construction of the East Stoa an east-west road passed over the ruined building. At the southeast corner the orthostate blocks have been worn down some 0.30 m. by the wheel traffic on the road.

NORTH TEMENOS DUMP

Between the two sections dug in 1954 and in 1956 there was a small undug part of the ancient dump, which has now been completely excavated. As in the other sections of the same area, it contained numerous building stones and tiles from the archaic temple. Among the pottery there are a few pieces of interest, including several small fragments of the two Panathenaic amphoras discovered in 1956, and one inscribed fragment shown below, p. 335, No. 9. A section of the archaic road was laid bare *ca.* 1.25 m. below the Roman road level.

WEST END OF THE TEMENOS OF POSEIDON

Here the whole southwest corner of the precinct has now been excavated from the west façade of the Temple of Poseidon to the rear wall of the West Stoa. The earliest remains in this area are the west waterworks excavated in 1954. The present campaign revealed the channel which brought water from somewhere west of the precinct to a long narrow reservoir connected with the west waterworks (Fig. 2). The reservoir measures *ca.* 0.80 m. at the bottom, and 0.45 m. at the top. It is somewhat over 2 m. deep, but the top has broken down, so that the exact depth at the north end is not preserved. The floor of the reservoir is 0.11 m. above the floor of the circular north manhole where the reservoir begins. From there it extends southward to the front wall of the South Stoa, where there is a second circular manhole, then turns slightly westward and continues 25 m. farther south into the modern school lot, and there terminates in an oval manhole, cut through solid rock. Walls and floor of the reservoir, as well as the sides of the manholes, are covered with a hard water-tight stucco. The reservoir and its three manholes contained much pottery of late Hellenistic times.

Into the north manhole, which is bottle-shaped, water was brought through a stuccoed channel extending northeastward for a distance of 8 m. Here it joins the supply channel, which runs from northwest to southeast across the precinct toward the Palaimonion reservoir (see below, p. 311). The west waterworks have been described in an earlier article,⁷ but at the time of its publication the long west reservoir described above had not been cleared. One remarkable thing about the arrangement here is the fact that the terracotta pipe bringing water to the west waterworks from the north manhole is at a level 1.80 m. above the floor of the reservoir, and only *ca.* 0.25 m. below its top. Thus the tank in the west waterworks would get no water until the water-level had risen almost to the top of the reservoir. Presumably the water could also be drawn through the oval manhole at the south end. The pottery from the fill of the reservoir and its manholes indicates that these waterworks continued to function into late Hellenistic times. They may have fallen into disuse during

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 121 f., pl. 47, a, c.

the period of neglect between the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. and the establishment of the Roman colony a century later.

The supply channel which brought water to this whole hydraulic system was originally cut in clay and lined with a hard stucco similar to that used in the reservoir. It is *ca.* 0.18 m. wide at the top and 0.08 m. deep. The edges are rounded off in such a way as to indicate that the channel was originally intended to be left open. Here and there it has been mended with fragments of roof tiles from the classical temple. Near the point where the channel takes off toward the west waterworks a loop has been made which seems to have been constructed entirely out of marble cover tiles from the temple. For the channel itself the tiles are laid upside down and end to end, and other tiles of the same kind are used as covers; the water was diverted into the new channel by means of a dam across the old. The detour, however, soon rejoins the original channel, but at the point of juncture the connection has been destroyed through the construction of a small square building of post-classical date. The loop may have been made to avoid some building which has since been removed.

Regarding the date of these waterworks and of the supply channel no clear evidence has been revealed. Presumably they are earlier than the fire that damaged the temple of Poseidon in 394 B.C. Since cover tiles and fragments of pan tiles from the classical temple were available for the construction and cover of the loop, it is reasonable to conclude that this alteration was made shortly after the fire. This would place the original construction in the fifth century B.C. or earlier. The channel and waterworks had ceased to function before the earliest reconstruction of the precinct under the Empire. Both the earlier Roman temenos wall and the foundations of the South Stoa interrupt the channel.

The earliest remains in the west area after the west waterworks had fallen into disuse are represented by the west temenos wall (Fig. 2; Pl. 59, c, upper right). This runs parallel to the west temple façade at a distance of 8.75 m. It is part of the earlier Roman temenos enclosure which was uncovered at the east end of the precinct in the preceding campaign. Here at the west end it is made with large squared blocks resting directly on virgin soil. In places where the rock extends to a higher level the wall blocks were laid directly on the rock. Lime mortar and rubble masonry were used to fill in the spaces between the rock and the foundation blocks. The temenos floor level, between the wall and temple, was apparently at least 0.30 m. lower than the later floor level from the period of the West and South Stoa. The whole west area, however, has been disfigured by a series of later cuttings for which no structural reason is apparent. Before the South and West Stoa were built the ground level was here considerably higher than it is now. The southwest corner of the precinct has been cut down to a depth of more than 2 m. below the original rock surface. Conversely the ground level at the east and north sides of the temple has been raised. These operations presumably account for the disappearance of the temenos wall from

the classical Greek period. When the rock was cut away west of the temple, only a thin crust was left in small islands here and there throughout the precinct. Below this layer of rock there is white clay which when dry is very hard, but can readily be dissolved in water. Probably the irregular cuttings below the floor level of the precinct have resulted from digging for clay that was used in the construction of walls and floors. In the campaign of 1955-1956 a large pit was found north of the Temple, in which the clay had been dissolved in water.⁸

From the southwest corner of the precinct the foundations of the West Stoa (Pl. 59, c) have been laid bare for a distance of 45 m. Beyond this point the ground level drops abruptly into the north gully, and here all traces of the foundation have disappeared. The rear wall preserved for a length of 43 m. was partly cut out of rock and was partly built with large poros stones. A little to the south of the axis of the temple and precinct there was a gateway in the wall, through which led the road that skirted the temple on the north side. This west gate was apparently reconstructed many times, but it is clear that a road existed here even before the construction of the stoa and continued to exist after the stoa had been demolished. Traces of the gateway are preserved in the rear wall of the stoa, and the road metal extending over the stoa stylobate shows that the road was not interrupted when the stoa was constructed. Here a small section of stylobate, 6 m. long, is preserved. Presumably the span between the columns was larger here than elsewhere in the stoa so as to permit vehicles to pass through, but the evidence is lacking. Near this point were found two architectural members from the stoa, of great importance for the reconstruction. One is an Ionic column base indicating a lower diameter of 0.57 m. for the column. The base has the usual two toruses separated by a scotia. Attached to the circular base is a square plinth, measuring 0.72 m. on the side, and 0.095 m. in height. The second member is a combined cornice-sima block, measuring 1.31 m. x 0.88 m. x 0.45 m. At the outer edge of the top there is a shallow channel which does not extend across the joints. The water from this channel was poured out through two lions' heads as spouts, 0.68 m. apart. A similar but longer block from the South Stoa (Pl. 59, c) preserves three water spouts, unequally spaced. The material is a brittle bluish marble. The work is rough and sketchy.

SOUTH SIDE OF THE TEMENOS OF POSEIDON

Except for a small area occupied by the workshed, the whole south side of the temenos has now been excavated. Diagonally across the area runs the pre-Roman water channel that supplied the west waterworks and the reservoir connected with the Palaimonion (Fig. 2). It varies little in size and construction from the section already described in the area west of the Temple. Part of it, near the west end, is covered

⁸ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 3.

with marble cover tiles from the Temple roof and with terracotta cover tiles of the same shape and size. The channel slopes toward the southeast and finally empties into the Palaimonion reservoir. Where it passes under the south arm of the first Roman temenos wall, there is a filling of earth and uncut stones that would not have permitted the water to pass through; hence we must conclude that the channel and the reservoirs supplied by it had fallen into disuse before the temenos wall was constructed.

Near the east end of the Temple of Poseidon, where the ground drops to a lower level, there is a terrace wall built of re-used material. The north-south arm makes two obtuse angles, then the wall turns westward and runs parallel to the Temple at a distance of 2.00 m. from the Temple foundation. It does not extend all along the Temple flank, but comes to an end opposite the rear wall of the cella. Since it ends with an anathyrosis it may have extended farther west, where no traces of it are preserved. Along the side of the Temple the wall measures only 0.35 to 0.40 m. in width, but the north-south arm is nearly twice as wide. In the northernmost section of this arm, between the northeast corner and the first obtuse angle—a stretch of 7 m.—the existing blocks seem to have served as the lower of the two steps leading from the east to the higher level on the west. A setting-line through the middle of the existing blocks indicates the position of the missing second step. South of the first obtuse angle the wall foundation is preserved at the lower level and here are setting-lines that indicate that a parapet rested on the foundation. The lowest course of the foundation is preserved as far south as the foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa, but the trench cut for the wall extends farther south, to the Palaimonion cistern to be described later. The chief purpose of this wall seems to have been to act as a curb for a partly paved area south of the Temple. The wall is certainly earlier than the South Stoa and presumably antedates the earlier Roman temenos wall, the foundation of which abuts against the east face of the wall. Although the material is re-used, the blocks are well fitted in their present position and the dressing of the blocks and setting-lines for the missing course indicate a period before the Roman reorganization of the precinct. This is further shown by the parapet in the Palaimonian reservoir (see below, p. 311).

The first Roman temenos wall on the south side of the Poseidon Temple is preserved almost throughout its entire length. It is constructed out of large blocks of unequal sizes laid directly on the rock and virgin soil. The east end of the wall, however, is constructed differently. Here the foundation is made with lime mortar and uncut stones and the same is true of the east and north arms of the wall. The preserved top of the wall south of the Temple is 0.40 m. below the level of the precinct as established by the construction of the South Stoa. Apparently the builders of the stoa attempted to establish a uniform level, but here and there the rock projects above this level. Some of these islands of rock have been trimmed down and in others there are various kinds of cuttings which do not lend themselves to any logical explanation.

It is clear, however, that the south temenos wall had been removed before the South Stoa was constructed, since the ground level established between the stoa and the Temple extends clear over the wall foundation.

The entire foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa has been exposed (Pl. 60, b); it measures *ca.* 112 m. from east to west. In the west half of the stoa the foundation has been removed except for a series of pier-like portions, which presumably mark the position of the columns. The spacing of these "piers" indicates an interaxial distance of *ca.* 3.05 m. for the colonnade of the stoa. This would allow for 37 columns for the entire length.⁹ The piers do not indicate individual foundations for the columns; rather at the time of demolition the foundation was removed between the columns while these were still standing. This is shown by the fact that in several of the intercolumniations the lowest course of stones is still left in place. We may assume that the axial distance in the East and West stoas was the same as in the South Stoa, but the foundations are almost entirely missing (cf. Pl. 59, c), leaving no evidence for the spacing of the columns.

The rear wall of the stoa is even less well preserved. At the southwest corner the rock and underlying clay has been cut back for the wall, and at one point the wall bedding is shown by cuttings in the rock. In the east half of the stoa both the front and rear foundations are better preserved. They show that the depth of the colonnade was *ca.* 7 m. There are no indications of interior supports in the original construction. Near the west end of the South Stoa there is a complex of walls, apparently dating from the period after the demolition of the stoa. They contain fragments of columns and other architectural members from the superstructure of the stoa. They were probably built shortly after the destruction under Justinian; but there is no ceramic evidence for any large-scale occupation of the site after that event. Throughout the area, as elsewhere in the sanctuary, a remarkably large number of pipes and water channels have been laid bare. Most of them run from west to east, but a few cross these at various angles. The earliest is the channel described above, which brought water to the west waterworks, the Palaimonion reservoir, and the Stadium. The latest of the channels, which were laid after the destruction of the classical buildings, may have brought water from the fountain in the upper part of the village to the fortress constructed under Justinian.¹⁰

THE EARLY STADIUM

In the campaign of 1958 we cleared more of the area once occupied by the early Stadium discovered in 1956. Later building activities have greatly altered the original

⁹ In the plan published in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 6, fig. 1, which was made before the building was completely excavated, the columns are incorrectly spaced.

¹⁰ For pictures of these channels see *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pl. 3, b, c.

appearance, but a few stones clearly related to the Stadium were exposed, and some of these deserve mention. In the area northeast of the early starting line two large blocks were found which appear to be *in situ*. They are shown in the plan, Figure 2, east of the south end of the Long Altar. In each stone is a square cutting measuring *ca.* 0.16 x 0.19 m. in area and extending through the thickness of the blocks. These were probably used to support masts for banners or trophies displayed during the games in the Stadium. On the southwest side of the Stadium we uncovered part of the water channel that lined the racecourse. Near the southeast corner of the Temple of Palaimon there is a large poros block partly uncovered in 1956. When finally cleared this year it proved to be an isolated block without anathyrosis at the ends. It is exactly one meter square and 0.40 m. thick. From its position near the southwest end of the late starting line one might suppose that this block supported an altar or a chair for some important official.¹¹ Farther toward the southeast, along the edge of the Stadium, two larger foundations were uncovered. The first of these is constructed out of large blocks carefully dressed and fitted (Pl. 59, d). At the southeast end the foundation is 2.36 m. wide; farther to the northwest it is only 1.30 m. wide. It is preserved to a length of 5 m., but originally it was longer. Most of the foundation is only one course deep, but at the northwest end two courses are preserved, both of which have anathyrosis at the exposed edge, thus showing that the foundation extended farther in that direction. The top block has cuttings for hook clamps. This provides a dating for the base, since such clamps are not likely to have been used much before the fourth century B.C.¹² It remains uncertain whether the base is contemporary with or later than the racecourse with its starting line. As now preserved the foundation forms a Γ, possibly the northwest end had a projection corresponding to that at the other end. At a distance of 4.30 m. toward the southeast there is a third foundation (Fig. 2), also made out of large poros blocks, but less carefully finished than those of the second base. It is 2.32 m. wide, and it has been exposed for a length of 2.75 m. Part of the foundation lies buried beneath the modern road which here overlies the Stadium. Doubtless the two larger bases supported seats for officials or specially honored spectators. One may have been the place reserved for the Hellanodikai. We are told that the Athenian delegation enjoyed special privileges at the Isthmian Games, such as a proedria as large as the sails of the sacred vessel that brought them across the Saronic Gulf. The second base may have served some such purpose.

The excavation report for 1955-1956 contains a description of the parallel water channels that ran along the curved end of the racetrack.¹³ At their south ends the two

¹¹ The altar from which the priestess of Demeter Chamyne watched the games at Olympia is an obvious parallel (Pausanias, VI, 20, 9), but in the absence of inscriptions no identification is possible.

¹² For the use of the hook clamp see Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 235, and Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa*, p. 96.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958 pp. 10 ff.; *Archaeology*, IX, 1956, p. 270.

channels were cut off when the foundation for the Palaimon Temple was laid. Presumably they continued southward and connected with a basin similar to that found at the northeast end of the triangular sill for the *balbides*. In our excavation of the Palaimonion we discovered an underground reservoir which doubtless supplied the water for the channels and basins of the Stadium. Although the entrance to the reservoir was altered by the construction of the temple, the original relationship of the reservoir to the Stadium may be established with a high degree of probability. At the southeast end the width of the reservoir measures 0.71 m. at the bottom, and 1.20 m. in height. Its roof, walls and floor are entirely covered with a thick water-tight stucco like that used in the west waterworks. Farther northwest, however, the rock-cut roof was left unstuccoed. The reservoir curves slightly, and is rather uneven on the sides. It extends 18 m. toward the northwest, and near the end the floor rises gradually toward the top, where the water channel described above emptied into the reservoir. The distance between the preserved southeast end of the reservoir and the upper of the two parallel water channels at the end of the Stadium is *ca.* 0.90 m. It is obvious that the water in the Stadium was supplied from the reservoir. We may assume that there was a parapet at the very end through which water was piped into the Stadium channels. At a distance of 2.60 m. from the preserved end of the reservoir there are traces of another parapet which consisted of a stone slab, 0.16 m. thick. In front of the slab were two gateposts, one of which is still *in situ*, and the cutting for the second is visible. This parapet does not run at right angles to the line of the reservoir, but follows the direction of the terrace wall described above (p. 308). Since the reservoir is unquestionably Greek, the relationship of the parapet to the terrace wall (Fig. 2) shows that the latter is also of pre-Roman date. The preserved gatepost on the left, as one enters the reservoir, was trimmed off in Roman times and its surface covered with a coarse stucco (Pl. 61, a) painted dark blue, similar to the stucco used within the passage of the temple foundation (see below, pp. 318-319). Directly in front of the parapet there is a shallow niche on the right side of the reservoir and a similar niche, now filled up with Roman stucco, probably existed on the other side. Two such niches are also preserved at the northwest end of the reservoir. These were presumably used as steps for descent through manholes, the upper parts of which have disappeared.

From the connection of the reservoir with the subterranean passage in the Temple of Palaimon we might suppose that the water of the reservoir was also somehow connected with an early cult place of the hero. Pausanias states that the boy's body was concealed within the crypt. The excavation has revealed nothing resembling a tomb, and the information conveyed by Pausanias may have been based on pious beliefs for which there was no material foundation. It may be of some significance, however, that the southwest end of the early starting line comes almost exactly in the center of the temple foundation. There may have been a tradition that the races

originally started from the tomb of Palaimon. Similarly, in the Olympic Stadium the tomb of Endymion was said by the Eleans to have marked the starting line, but it is clear that Pausanias (VI, 20, 9) did not see it.

THE PRECINCT OF PALAIMON

The area occupied by the northwest end of the Stadium became the precinct of Palaimon in Roman Imperial times. The first evidence of cult in this vicinity is supplied by three sacrificial pits to the east and north of the later Palaimon temple (Fig. 2). They do not differ greatly in date, but a study of the pottery from the fill permits us to arrange them in chronological sequence. Pit A (Pl. 61, b), the earliest and simplest, probably also the smallest, is located close to the basin at the northeast end of the early starting line. The pit is cut in the rock and virgin soil to a depth of *ca.* 1.15 m. below the sloping embankment of the Stadium. This was probably the ground level at the time when the pit was used. The pit is 3.50 m. long and 2.12 m. wide at the bottom, but its sides and bottom are very irregular. The north side is partly lined with a roughly built wall, the stones of which have crumbled from heat. In the center of the pit there is a shallow depression, 2.25 m. x 1.30 m. in area. The pit was filled to a height of 0.60 m. above the floor with ash, carbonized wood and burnt animal bones. Considerable numbers of vases, mostly flat bowls with curving rims, and fragments of Palaimonion lamps were found in this deposit. An area surrounding the pit, 8.70 m. long and more than 5.30 m. wide, was enclosed with a stone wall. The south side of this enclosure was destroyed when the South Stoa was constructed.

Pit B is located very close to A, to the southeast. It was largely destroyed when the foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa was laid. The south wall measures 3.70 m. in length on the inside and is preserved to a height of 1.20 m. above the floor of the pit. This was probably the total depth when the pit was in use. Part of the west wall has been exposed, but the east wall is mostly concealed by later construction. The floor of the pit is *ca.* 0.20 m. below the bottom of the walls that line the sides. The stone lining, as in pit A, has crumbled from intense heat. Much of the fill was removed when the stoa foundation was laid, but in the southwest corner it was preserved to a height of some 20 centimeters. Its content does not differ greatly from that of pit A. Apparently pits A and B were used for a time simultaneously, as is shown by an enclosure which surrounds both and incorporates a considerable area toward the south and east (Fig. 2). This space may have been used by priests and other officials during the sacrifices.

Pit C (Pl. 62, foreground), which is the largest, was in use after the other two pits had been discarded. It measures 4 m. from east to west and 3.40 m. from north to south, and has a depth of *ca.* 1.10 m. All four walls are lined with stones which

show even more clearly than the walls in pits A and B the effects of intense heat. The east wall seems to have crumbled away completely at one time and a second wall was then made, partly out of fragments of tile. This wall begins at a height of 0.25 m. above the floor of the pit. At this level the contents of the pit also changed. The top part of the fill contained numerous fragments of small one-handled beakers of coarse material, whereas the lower deposit contained flat-bottomed bowls of the type found in the other two pits. The fill of ash and animal bones in pit C extends to a height of 0.75 m. above the floor. The bones in the three pits are all bones of cattle, at least some of which were young bulls. The animals had been burnt whole. None of the bones had been cut before burning, and bones from all parts of the sacrificial victims were found.¹⁴ Thus we may conclude that the pits were used for sacrificial holocausts which may have formed the climax in the celebration of the Isthmian Games. Pit C, unlike the other two, is oriented like the temple and precinct walls of the Palaimonion and is very nearly on the axis of the temple. This indicates that the pit formed an important part of the Palaimonion complex as this took shape during Roman Imperial times. The large quantities of pottery mixed with the ash are probably to be explained as containers of oil brought by the worshipers as votive offerings and thrown into the pits to help feed the flames.

Pit C also had its own enclosure (Fig. 2), which is much larger than those of pits A and B. The walls enclosing pit C are preserved on the east, south and west sides. The north precinct wall probably coincided with the line of the rear wall of the South Stoa, which would account for its complete disappearance. The pit lies in the approximate center of this quadrangle, which measures 18 m. from east to west and 18.50 m. from north to south. The enclosing walls are made with stones of no large size laid in a mortar of earth. The east wall measures *ca.* 0.75 m. in thickness. On the east side, at intervals of *ca.* 3 m., there is a series of buttresses, constructed in the same way as the wall and tied into the wall construction. The wall runs southward in a straight line from the south end of the later rear wall of the East Stoa, and at the corner it abuts against a large buttress that projects southward from the rear wall of the South Stoa. The two foundations are readily distinguishable because the stoa wall with its buttresses is built with lime mortar, whereas the wall enclosing the sacrificial pit uses no lime in its construction. The south wall of the enclosure is constructed in the same way, also with buttresses. Apparently it continued beyond the enclosure without change of construction toward the west for a total length of 43 m. Later buildings in this part of the Palaimonion have somewhat disguised the earlier arrangement, but the general layout is clear. The west wall of the enclosure of pit C, though

¹⁴ For information about the sacrificial victims I am indebted to Nils-Gustaf Gejvall of Statens historiska museum, Stockholm, who made osteological analyses of the bones from the pits in the Palaimonion and from the sacrificial areas east of the Temple of Poseidon.

constructed in the same way, has no buttresses preserved. The reason seems to be that this is not an outside wall but a partition wall between two rectangular areas. At its north end the foundation for the west wall cut through the earlier foundation of the enclosure around pits A and B. The relationships of these walls to each other is further complicated by the construction of a semicircular building to be described later. The wall reappears on the north side within the semicircle, where it ended against one of the buttresses for the rear wall of the South Stoa. The ground level surrounding pit C seems to have been somewhat lower than the floor of the racecourse, and the ground probably sloped slightly toward the pit. A row of step-like cuttings in the earth to the west of the pit may have been made for the insertion of benches on which the officials sat during sacrifices.

In the middle area, west of the quadrangle that enclosed pit C, there were two rooms of unequal size, a larger one on the north and a smaller one on the south. The clear width of the rooms from east to west is 6 m. Nothing was found to indicate what the rooms were used for. All the walls were constructed like those of the enclosure around the pit, but without buttresses. West of these two rooms there was another large rectangular area measuring 15.75 m. from east to west and *ca.* 18 m. from north to south. The south wall is a continuation of the south wall of the areas described above. Of the west wall a small stretch is preserved, south of the foundation for the Temple of Palaimon. It is constructed exactly like the other walls, but is only 0.60 m. thick and has one buttress preserved on the west side. Nothing now remains of the west wall north of the temple foundation. The area is here occupied with the sill for the *balbides* starting-line. When this area was excavated a few stones of a rubble foundation were removed in order to expose the underlying sill. This foundation was roughly in line with the section of the west wall preserved south of the temple. There can be no doubt that this large quadrangle is earlier than the temple, and that it was used in connection with the cult of Palaimon. This is shown by the fact that throughout this area we discovered innumerable lamps, both of the specific Palaimonion type and of smaller portable types (cf. Pl. 61, d). Here and there the area showed signs of fire, and in several places pits had been dug to a level below that of the Stadium floor.

At the north end of the middle area described above there is preserved a curving foundation (Pl. 61, c) which is somewhat less than a semicircle. The chord measures 11.75 m. on the outside. The foundation is 0.85—1.00 m. thick and is preserved to a height of 0.40 m. above the floor of the racecourse. It is built with small stones laid in mortar and at the preserved top it has been leveled off by means of broken roof tiles. On the rear, i. e. south side, the line of the foundation was made straight, presumably to facilitate the roofing of the building. At the two north ends of the foundation there were traces of buttresses on the east and west side; these, however, were largely removed when the foundation for the rear wall of the South Stoa was laid.

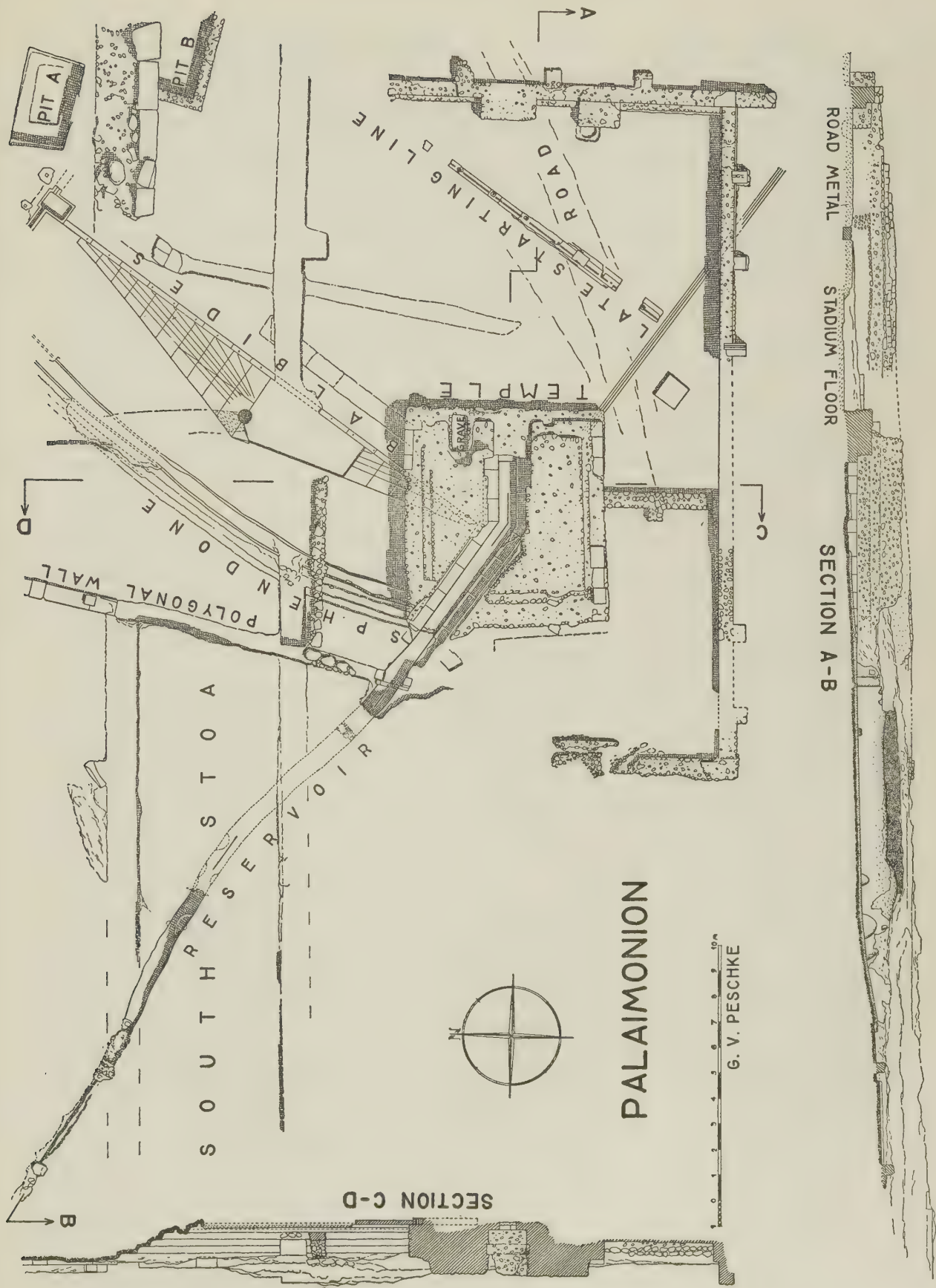


FIG. 3. Plan of the Palaimonion

Of the superstructure nothing remains; presumably it was made of large blocks which were removed and re-used in later buildings. The floor level appears to have been *ca.* 1.00 m. above the floor of the racecourse, as is shown by an earlier wall within the semicircle, still left standing to that height (Pl. 61, c, left of center). Near the east end of the buildings there is a box with inside measurements of 1.20 m. from north to south, 1.42 m. from east to west, and 0.72 m. in depth. It is lined both on the bottom and on the sides with roof tiles which seem to be Roman imitations of Greek tiles. They measure 0.71 m. x 0.58-0.60 m. in area. There are vestiges of pure lime on the tiles, and it is obvious that the box was used as a lime-pit. The southeast corner has been cut off by the semicircular foundation, thus showing that the pit is earlier than this building. Two monument bases, arranged symmetrically, flanked the entrance into the semicircular structure. The west base was entirely removed when the South Stoa was built, but the cutting for its foundation is preserved. The north half of the foundation for the east base is still *in situ*. It measures 1.45 m. in length; its width is not preserved. Lying above this foundation was found a marble base inscribed with the epigram to Nikias (see below, Inscription, No. 5). It is likely that the preserved base had been supported on the foundation where it was found. The semicircular building is certainly earlier than the South Stoa, but it may have remained standing after the stoa was constructed. If this was the case, the rear wall of the stoa became the front wall of the semicircle, and the two statues may have been left, flanking the entrance into the semicircular structure. Possibly the semicircular room was used by the Hellanodikai; it may have been here that the athletes appeared to be examined before they were admitted to participation in the games.

The final stage in the architectural development of the Palaimonion is represented by the temple foundation and its temenos (Fig. 3; Pl. 63). The south precinct wall is preserved in its entire length; the east and west walls are partly preserved; and on the north the precinct extended to the rear wall of the South Stoa. The south wall is 0.51 m. thick, and is standing to a height of 1.56 m. above the Stadium floor. It is built mostly with small stones laid in a hard lime mortar, and on the south side are buttresses at intervals of *ca.* 3 m. The foundation of the wall extends all the way down to the floor of the racecourse. The lowest part, to a height of 0.75 m. above this floor, consists of rubble thrown into a trench cut through the fill above the racecourse. This shows how much the ground level had risen at the time that the wall was constructed. Above the rubble subfoundation there is a socle, 0.55 m. high and projecting 0.03 m. from the face of the wall. Like the rest of the wall the socle is built of stones and mortar, but it is roughly finished. The inner face of the wall above the socle is made with small dressed stones resembling in construction the north wall of the precinct of Poseidon.¹⁵ The surface is smooth and was originally covered

¹⁵ For a description of this wall see *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 120.

with stucco of lime mortar, 0.01 m. thick. The rear face of the wall, with its buttresses, is also smoothly finished; it may have been covered with stucco which has disappeared. The less well preserved east wall was similarly constructed, but only slight traces of the buttresses remain. Set against the west face of the wall and thus facing the temple are two foundations (Fig. 3) which do not extend down to the Stadium floor, but rest on earth. The larger of the two measures 2.30 m. from north to south, and projects 0.85 m. from the face of the wall. It lies approximately on the axis of the temple and was probably the foundation of a propylon. The smaller foundation, 1.70 m. farther south, has the same projection from the wall but is only 1.65 m. wide. Possibly there was a second, less formal, entrance at this point, but it is also possible that the foundation supported a monument of some kind. The west wall is preserved only in the southwest corner of the precinct, where the ground level was higher. Here too are traces of stucco on the inner face.

East of this enclosure, in the area occupied by the two middle rooms of the early temenos, there are indications that the walls were rebuilt and strengthened and thus continued to be used, probably for the same purpose as their predecessors, whatever that was. The similarity in plan points to functional continuity. In the smaller of the two rooms were found many fragments of an arched marble doorway, with an outer width of 1.87 m. Above the arch, which has three fasciae, are rosettes in the corners. The clear width of the door opening was *ca.* 1.00 m. A limestone threshold at the southwest corner of the south room has approximately the same width and was probably used in the door to which the marble arch belongs. Three heavy foundations of the same construction as the temenos wall extended southward into the area covered by the modern road (Fig. 2). Doubtless the two rooms enclosed by the walls served some purpose in connection with the precinct. Over this whole area there was a deep layer of building debris, including large pieces of vaulting.¹⁶ It gave us the impression of being the destruction debris resulting from a severe earthquake. The pottery and lamps found among this rubble point to a date in the second half of the first century of our era.

THE TEMPLE OF PALAIMON

The foundation of the building which we have identified as the Temple of Palaimon is situated in the southwest corner of the Early Stadium (Fig. 3; Pls. 62, 63). Its orientation is the same as that of the temple of Poseidon (Fig. 2). What remains of the building is a rough foundation of *opus incertum*, stripped almost entirely of its lining of poros blocks. It stands to a height of 1.85 m. above the Stadium floor. It is nearly square, measuring 8.30 from east to west and 7.70 m. from north to south. The difference in the two dimensions is probably due to the fact that

¹⁶ One piece of vaulting is seen in Plate 59, d, left of center.

there were steps on the east façade but none on the flanks, and probably none in the rear where the ground level was higher. When the foundation was laid down the level had risen to a point *ca.* 0.50 m. above the Stadium floor. It may have been somewhat higher on the south side, where a wagon road with clearly-marked wheel ruts ascended from east to west. This road would have been in use during the interval between the abandonment of the Stadium and the construction of the temple. Over the whole area east of the temple there was a stratum *ca.* 0.25 m. deep, which contained almost no pottery or other recognizable objects. This probably accumulated while the road was in use, as well as later. During the construction of the temple and shortly thereafter the ground level apparently rose quickly, to a height of *ca.* 1.10 m. above the Stadium. It sloped down gently toward the east, so that at the east edge of the precinct it was only 0.60 m. above the Stadium floor. The fill between the gradual accumulation of earth and the level established about the time of the temple construction, *ca.* 0.25-1.10 m., contained numerous lamps of the Palaimonion type and of the Corinth Type XVI (Pl. 61, d). They were found at all levels within this fill, but no appreciable difference in date can be observed between the lamps from the higher and lower levels. Thus we must assume that the area was not filled up at one time, but by stages, though fairly rapidly, after the road had been abandoned.

At the east end of the temple foundation there was an opening which now measures 1.80 m. in width. Originally it must have been considerably narrower, since it would have been lined with poros blocks. At a point 1.75 m. from the east façade this opening drops abruptly down to the level of the Stadium floor, and a passage 0.74 m. wide, extends westward. The two sides of the passage are built with poros blocks, the lowest course of which was somewhat wider than the upper courses. Thus the existing *opus incertum* foundation rests partly on the projecting edge of the bottom course, and this explains why this course was left in place when the upper courses were removed. The impressions from the blocks of the missing courses can be seen in the concrete foundation (Pl. 63). The inside of the passage is covered with a heavy water-tight stucco *ca.* 0.015 m. thick. The passage continues straight west on the axis of the temple for a distance of 2.35 m., then turns northward at a 37° angle, and issues at the northwest corner of the foundation (Fig. 3). On both sides of the east-west section of the passage the impressions from the poros blocks extend all the way up to the top of the foundation; a little beyond the turn they stop at a height of only 0.90 m. Above this level the two edges of the passage are broken away roughly. This probably indicates that the passage at this point was vaulted over. From the bend the passage extends straight toward the northwest for a distance of 5.25 m. and at the end there is a gentle rise in the stuccoed floor. At this point the passage is joined to the pre-Roman reservoir described above (p. 311), the walls of which are cut out of native rock. Although the passage within the temple foundation has nearly the same width as the reservoir, the change in construction is unmistakable. The

floor and the sides of the reservoir are covered with a stucco, which differs from that used within the foundations of the temple. It is not only much harder, but its composition is different. Within the temple foundation the mortar is crumbly and consists of broken-up terracotta tiles mixed with lime mortar. The stucco of the reservoir is dark gray in color and is made of coarse sand mixed with natural cement.

On this square foundation with its basement passage we must reconstruct a circular temple, in conformity with representations on coins from Antonine times.¹⁷ The columns on the coins appear to be Corinthian, and small pieces of Corinthian capitals of white marble were found among the débris around the Temple foundation. Perhaps to the same colonnade belong two column bases of red marble, many fragments of which came from the same area. They indicate a column shaft with a lower diameter of 0.34 m. There were probably eight columns, and to judge from the coins, there were no walls within the colonnade. Some of the coins show a dolphin, carrying the body of Palaimon on his back, in the center of the building. It is not possible to determine whether this corresponds to a sculptural representation of the boy hero¹⁸ or is merely the coinmaker's way of indicating what building he intended to portray. Although epigraphical evidence is lacking, the identification is beyond question. It rests on the combined evidence of a) Pausanias' description, locating the Palaimonion to the left of the entrance into the temenos of Poseidon; b) on the underground passage, shown on the coins and mentioned by Pausanias; and c) on the discovery of lamps and sacrificial pits in the area east of the temple. The apparent discrepancy in Pausanias' account, who says that the Temple of Palaimon was within the precinct of Poseidon, may be explained by the fact that Pausanias probably entered the Palaimonion from the north, after he had visited the Temple of Poseidon. To him, approaching in this way, the two precincts, separated then perhaps only by a low wall, might well have appeared as a single enclosure.

THE THEATER

In the 1954 campaign we dug a long trench, 4 m. wide, across the theater but found the building so devastated that it seemed questionable whether it would be worth excavating. There were no seats preserved in the section of the cavea cleared in our trench. In the course of the last season, however, we dug a wide trench in the western part of the building and uncovered the two parallel walls of the west parodos. These have a different orientation from that of the skene, thus showing that the plan is that of a Greek rather than a Roman theater. The clear width of the parodos is 3.67 m. The two walls are built partly with very large, well-cut poros blocks, and partly with

¹⁷ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. B, XI-XIII.

¹⁸ See Pausanias II, 3, 4 for sculptural representation of Palaimon on the dolphin; and cf. Franklin P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 72.

small stones laid in lime-mortar. The north wall (Pl. 64, a), which is the better preserved, is 1.05 m. thick and is standing to a height of 1.70 m. From the west end it is preserved for a distance of 5.25 m. and is then broken off. The face of the south wall, similarly constructed, has been uncovered for a stretch of *ca.* 4 m. Its preserved height is only 1 m. At a distance of 3.93 m. from the west end of the parados there is a roughly built crosswall standing to a height of *ca.* 0.50 m. It is certainly later than the side-walls of the parados, but what purpose it served is not clear. Perhaps the floor of the parodos was raised at one time so that the crosswall was considered necessary to keep the earth from washing down into the orchestra. The walls uncovered in our trench are all of Roman construction. The parodos was probably vaulted over. At a height of 1.25 m. above the parodos floor, there was a layer of stones and crumbled lime mortar which seems to have resulted from the collapse of the vault.

Two fragments of a Doric column with a lower diameter of 0.53 m. were found lying on the floor of the parodos. The entrance to the parodos was partly closed by a large poros block, measuring 1.70 m. x 0.90 m. x 0.33 m., set on edge. One half of the block has a seat profile with a projecting band at the top, the other half preserves a step from one of the aisles of the cavea. The step is separated from the seat by a curved projection, 0.20 m. wide. Among the portable objects from the trench are several fragments of roof tiles stamped with the name *Ποσειδῶνος*, and the athlete's head described below pp. 326-327, Plate 66, a.

THE FORTRESS OF JUSTINIAN ¹⁹

During the three preceding campaigns we undertook to clear some sections of the Fortress of Justinian, and this year we continued and extended the work in this area. Our excavations were concentrated at two points, inside the South Gate, and at the outer face of the wall east of the gate, between towers 6 and 8.²⁰

The façade of the South Gate with its two flanking towers was excavated during the 1956 campaign. The gate proved to have been closed up at some late period; presumably another gate was subsequently made in the west wall. The approach to the South Gate from inside the fortress is flanked by walls, which seem to date from the eleventh to the twelfth century and were probably designed as retaining walls against an accumulation of earth within the fortress. The whole area inside the gate

¹⁹ The work done in 1957-1958 in our effort to trace the Cyclopean fortification wall across the Isthmus has already been reported in two articles, *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958, pp. 80-88; and *Atti del VIIe Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica*. Inasmuch as further attempts will be made to discover the continuation of the wall toward the west, a detailed description will be reserved for a later report.

²⁰ The numbering of the towers follows that of Megaw's plan in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 80, fig. 7. On this plan the numbering runs clockwise, beginning at the Northeast Gate. The right tower flanking the South Gate, as one enters the fortress, is numbered 8, the left tower is numbered 9.

presents a picture of building activities extending over several centuries. The latest is a dwelling built after the closing of the gate.

The outside face of the south wall (Pl. 64, c) was exposed for a distance of some 50 m., beginning at the section excavated in 1956 and extending toward the east as far as tower 6. Tower 7 was completely cleared; the west face of tower 6 was exposed; and the accumulation of building blocks, broken pottery, and ancient rubbish was removed from the interiors of the two towers. Both seem to have served as disposal pits for the convenience of the garrison within the fort. Tower 7, which had an intermediary floor of wood and probably carried a wooden roof construction, contained prodigious quantities of coarse pottery. Among the vases put together out of this vast material are several amphoras with pointed or rounded bottom, a series of tall vases with open top, large storage jars, etc. (see below, Pottery Nos. 15-17). Corroborative evidence for the date of construction of the wall is furnished by a complete lamp, a late phase of Corinth Type XXXI,²¹ which came from the stratum of construction chips, just below the floor of the tower. There is some evidence of repairs to the tower, probably from the time of Manuel II (1391-1423). The large tower 6 at the southeast corner of the fortress is particularly impressive both in size and construction. The walls are massive, nearly 2 m. thick, and the ceiling seems to have been a corbeled vault. In the west wall are steps leading down to the intermediary floor level.

On the slope outside the wall we dug some exploratory trenches below the ground level from the time of Justinian. These soundings produced pottery, lamp fragments, and pieces of glass from the first and second centuries of our era. Near the southwest corner of tower 7 we found what appears to have been a small bathing establishment, possibly connected with some Roman cult place in the vicinity. From a small, stuccoed tank (Pl. 64, b) the water was led off through a channel toward the east. Within the tank were found two complete lamps and fragments of a third, all of the Corinth Type XXVII, from the second century after Christ (see below, Pottery Nos. 11-13).

INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphical finds from our excavations have been somewhat disappointing, but a few of the documents, fragmentary as they are, deserve more than passing notice. Several small pieces of a treaty have been found containing the name of King Philip, doubtless Philip V. Since they came from widely separated parts of the sanctuary there are reasons for expecting that other fragments will be discovered from which significant portions of text may be restored. Many small pieces of victor lists have been found, all inscribed on three-faced stelai. The largest appears below as number 4.

²¹ *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 118 ff.

1. IM 2315. Fig. 4; Pl. 73, a. Fragment of *halter*, inscribed on two sides, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.095 m., W. 0.08 m., L. 0.12 m.; Letters, 0.01-0.03 m.

-- ε πενταφέθλεον νίκα.

-- αιον δ' φιν[ό]ιδ' εὐχόμενο[s].

Reddish gray stone, blackened by fire.

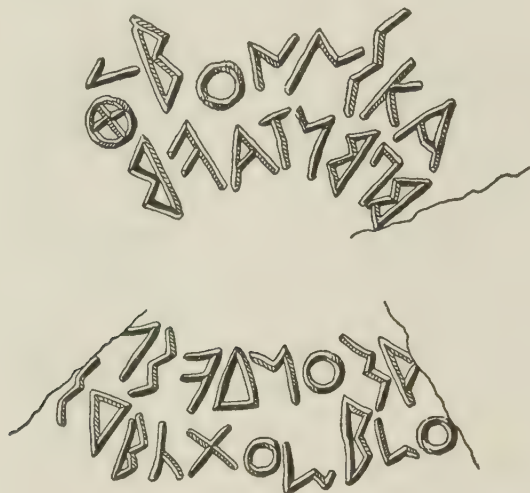


FIG. 4. Inscription 1, on *Halter*

A. The reference to the pentathlon is important because of the early date of the inscription and the unique form of the word. It is a variant of *πεντάθλιον*, which occurs in Pindar's Isthmian I, 26. At Olympia the pentathlon is said to have been introduced in 708 B.C., and our inscription shows that it had become one of the events of the Isthmian Games before the middle of the sixth century B.C. The last four letters of the line may be the imperfect or, less likely, the imperative of the verb. Michael H. Jameson, with whom I have discussed the problems of the inscription, suggests reading *πενταφεθλεον(ν)ίκα* as a noun. If the doubling of the *nu* is due to anomaly of spelling, the metrical irregularity in the fifth foot of the line disappears.

B. The first four letters of this line may be part of a name in the nominative, formed like *Ἰσαίων*, *Εἰρηναίων* etc., and would then be the name of the victorious athlete who dedicated the *halter*. It is more likely, however, that the dedicator's name appeared in the first line and that *αιον* is the end of a noun or adjective in the accusative, the object of *εὐχόμενος*. Where the line curves and turns back one or at most two letters are missing. The word suggested in the restoration is the dative of the

name Ἰνοῖς,²² to be explained as a Doric equivalent of Ἰνός or Ἰνοῖδης, metronymics formed like Δητόιος, Δητοῖδης, and referring to Melikertes-Palaimon. It would be possible to read δ' *fin* [ό]ι δ' εὐχόμενο[s], but the two particles coming so close together would make such a reading unlikely. And there is no reason to assume that the dedication was made to Ino, who seems to have had no direct connection with the games.

The *halter* was discovered in the debris from the burned Archaic Temple of Poseidon. The letter forms point to the first half of the sixth century B.C. They resemble the letters on the aryballos recently discovered at Corinth and dated to the end of the Middle Corinthian period (580-575).²³ The four-bar *iota* is more open and elongated, and this feature occurs on some of the Penteskouphia tablets.²⁴

2. ΙΣ 319. Pl. 65, a. Poros base, found by villager in a field of Pavlos Vlassos, a quarter of a mile west of the Temple of Poseidon.

H. 0.40 m., W. 0.307 m., Th. 0.42 m.; Letters, 0.025 m.

Πᾶσι καὶ ἡς(?) | ομε ---
 ηεπτομ ---
 ποσι ---

The letters are well cut, but only those of the first line are sufficiently well preserved to be read with certainty. The surface on the lower part of the stone has been scratched away by the plow.

What can be read seems to be part of a funeral epigram. At the right edge the first and second lines turned and ran down vertically. Possibly there was a painting or relief in the center. There are horizontal guide lines on the left two thirds of the stone and a very prominent vertical line after the second *alpha* of the first line. Corinthian letters of the sixth century B.C.

3. ΙΣ 316. Pl. 66, b. Blue marble base, found in orchard of Lambros Papatheodoros, west of the Sanctuary of Poseidon.

H. 0.11 m., W. 0.57 m., Th. 0.285 m.; Letters, 0.014-0.017 m.

Κλεῶ: Θασίδος: Δάματρι

In the top is an oblong cutting for a statue (see under Sculpture, p. 326, No. 1). The words are separated with double dots, like a colon. The unusual name Thasis is presumably feminine.²⁵ Fourth century B.C.

²² For the occurrence of this ending of masculine nouns in Doric dialects see Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, p. xviii. Normally, according to Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, II, p. 251, the *i*-stems of Greek nouns in the Corinthian dialect are formed with genitives *ios*, and datives *ei*, *i*; but there are few examples of this kind of proper names in archaic Corinthian inscriptions.

²³ Mary and Carl Roebuck, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 160.

²⁴ *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pl. 23, no. 15a; pl. 24, no. 21.

²⁵ But see above, note 22.

4. IΣ 358. Pl. 65, b. Fragment of victor list of white marble, from the Palaimonion area.

H. 0.24 m., W. 0.34 m., Th. 0.115 m.; Letters, 0.012-0.016 m.

Face B: Συνωρίδι τελεία

[Ἴ]ούλιος Τειμοκράτης Σικυνώνιος

Κέλητι τελείω

--- αρχος ὁ καὶ Λέων Μεγαλοκλέους Θεσσαλός

ἄρματι πωλικῶ

Face C: Ἀ[γενείων πένταθλον] (?)

Μ Ἀν[τώνιος

Ἀ[νδρῶν πένταθλον] (?)

--- δη ---

The fragment preserves parts of the second and third faces of the stele, as will appear if we compare it with the better preserved victor lists found at Ancient Corinth.²⁶ The records of the games were probably engraved on duplicate stelai, one copy being set up in the gymnasium at Corinth, the second at Isthmia. The ἄρματι πωλικῶ does not occur, with this designation, among the events listed in the Corinth inscriptions.

5. I 377. Pl. 65, c, d. Statue base of white marble, discovered in front of the semi-circular foundation (see above p. 316) at the north edge of the Palaimonion area.

H. 1.25 m., W. at top 0.475 m., at bottom (not including the moulding) 0.525 m., Th. 0.52 m.; Letters, 0.02-0.04 m.

A. Ῥητήρων τὸν πρῶτον ἀγωνοθετῶν

ὁχ' ἄριστον,

Ἐν πάσαις ἀρχαῖς κῦδος ἀναψάμενον.

Στήσαν ἐνὶ προδόμῳ σε Ποσειδάωνος

5 ἄγαλμα

Νεικία, ἀντ' ἀρετῆς οἱ συναγωνοθέται.

Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς)

B. Αὐτὸς μὲν προχέων ἐπιείκελα

ρεύμασι πέμπει

10 Ἀεϊάων ποταμῶν ἐν στομάτεσ<σ>ιν ἔπη

Εἴκονι δ' ἔστηκεν πρότι νηοῦ χαλκοτεύκῳ

Χείρεσιν ἐν καθαλαῖς παρ' καθαροῖσι ῥόοις.

Ἀντ' ἀρετῆς δ' ἔλαβεν ῥ' ἄ ῥ ἄ ῥ ἄ

²⁶ B. D. Meritt, *Corinth VIII*, i, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 15.

ᾧ μιν ἔτεισαν.

15 Οἱ ῥα καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἦδεσ(α)ν ἀθλοθέται

Νικία, ᾧ μέγα χάρμα πολλῇ τε καὶ

τεκέεσσιν

*Ἀστοις καὶ ξείνοις, ὥς μεγ' ὄνειαρ ἔφυσ.

Translation:

First among orators, pre-eminent as agonotheses,

Having acquired glory in every public office—

For these achievements your colleagues in the office of agonotheses

Erected a statue of you, Nikias, in the forechamber of Poseidon.

BY VOTE OF THE COUNCIL

He verily pours forth words like streams

At the mouths of everflowing rivers.

He stands, a portrait of bronze, before the Temple,

in the midst of pure hands, by purifying streams (of water);

And as reward for his merit he received a gold crown (?) by which
they honored him.

Readily, unfalteringly the athlothetai knew (your worth),

O Nikias, a great delight to the city; and to the young—

Citizens and strangers alike—how great a blessing nature has made you.

The first four lines of the epigram, inscribed on the broad front face of the base, record the original honor, the erection of a bronze statue in the pronaos of the Temple of Poseidon by Nikias' colleagues in office. The longer, second part of the epigram, on the left flank of the base, has to do with another honor granted at some later occasion. Here, in line 11, the statue mentioned in line 3 is referred to as already standing in front of the Temple. The 'pure hands and purifying streams' I take as allusions to the ceremonial washing of hands in a basin (*perirrhanterion*) standing at the entrance to the Temple. The reference to the second honor in line 10 has been erased. It may have been a gold crown, χρυσοῦν στέφος, awarded to Nikias for his oratorical skill. A faint trace of the slanting stroke of the *chi* can be observed in the first letter space of the rasura. The crown, unlike the statue, did not require consent of the Boule. It is significant that the second part, lines 8-16, makes no mention of his office of agonotheses; instead it extols his powers of speech in exaggerated terms, which even to the ancients must have suggested a double interpretation. The reason for the *rasura* we can only guess. Nikias may have failed to produce the price of the crown which custom required the recipient to deposit;²⁷ or he may in his old age

²⁷ This suggestion was made to me by Antony Raubitschek.

have returned the badge in a fit of displeasure. Whatever the reason for the censure may have been, it did not entail the removal of the statue. It seems likely, however, that it was moved from its original position in the pronaos of the Temple to the South Stoa, where the stone was discovered.

The synagonothetai, who were responsible for the erection of the statue, cannot be merely the successors or predecessors of Nikias. We do not know how many agonothetai served at one time at the Isthmian Games, but they must have been more than two.²⁸ The second honor was awarded by the athlothetai, probably no more than a poetical term for Hellanodikai, who would have been responsible for distributing the prizes. The difference in the spelling of the name Nikias in lines 6 and 16 is further indication that the two parts of the inscription were inscribed at different times, although the letter forms are very similar.

SCULPTURE

1. IS 254. Pl. 66, b. Statuette of white marble, belonging to the inscribed base, Inscription No. 3.

L. of plinth 0.40 m.; pres. H. 0.23 m.; max. W. 0.175 m.; L. of sinkage in base 0.41 m. The upper parts of the figure are missing.

The preserved portion shows a girl, reclining to left with her knees drawn up and draped down to her feet. She holds her two hands on a bird, probably a goose, whose head is broken away. The carving of hands and feet is careless; the folds of the drapery are shallow and roughly worked out. Even in its present state of preservation, however, the contours of the body and the chubby hands and feet indicate that the girl represented was a small child, perhaps three or four years old. The carving of the drapery is somewhat reminiscent of the drapery on the Manteneia frieze. There can be no doubt that the statuette belongs to the inscribed base. The letter forms show that the dedication was made in the fourth century B.C. The Sanctuary of Demeter, in which the statu-

ette was set up, was situated within the Sacred Glen (*ἱερὰ νάπη*) to the west of the precinct of Poseidon. Another dedication to Demeter,²⁹ also of the fourth century B.C., was found some years ago in the same vicinity.

2. IS 301. Pl. 66, c. Fragment of a statue of white marble, found in the underground passage of the Palaimonion, at the entrance to the pre-Roman reservoir.³⁰

L. of plinth 0.62 m.; pres. H. 0.40 m.

Only the left foot and part of a tree trunk support are preserved. The sandal, with very elaborate straps, is somewhat reminiscent of the sandals on the Hermes statue at Olympia.

3. IS 351. Pl. 66, a. Marble head of youth from the west parodos of the Theater.

H. from chin to top of wreath 0.18 m.; *ca.* three-quarters life size.

The head has been broken away from a relief and was intended to be seen in three-quarter view to left. The hair is rendered with shallow locks and he wears a wreath of pine twigs.³¹

²⁸ The title *conagonothetes* appears in Latin inscriptions from Corinth. A. B. West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, No. 95.

²⁹ *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, p. 232; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 128.

³⁰ The photograph on Plate 61, a shows the fragment as found at the entrance to the reservoir.

³¹ For the conventional rendering of pine branches see Franklin P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 55.

There are marks of the drill in the hair, wreath, and ear. White marble; good Roman work, probably from the first century of our era. This

is the first sculptural evidence for the pine wreath of the Isthmian victor from our excavation.

METAL OBJECTS

1. IM 2224. Pl. 67, a. Standing male figure of bronze, from the north temenos dump.

H. 0.135 m.

Head, arms and lower left leg are missing. The right foot is pierced and the whole figure is bent forward.³² The surface is much corroded.

Geometric period.

2. IM 2089. Pl. 67, d. Standing male figure of bronze, from large circular pit.

H. 0.105 m.

Both arms are bent at the elbows, and it is possible that he held some object in his right hand. The hair is parted in the middle and in the back it ends in a queue. The surface is badly pockmarked.

Fine work of the early sixth century B.C.

3. IM 2360. Pl. 67, b, c. Standing male figure of bronze, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.08 m.

The figure is striding with right foot forward and left arm bent. The right arm, which came off in the cleaning, is too much oxidized to be cleaned and added to the figure. The hair is smooth and held together with a fillet. On the back it comes down in a solid mass ending in a point.

4. IM 2356. Pl. 67, e. Male figure of bronze, probably Poseidon, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.117 m.

Hands and feet are missing and the surface damaged by fire. He is striding, with left foot advanced and his right arm held up toward the head. Probably he held the trident in the right hand. The edge of the hair is combed up in

front, the rest is smooth. Apparently he was bearded, but the lower part of the face is so much damaged by fire that the features are largely obliterated. A cloak hangs over his left shoulder. A piece of bronze attached to the right leg seems to be from another figure accidentally stuck on during the fire in the Temple.

5. IM 2480. Pl. 68, a. Bronze Medusa, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.102 m.

Head, right wing, and both feet are missing. She is kneeling, with her right knee resting on the decorated rim of a vessel. She wears a short-sleeved garment, and three curls of hair hang down on either side of the face. The upper part of her winged boot is preserved on her left leg. The back is flat and unfinished.³³ The surface is much damaged in fire.

6. IM 2481. Pl. 68, b. Fragment of bronze Medusa, identical with the preceding and found in the same place.

H. 0.05 m.

All that remains is the part from the waist down to below the knees.

7. IM 2485. Pl. 68, c. Bronze protome of sphinx, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.038 m.

The figure was attached to a handle, part of which is preserved in the back. She wears a low crown, consisting of a plain band above which there is a row of pointed leaves. The hair, which is rendered with great care, hangs down in two long curls on either side of the face. The feathers on the chest are indicated with fine incised lines. The lower part of the face has been damaged in fire.

³² A very similar figure, completely preserved, was found at the Argive Heraion. See Carl W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 431, fig. 17.

³³ Cf. Ulf Jantzen, "Bronzewerkstätten," *Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft* XIII, 1937, pl. 32, 132-134; H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, pp. 134 f., pl. 42.

8. IM 2090. Fig. 5. Bronze boat with rowers, from large circular pit.³⁴

L. 0.093 m., W. 0.028 m.

The stem of the vessel terminates in an animal's head. At the prow sits a man with bent elbow in an apparent gesture of command. There are two rowers at the middle and a helmsman at the stern. The human figures are roughly blocked out with few details showing, but motions of the rowers and the man at the prow are well contrasted with the slumped, inarticulate position of the helmsman.

9. IM 2343. Pl. 68, e. Miniature dolphin of bronze, from the east temenos dump.

11. IM 2091. Pl. 68, g. Bronze bull, from large circular pit.

L. 0.07 m., H. 0.046 m.

The figure is carefully modeled with fine attention to details, but the surface is much damaged.

12. IM 2359. Pl. 68, f. Bronze bull, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.055 m., H. 0.032 m.

The figure is more crudely modeled than the preceding figure, and unlike it the bull is represented as standing still with the legs nearly straight.



FIG. 5. Bronze Boat with Rowers

L. 0.033 m.

The figure is delicately modeled, with all the details indicated, and in excellent state of preservation. The eyes are rendered with fine incised circles.

10. IM 2301. Pl. 68, d. Bronze billy goat,³⁵ reclining, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.075 m., H. 0.06 m.

The inside is hollow and the bottom line curves slightly, showing that the figure was attached to the curving surface of a vessel. The bent right foreleg is rendered with incised lines. Tail, beard and hair on the head are similarly indicated.

13. IM 2302. Pl. 69, a, right. Head of a horse, from east temenos dump.

Total L. from mouth to top of mane 0.065 m.

The head is modeled in the round but was clearly intended to be seen in profile. When viewed straight from the front the head looks somewhat distorted. The mane is rendered in ripply waves, and a double fringe over the forehead is similarly indicated. The forelock is tied into an upright knot, and the individual hairs are rendered with fine incised lines. The modeling is exceptionally delicate and the preservation of the head is perfect. The back of the neck, however, is less carefully finished and

³⁴ A clay model of a boat, very similar to ours, was found in Cyprus, *Fasti Archeologici*, VIII, 1953, p. 120, fig. 20.

³⁵ There is an almost identical figure of a goat from Dodona, illustrated in Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀ. Ἐ., 1955, p. 57, fig. 54.

was not meant to be visible. The head was cast solid and is broken at the neck, as if wrenched with great force from a solid background.

14. IM 2303. Pl. 69, a, left. Horse's head found with the preceding and obviously part of the same monument.

Total L. 0.063 m.

The details are rendered in the same way as in the preceding and if anything with greater delicacy.

The most obvious parallels to the two horses' heads are the figures of the frieze in the Vix krater.⁸⁶ On closer scrutiny, however, important differences emerge. The Vix krater is considerably later in date. Joffrey dates it in the second half of the sixth century and it can hardly come much before the end of that century. The two horses on the Vix krater with their heads raised measure 0.14 m. in height; the Isthmia horses by analogy would have been *ca.* 0.25 m. high. Both heads are in the round, though intended to be seen in profile. Since they show no trace of bridles it may be questioned whether they were part of a quadriga. In view of these differences it seems hazardous to assume that the two heads are part of the decoration of a monstrously large krater. A dedicatory relief, on the analogy of certain marble reliefs of later date,⁸⁷ seems more likely, even if no parallels in bronze can be adduced.

15. IM 2284. Pl. 68, h. Bronze trident, from east temenos dump. Pres. L. 0.108 m.

The metal prong in the middle, which is broken at the top, has a double spiral on one side, but there is no trace of attachments for a similar piece on the other side. One of the side prongs has two barbs on the inside, the other has one on either side. Only a small part of the shaft is preserved. The trident was probably part of a statuette of Poseidon.

16. IM 2357. Fig. 6. Bronze stylus, from east temenos dump. L. 0.14 m.

The flat end for erasing has simple decorations on both sides.

17. IM 2339. Fig. 7. Hinged bronze pieces, from the archaic fill in the Temple of Poseidon (see above, p. 300).

Total L. if extended, 0.085 m.

The two pieces are square in section and hollow, apparently intended to hold pieces of wood or ivory. They may have been used as compasses or callipers.

18. IM 2471. Fig. 7. Hinged bronze pieces like the preceding and found in the same place.

Three more pairs, five in all, came from the same area. Most of them are in poor condition, and all show the effect of the fire by which the wood or ivory that fitted into the bronze sockets was consumed. Possibly they were architects' instruments, used in the construction of the Temple and later dedicated to Poseidon.

19. Fig. 8. Decorated shield strap, from the east temenos dump.

Total W. 0.07 m., size of decorated panel (exclusive of the border), 0.053×0.050 m.

Parts of two halves are preserved: one (A) with two panels, beginning at the palmette; the other (B) with four panels, going down to the palmette. Two small fragments in poor condition are decorated with scenes of a quadriga. Apparently they come from one of the attachment plates (*Ansatzplatte*), which extended from the arm loop and were usually somewhat wider than the straps attached to them.

A. Fig. 8, left. The palmette, with nine leaves above the volutes, is separated from the first panel by a bead-and-reel pattern. Single bead-and-reel borders separate the panels, but at the ends two such patterns come together; one belongs to the panel; the other, which extends across the whole width of the strap, goes with the palmette.

⁸⁶ René Joffrey, *Le trésor de Vix*, pl. XIII.

⁸⁷ E. g. the double relief from New Phaleron; see Otto Walter, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1937 A, p. 112, fig. 3. The extensive bibliography on this piece of sculpture appears in note 1 of Walter's article.

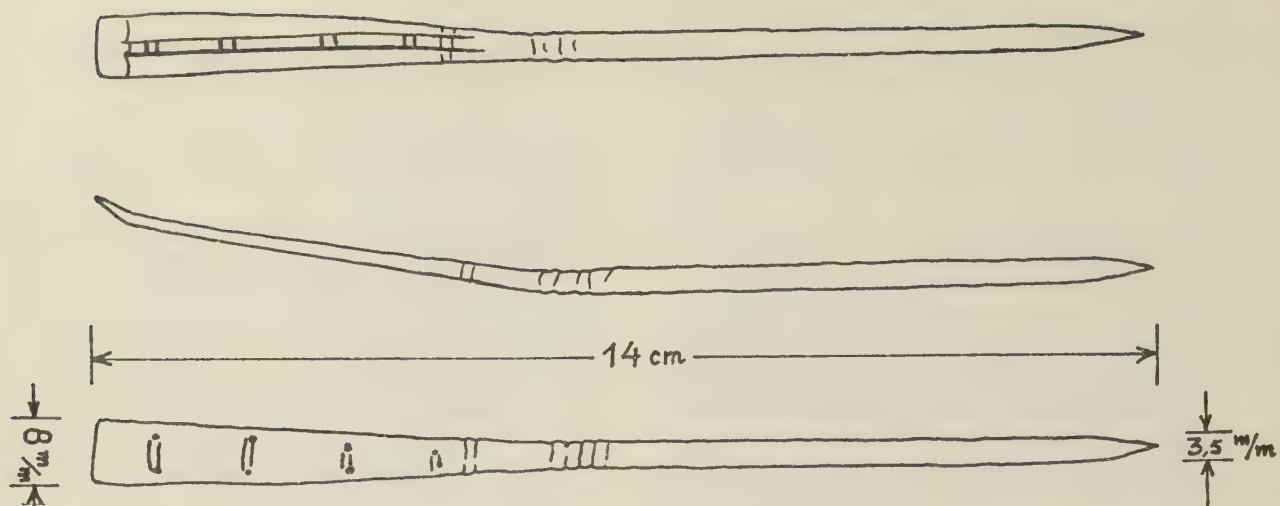


FIG. 6. Bronze Stylus

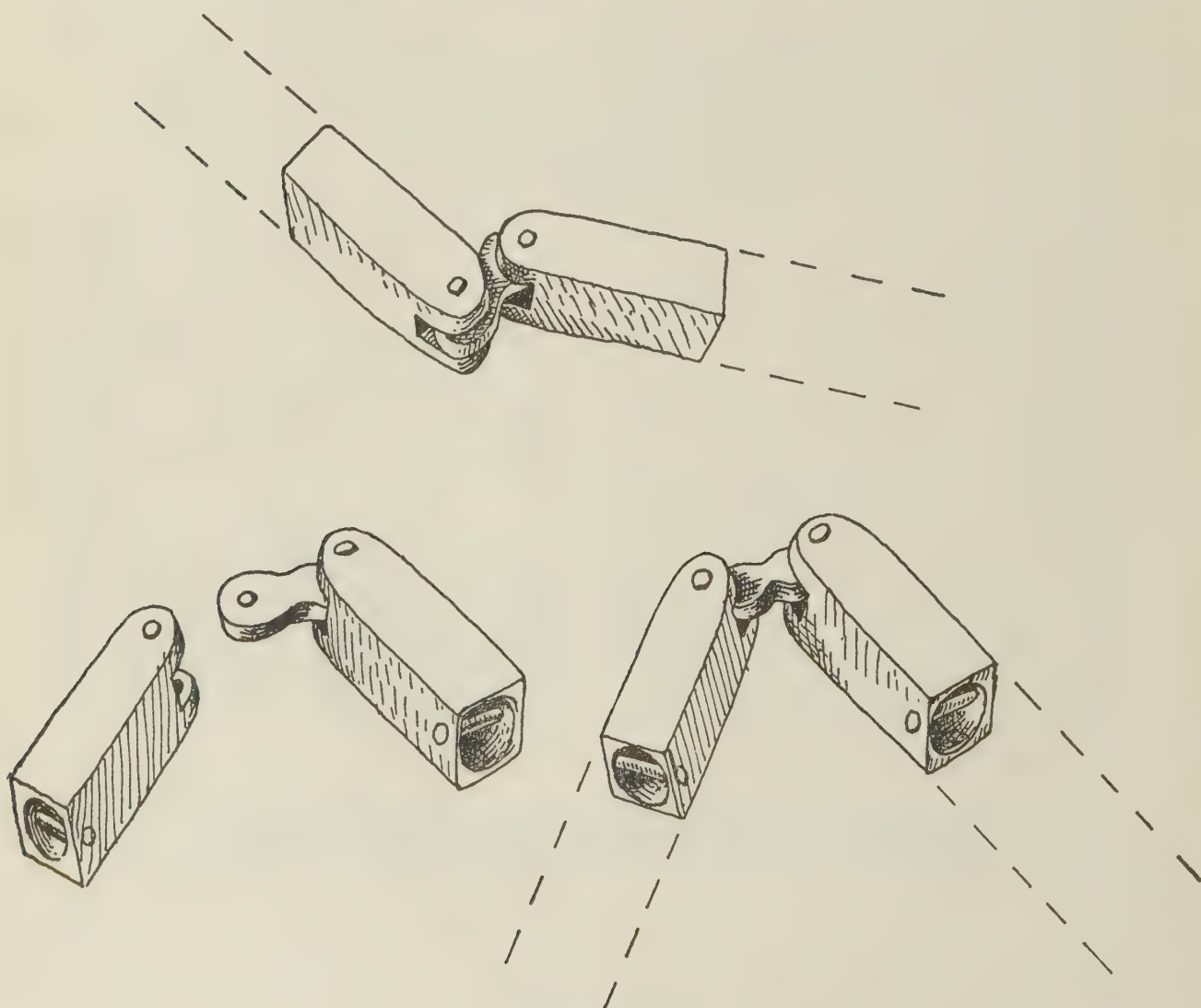


FIG. 7. Hinged Bronze Pieces

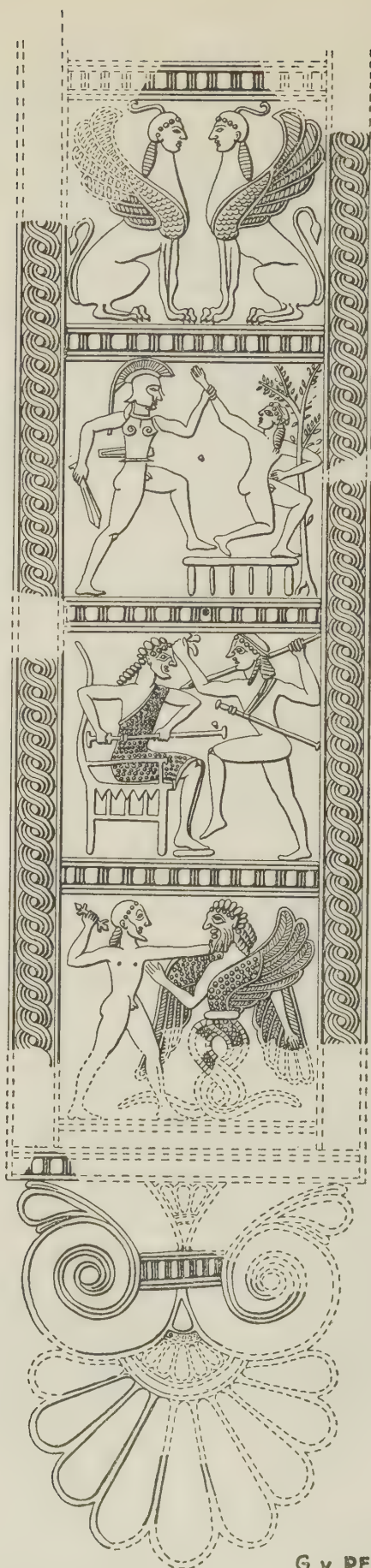
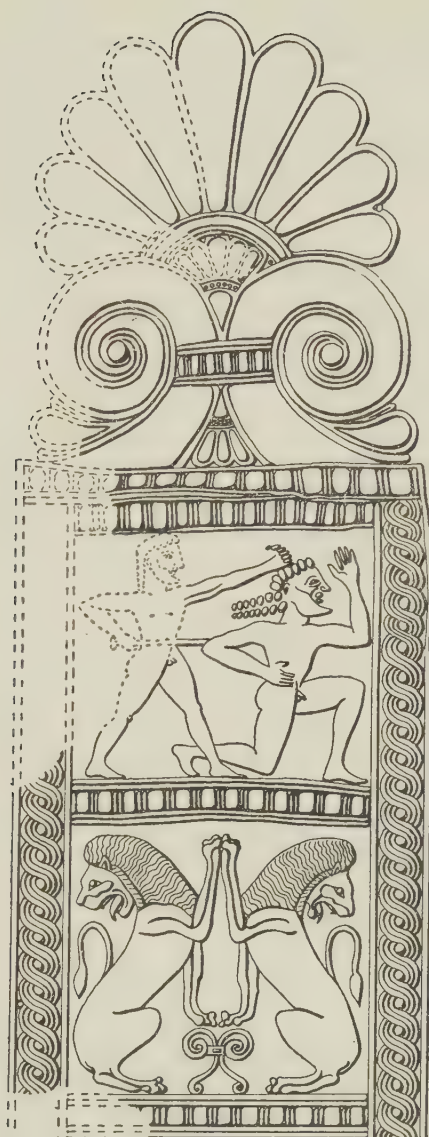


FIG. 8. Decorated Bronze Shield Strap

G. v. PESCHKE

Panel 1. A bearded figure (Geras)³⁸ is fleeing to right, with his right knee bent to the ground, and is pursued by a second figure (Herakles), who has grasped him by the hair and seems to be stabbing him with his sword. Most of the pursuing figure has been restored.

Panel 2. Two rampant lions, each with one forepaw held straight up, the other resting on a stand of double spirals. Only part of the left lion is now visible. The second lion, here restored from better preserved Olympia examples, is hidden underneath the folded bronze, but the metal sheet is too crumbly to be turned back.

B. Fig. 8, right. The longer half, with four panels, began at the attachment of the loop that went around the arm.

Panel 3. Two confronting sphinxes with curved ribbons extending above their heads.

Panel 4. Achilles and Troilos. This is the best preserved of the panels. Troilos, nude, stands on an altar and has crooked his left arm around a tree. Behind him Achilles, wearing breast plate and helmet, has grasped with his left hand the right wrist of Troilos. Achilles is stepping on to the altar with his left foot and holds his sword unsheathed ready to stab the boy.

Panel 5. This panel too is almost completely preserved. The subject is the death of Aigisthos. He is seated on a throne, and wears a dotted garment which leaves the right shoulder bare. He is bearded and wears an elaborate hairdo, resembling that of Geras in panel 1. Orestes, who is nude, has seized Aigisthos' hair with his left hand and stabs at his chest with his spear in his right. His sword hangs in the scabbard on his bare back.

Panel 6. Zeus combatting Typhon. The lower part of the panel is missing. Zeus stands nude before the monster, whom he has seized by the neck, threatening him with his thunderbolt. Typhon has three wings and his body below the waist consists of two twisted snakes' tails. His arms are spread out in a gesture of fear, also registered in his face.

There can be no doubt that the two halves of the bronze strap belong together. The decorations on the panels are identical with those on six of seven panels on one type of shield strap from Olympia.³⁹ One panel, with the scene of Ajax and Cassandra, may be lost entirely; more probably the strap was shortened by the length of one panel. The length of the shield straps from Olympia varies, but not the order of the panels. Kunze's conclusion that single matrixes were employed, by which the order becomes fixed, is thus corroborated by the fragments from Isthmia. It is obvious that the shield straps from Olympia, form I, and our specimen from the Isthmia were manufactured in the same workshop. The label "Argive-Corinthian" adheres to this kind of bronze reliefs, but the reason for the first part of the hyphenated term, as Humfry Payne⁴⁰ already surmised, becomes less cogent with each new discovery at Corinthian sites.

20. Fig. 9. Decorated piece of bronze, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.13 m.

A figure of Poseidon to right is rendered by engraved lines. The god wears a leafy wreath and a long, flowing garment, which he has gathered in his left hand. In the right hand he holds a small dolphin, whose body is partly concealed beneath the folds of his garment. The tail of the dolphin is outlined below Poseidon's wrist. The projection behind the dorsal fin

³⁸ For the identification of the mythological figures see Emil Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen*, II, pp. 6 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 73, I. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Emil Kunze for information about the shield straps. His basic work on the Olympia shields has revealed the technical processes involved in the production of the decorated straps.

⁴⁰ *Perachora*, I, pp. 143 ff.

seems to be a fold of drapery. There is no background. Apparently the bronze piece was intended as a separate dedication or as inlay for decoration on some piece of armor or harness.⁴¹

21. IM 2311. Pl. 69, b, top left. Decorated strip of gold, from the east temenos dump.

L. 0.036 m., W. 0.012 m.

Pres. L. 0.03 m., H. 0.03 m.

The paws, the end of the tail, and hairs on the haunches are rendered with fine incised lines; the texture of the fur is shown with light stippling. At the back is a curving line which seems to indicate the beginning of a sickle-shaped wing. At the right edge are two holes for fastening the ornament with pins or wire.

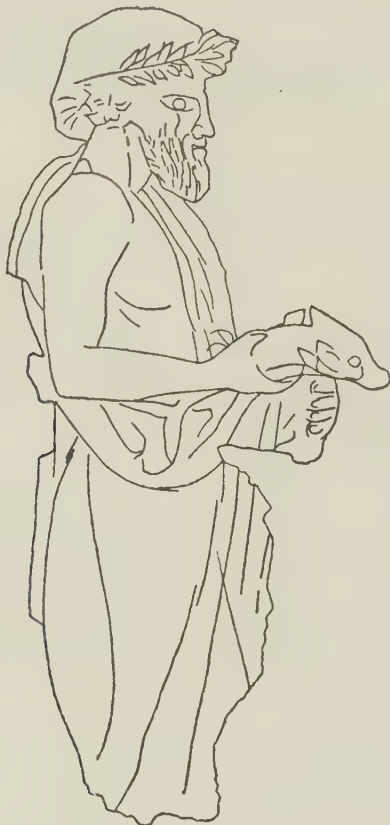


FIG. 9. Bronze Plaque with Figure of Poseidon

The decoration consists of four rosettes in squares, surrounded by frames of small dotted squares. There are two holes through the thin gold leaf, but they seem to be accidental.

22. IM 2310. Pl. 69, b, top right. Gold ornament, preserving rear half of griffon in repoussé.

23. IM 2174. Pl. 69, b, bottom left. Gold pin with flat knob, from east temenos dump.

Diam. of knob, 0.008 m.

The pin was twisted out of shape and the point is missing. On the flat knob is a cross in very fine lines.

⁴¹ Though later in date, it is technically similar to the "ausgeschnittenenes Bronzeblech" B 1646 from Olympia, H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympiabericht*, V, 1956, p. 93, pl. 50.

24. IM 2313. Pl. 69, b, bottom center. Small coil of gold wire, from the east temenos dump.

The color is much lighter than that of the other gold objects, and it is probable that the coil is made of an alloy (electrum).

25. IM 2312. Pl. 69, b, bottom right. Small gold rivet or pin head, from the east temenos dump.

To the hemispherical head is attached a short hollow tube.

26. IM 2362. Fig. 10. Iron implement, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.164 m., W. (in middle) 0.045 m., (at the ends) 0.065 m.

There is a hole, only 0.017 m. in diameter, for the handle. It seems to be a stone mason's tool rather than a carpenter's adze.

27. IM 2363. Pl. 69, c. Lead *halter*, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.16 m., Weight, 1.345 kg.

The surface is somewhat rough, partly due to oxidization. It belongs to a type of *halter* frequently shown in palaistra scenes on sixth century vases.⁴²

POTTERY

1. IP 1946. Pl. 70, a. Fragment of stirrup vase, from the Cyclopean wall in the village of Isthmia. L.H. III B.⁴³

Pres. H. 0.12 m.

On the body are alternating rows of wide and narrow bands; on the shoulder a design made up of various curved lines and rows of dots. The stem, which was made as a separate piece and attached to the shoulder while the clay was wet, is relatively high, an indication of lateness within the L. H. III B period. Reddish buff clay, brown glaze.

2. IP 1947. Pl. 70, b. Small one-handed jug, from the same place as the preceding. Top and handle are missing.

Pres. H. 0.065 m.

On the neck and body are horizontal bands. Reddish buff clay, light brown glaze.

3. IP 1945. Pl. 70, c. Base of L. H. kylix, from Cyclopean wall.

Diam. of base, 0.065 m.

Reddish buff clay, unglazed.

4. IP 1346. Pl. 70, d. Early Corinthian alabastron, from large circular pit.

H. 0.06 m.

On the shoulders and bottom are elongated leaf designs and on the body conventional patterns of lines and dots. Buff clay, brown and purple glaze which has largely peeled off.

5. IP 1841. Pl. 70, e. Plastic vase in the form of a duck, from the large circular pit.

L. 0.07 m., H. 0.057 m.

The neck forms a loop, and at the top of the head is the mouth of the vase. Details of the head and of wings and feathers are rendered with fine incised lines. Buff clay; dark brown and purple glaze, which has largely flaked off.

6. IP 2009. Pl. 70, f. Early Corinthian alabastron, from north temenos dump.

H. 0.073 m.

On the neck and bottom are leaf designs, on the body two zones of animals, badly drawn. Light buff clay, brown and purple glaze.

⁴² See E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 105. The weight is somewhat less than that of the stone *halter* from Isthmia, published in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 36, but greater than that of a similar lead weight in the British Museum illustrated by Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 146, fig. 100 b. There seems to have been no standard weight for the *halteres*.

⁴³ The three fragmentary vases, Nos. 1-3, and other fragments from the fill of the Cyclopean wall are typical examples of L.H. III B pottery. For shape and decoration compare the pottery from the Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 388 ff., figs. 69, 70; and A.J.B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XLVII, 3, 13, 14. According to Furumark's dating this type of pottery comes down to 1230 B.C., *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 115.

7. IP 2010. Pl. 70, g. Small Corinthian oinochoe, from north temenos dump.

H. 0.077 m.

On the neck are rows of wavy lines, on the handle and shoulder rays. The main zone carries a row of animals: two lions, a swan, and a duck. The intervening spaces are filled with conventional patterns. Light buff clay; dark brown glaze, poorly preserved.

suggested the rare *ποτήρ*, should probably be restored as *κώθων*. This term was applied to a common drinking cup⁴⁶ rather than to the flat bowl with incurving rim of Corinthian manufacture which by modern usage has been called kothon. Red Attic clay, lustrous black glaze.

10. IP 1708. Pl. 71, a, b. Plastic vase of a comic figure, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.055 m.

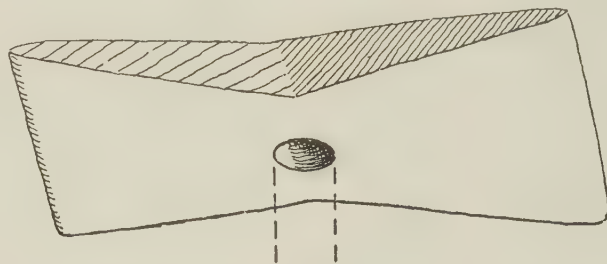


FIG. 10. Iron Implement from East Temenos Dump

8. IP 2424. Pl. 70, h. Terracotta bell,⁴⁴ from east temenos dump.

H. 0.04 m., Diam. 0.038 m.

At the top is a basket handle, and the bell is open at the top. On the body are three lines of glaze. Hard, red clay; dark brown glaze of good quality.

9. IP 2047a. Pl. 70, i. Fragment of one-handled cup with flat bottom, from north temenos dump.

In the photograph only the bottom is shown, but a large fragment from the body is preserved. They were found together. On the base is incised the name of the vase *κώθων*. The two fragments come from a vase of the shape of Berlin 2266. In 1954 some inscribed fragments of such a vase came from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon.⁴⁵ They are not from the same cup as the new fragments. The missing word in the dedication, for which I

The head is missing. The man is seated with his legs drawn up and his elbows resting on his knees. His right hand, which he holds up to his beard, is well modeled with each finger indicated, but there is no left hand at all nor is it broken away. The bottom of the vase is perforated and a horizontal hole, perhaps for suspension, ran through the head, communicating with the opening into the interior. The man seems to wear some kind of animal's skin on his chest, rendered plastically and covered with small dots. Possibly this is merely intended to indicate the hair on the body, because the breasts are shown by dotted circles. On the belly, on either side of a large phallos, is a dancing satyr painted in brown glaze. There are small rosettes on his knees and larger rosettes on the shoulders. Two wheel patterns, one unlike the other, are painted on the buttocks.

Several plastic vases of this general variety

⁴⁴ A similar bell came from the archaic Temple deposit in the 1954 campaign; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 133, No. 16, pl. 51, d.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133, No. 19, pl. 52, a.

⁴⁶ See Aristophanes' *Knights*, 600; Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, I, 2, 8.

have been found in Corinth,⁴⁷ and others of Corinthian manufacture have come from other places in Greece and Sicily. Our vase from the Isthmia has much in common with a plastic vase in the Louvre, to which Payne⁴⁸ has devoted a considerable discussion. The pose and modeling are very similar and so is the trick use of holes for manipulating the contents. Another vase of the same kind is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.⁴⁹ This figure wears a sleeveless garment with dots, very similar to the stippled patch on the chest of our man. Animal figures are painted on hips and shoulders, and on the back are two rosettes rather like those on the shoulders of the figure from the Isthmia. It seems highly probable that the three vases were made and painted in the same shop. Payne dated the vase in the Louvre to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.

11. IP 1959. Pl. 71, c, top. Roman lamp, from the small bath close to the Fortress of Justinian. Corinth Type XXVII, Group 2.

L. 0.105 m., W. 0.078 m.

On the rim is a vine pattern and on the discus rays. On the bottom is the signature ΕΥΠΟΡΟΥ,⁵⁰ incised while the clay was wet. Buff clay, unglazed.

12. IP 1960. Pl. 71, c, right. Roman lamp made in the same mould as the preceding and found in the same place. Same signature.

13. IP 1963. Pl. 71, c, bottom. Fragmentary lamp, Type XXVII, found in the same place as the preceding.

Diam. at top, 0.077 m.

⁴⁷ D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pp. 421 ff.; and H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 170 ff., who gives a full discussion of plastic vases of Corinthian manufacture.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 175 f., pls. 44, 5 and 48, 13, 14.

⁴⁹ This vase, which is published by Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, p. 38, pl. 24, b, was kindly called to my attention by D. A. Amyx.

⁵⁰ This signature appears on four of the published lamps of Corinth, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 208, pl. XXXI.

⁵¹ One lamp from Corinth has the same signature, *op. cit.*, p. 204, fig. 137.

⁵² For the type see *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff., Type XXXI, and pl. XXII, especially No. 1456.

On the rim are triple clusters of grapes, interrupted by panels on the cross axis. On the discus is a square rosette surrounded by scallops. On the reverse within a triple groove is the signature ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΥ.⁵¹ Handle and nozzle are missing.

14. IP 1928. Pl. 71, c, left. Early Christian lamp,⁵² Corinth Type XXXI, found among the work chips within tower 7 in the Fortress of Justinian.

L. 0.15 m., W. 0.08 m.

On the rim is a pattern of alternating *Taus* and *Lambdas*, and on the discus an indistinct figure of a bird. There are two holes on the discus and a large wick-hole blackened from use. Brick red clay, micaceous. The lamp must have come into the layer of chips at the time of construction of the wall, and since it is unbroken and shows signs of use, its date must be approximately the same as that of the wall, ca. A.D. 550.

15. IP 2135. Pl. 72, a. Large, coarse jar with wide open mouth and base ring, from tower 7 of the Fortress of Justinian.

H. 0.68 m., Diam. 0.45 m.

On the neck are wavy rows of lines impressed in the wet clay by drawing a comb over it. Broad zone with similar but coarser and nearly straight lines on widest part of the body. Coarse, gritty clay, dark gray on the surface, brick-red within.

16. IP 2138. Pl. 72, b. Large, coarse amphora with rounded bottom and narrow mouth, from same place as the preceding.

H. 0.65 m., Diam. 0.41 m.

Broad zone of deep, slightly rippling grooves,

made by comb while clay was wet. Ash-gray clay, surface partly blackened by fire.

17. IP 2139. Fig. 11; Pl. 72, c. Tall, open vase like "umbrella stand," with rounded bottom, from same place as the preceding.

H. 0.58 m., Diam. at top 0.32 m.

Broad moulded rim, no handles. On the out-

ments have been blackened in fire after the vessel was broken.

Many fragments of other vessels of this puzzling shape came from the fill of the tower. On one of these a rough form of signature has been produced by combing just below the rim. On

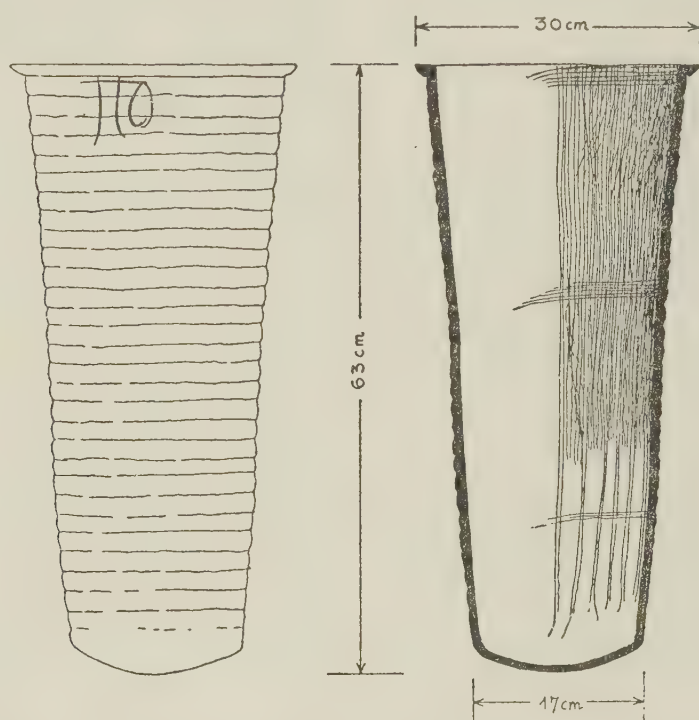


FIG. 11. Tall Open Vessel with Combed Grooves on the Inside

side are shallow horizontal grooves produced when the vessel was being cast on the wheel and also visible on the inside. While the clay was still wet the surface on the inside was roughened by drawing a comb vertically from the bottom toward the rim. At intervals of *ca.* 0.15 m. the comb was drawn crosswise in horizontal lines over the vertical combings (Fig. 11). This roughening of the surface extends over a little more than half the inside; the rest is plain. Brick red clay, but some of the frag-

others the letters ΠΟ have been engraved in wet clay below the rim. All the vessels of this kind show the combing on the inside, and in every case part of the surface is left smooth. It is difficult to suggest a satisfactory explanation for the peculiar shape and treatment of the inside surface.⁵³ Demetrios I. Pallas, who was in charge of the area where these vases came to light, believes that they were used as beehives and that the inside was roughened so that the honeycombs would cling to the vessel.

⁵³ In a large open jar from the Hellenistic period and signed ΟΡΕΣΤΑΔΑ (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 32, No. 42) the inside surface has been similarly roughened.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. IM 2315. Pl. 73, a. One half of a stone *halter*, from the east temenos dump.

It is very elaborately carved with individual grooves for each finger of the left hand. The material is a greenish stone with high mica content. For the inscription and measurements see above, pp. 322-323, No. 1.

2. IM 2140. Pl. 73, b, top left. Archaic terracotta horse, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

Head and all the extremities are broken away and the color has largely disappeared. On the mane and hind legs are traces of painted bars. The attachment for the rider's right hand is visible on the mane.

3. IM 2202. Pl. 73, b, top right. Archaic terracotta horse, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.064 m.

All four legs are missing. The mane is indicated by a series of notched streamers, and additional features are rendered by a dull red paint. The tail is a round knob. There is no indication of a rider, and it is possible that some other animal than the horse was intended.

4. IM 2142. Pl. 73, b, bottom left. Terracotta horse, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.05 m.

Head and extremities are missing. Of the rider only the legs and hands are preserved. On the mane is a series of painted lines, and on the body and legs rows of circular dots.

5. IM 2201. Pl. 73, b, bottom right. Terracotta horse, from east temenos dump.

Rider, head and all the extremities of the horse are missing. Colors were added in red.

6. IM 2429. Pl. 73, c. Small terracotta boat, from large circular pit.

L. 0.061 m.

On the stem are two eyes painted, and in the interior the ribs are indicated by color.

7. IM 2426. Pl. 73, d. Upper part of archaic male figure in terracotta, from north temenos dump.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

The hair is plastically rendered and colored brown. Eyes, lips and beard are shown in color.⁵⁴

8. IM 2199. Pl. 73, e, right. Female terracotta figurine, from the Palaimonion area.

Pres. H. 0.12 m.

The chiton hangs from the woman's right shoulder, leaving the left shoulder and breast bare. An outer garment, tucked under the left arm, covered the lower part of the body. The clay is coarse and gritty like that used for tiles, but the surface is smooth and covered with a white, opaque paint. The back is flat, as if the figure had been attached as a relief to a smooth surface. It may have been part of an altar or dedicatory shrine.

9. IM 2198. Pl. 73, e, left. Small fragment of female figure, from the Palaimonion area.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

It was made in the same mould as the preceding, but the details have been somewhat more retouched. The two figures doubtless belong to the same monument.

SUMMARY

At the termination of the fourth campaign of excavation it is possible to assess the significance of the work accomplished and to indicate the direction that future investigation of the site should take. Despite the wholesale destruction of buildings

⁵⁴ There is a close similarity between this figure and the heads attached to Corinthian pyxides from the early decades of the sixth century B.C. Cf. H. Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 48, 8,9,15.

and the very slight depth of soil over most of the area, the excavations have produced a considerable mass of material from which to reconstruct both the physical aspects and the history of the Isthmian Sanctuary and Games.

A large proportion of the portable objects of interest belong to the period before the Persian Wars. In the first quarter of the fifth century the Archaic Temple with all its wealth of votive gifts went up in flames. From the time of construction of this temple, in the seventh century B.C., until the end of the archaic period the sanctuary was very prosperous. Its wealth is amply reflected in the debris from the fire that destroyed it. It was the period of the tyrants Kypselos and Periandros, who with their far-reaching connections toward the east, south, and west brought Corinth and the Isthmian Sanctuary to a pitch of opulence never again to be attained.

The total destruction of the Temple and its treasures must have for a time reduced the Isthmian Festival to unimportance. Soon, however, a new temple was erected, larger and more splendid than its predecessor. Isthmia, like the other great sanctuaries of the Peloponnesos, reflects the tendency toward monumentality. Doubtless the interior furnishing was in keeping with its architectural grandeur. Yet, if we may judge from the objects found within the Temple, the gifts brought to the site declined greatly in quantity. This may be a false conclusion. The very richness of the votive objects could have been the cause of their destruction. We know that Isthmia shared with the other Panhellenic centers in the booty captured from the Persians at Plataia, and there were probably many other occasions, unrecorded by historians, when men of wealth and religious devotion showed their generosity to the Isthmian god. But after allowance is made for the element of chance in destructive actions, it cannot but impress the unprejudiced observer that so many of the valuable objects from our excavations are to be dated in the sixth century B.C. and so few in the fifth.

The second fire that wrought havoc to the Temple of Poseidon broke out in the year 394 B.C. Xenophon,⁵⁵ who furnishes our only literary evidence for this fire, intimates that there was something mysterious about its origin: "It was on this night also that the Temple of Poseidon was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire." We have excavated some of the debris from this fire, which had been thrown into the gully on the north side and to the east of the Temple. One readily recognizes the calcined marble roof tiles, which differ in the quality of marble, though not in size, from those of the fourth century repairs. Our excavation of the dumps from this fire have revealed none of the wealth of dedications that we find in the debris from the Archaic Temple.

The damage to the Temple was heavy. Not only were the wooden ceiling and roof construction completely consumed by the flames, but the walls themselves and

⁵⁵ *Hellenica*, IV, 5.4.

even the outer columns were damaged by the heat. Some of the building material could be re-used for the restoration but much of the stone work, especially the delicate carvings on frieze and cornice, had to be discarded. The rebuilding was carried out before the end of the fourth century B.C., but there seems to have been an interval during which the Temple remained in ruins. With its reconstruction, probably in the second half of the century, the whole sanctuary seems to have entered upon a new period of prosperity. This is indicated by the settlement on the Rachi, which came into existence about the middle of the fourth century and continued to flourish till the middle of the third. Additional evidence is furnished by two dedications to Demeter, whose cult house stood within the Sacred Glen (Hiera Nape). Both are dated in the fourth century B.C. Architectural members found in the orchard that was once the Hiera Nape and others from within the Sanctuary of Poseidon point to renewed building activity at that time. The old Stadium had probably existed in the fifth century, perhaps even earlier, but the parallel retaining walls and the intricate starting gates seem to have been added early in the fourth century. The west water-works and the pre-Roman reservoir that supplied the water for the Stadium, whatever their exact date, continued to function during this period. During the reigns of Philip and Alexander, when Corinth was designed to be the capital of a new world, the Isthmus once more became a meeting place of all the Greeks. It is not surprising that the material remains of the sanctuary reflect the political activities of the era.

In the course of the second century B.C. this prosperity came to a sudden halt. The destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. could not but adversely affect the Isthmian Sanctuary and its Panhellenic festival. Although we have Pausanias' testimony to the fact that the Isthmian Games continued to be held under Sikyonian management, the excavations show that the sanctuary was allowed to fall into decay. Corinth with its allurements had attracted visitors to the Isthmian Games from all parts of the world. After the city had been laid in ruins a powerful inducement for a visit to the Isthmia was missing. Indications from the excavations are unmistakable. The great altar of Poseidon was demolished and three wagon roads ran across its foundation, so close to the Temple that they had to make a bend to avoid the northeast corner. Such secularization of the area surrounding the Temple can only mean that the cult had declined in importance. A similar effect is traceable in the early Stadium. Silt and gravel washing down from the east slope of the Rachi began to cover up the race track together with its starting line and athletic devices. And here too a wagon road was made across the area once dedicated to athletic performances.

This condition of neglect did not come to an abrupt end when the new colony was planted by Caesar on the ruins of Corinth. For some three-quarters of a century the Isthmian Sanctuary continued to show the effects of deterioration. Some time in the first century of our era, perhaps as early as the reign of Tiberius, a reorganiza-

tion and rebuilding of the sanctuary began. The Temple of Poseidon was probably then restored and its crumbling interior walls and floors revetted with marble slabs. A restricted area surrounding the Temple was enclosed by a temenos wall. In the southeast corner of this rectangle a new altar was built to take the place of the demolished long altar close to the Temple of Poseidon. The games, which now were again managed by the Corinthians, regained much of their former splendor and popularity. At this time or earlier a new stadium was built in a hollow with steeply sloping sides that could be made to provide better accommodation for spectators and participants.

The cult and precinct of Palaimon offer the best evidence for renewed interest and activity. Three sacrificial pits, constructed successively in the abandoned early Stadium, testify to religious activity in the area. The awesome holocausts and nocturnal celebrations centering round these pits brought many worshipers who left their pottery vessels and oil lamps as tokens of religious devotion. Though at first there seems to have been no temple, the cult increased in importance throughout the decades of the first century, until toward the turn of the century, the circular temple was erected with its subterranean passage and cult equipment.

Presumably the Theater was also rebuilt during the first century, but the extent of its rebuilding still remains to be determined. There were other buildings outside the sacred enclosures. Over a large area toward the east and south ancient foundations projecting above the ground indicate that the space devoted to the games and to the convenience of visitors was greatly enlarged.

A new period of building activity began in the second century of our era. It was then that the stoas were built on the east, south, and west sides of the precinct of Poseidon, and possibly the Palaimonion was not given its final form until that time. These material improvements point to increased interest and popularity of the Isthmian Games.

There is epigraphical evidence for further building activity in the time of the Antonines. Two inscriptions, one now in Verona, the other in Corinth, enumerate the buildings erected or repaired at the expense of the high priest of Poseidon, P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus. Only two of the many structures erected by him can with any degree of probability be identified with the buildings uncovered in our excavations. These are the Palaimonion with its embellishments (*προσκοσμήματα*) and the Sacred Entrance (*ιερά εἴσοδος*). The latter is probably the East Propylon excavated in 1956 and 1958. The Palaimonion has been described above. But here we meet with a chronological discrepancy. So far as we can judge from the scanty remains of the building and from the ceramic finds in the surrounding area, the temple was constructed not later than the end of the first century of our era. If this is one of the buildings erected by Iuventianus we shall have to suppose that the

original structure had been totally demolished, and there is no archaeological evidence for this. The inscription, however, does not refer to the building as a *ναός* but as τὸ Παλαιμόνιον σὺν τοῖς προσκοσμήμασιν. Perhaps the reference is only to the precinct together with such monuments and statuary embellishments as it may have contained. This mention of the Palaimonion is immediately followed by the reference to an *enagisterion* and to the Sacred Entrance. Perhaps the large sacrificial pit east of the Temple of Palaimon was known as *enagisterion*, the east wall of which was repaired in the second century after Christ. In fact the contents of this pit furnished the clearest archaeological evidence for the continuation of the cult into the second century. Almost nothing was found in the vicinity of the temple itself that can be dated as late as that. A full discussion of the building program carried out by Iuventianus must await further investigation of the buildings outside the twin sanctuaries of Poseidon and Palaimon. Our information about the sanctuaries in the second century is still very meager.

The third century is an almost complete blank. A few fragmentary lamps and some pottery from the fourth century show that the place was not wholly abandoned. Presumably the buildings remained standing, though probably not functioning, until the middle of the sixth century after Christ. Justinian's engineer Victorinus, who seems to have been charged with the construction of the line of defense across the Isthmus, did a thorough job in demolishing the pagan shrines and their artistic treasures. From this destruction there was no recovery. The site was abandoned, except for the Fortress of Justinian and possibly other buildings near the fortress that served military purposes. The history of the Isthmian Sanctuary comes to an end during the reign of Justinian.

The principal aim of the excavation up to the present has been to lay bare the two major shrines, the Temples of Poseidon and Palaimon, together with precinct walls and the various annexes relating to their cult. This task will probably be completed during the 1959-1960 campaigns. Next in importance is the further exploration in the Theater. To gain a complete picture of the Isthmian Sanctuary it will be necessary to extend the investigation into more distant areas, among them the Sacred Glen and the later Stadium to the southeast of the present excavation, and to the surroundings of this stadium, where many foundations of ancient buildings project above ground. Further study of the Fortress of Justinian with its two major gates is likewise envisaged in the program of future excavation. The large circular pit has not been fully cleared. To complete this task may be both costly and difficult, because of the inflow of water, but the prospect of finding the explanation for this immense shaft gives it high priority among the unfinished tasks.

Finally, some provision must be made for exhibiting the objects unearthed in our excavation. The present exhibition halls of the Corinth Museum are already filled

to overflowing. Rare treasures from our excavation are now stored away in drawers and workrooms unavailable to the public. In order to make the Isthmian Sanctuary intelligible and meaningful to laymen and scholars alike, a separate exhibit of the finds is an urgent necessity. A small local museum or a separate hall in the Museum at Ancient Corinth must be provided to meet this need.

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NEOLITHIC FIGURINES FROM THESPIAI

(PLATE 74)

THE prehistoric mound on the south bank of the Thespios river, near ancient Thespiiai, has attracted attention by the great quantity of artifacts readily found on its surface.¹ Among these finds, now in the study collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, are fragments of six terracotta figurines. The best preserved of the pieces seem to be from steatopygous female figures dating from the Neolithic Period.

1 (Fig. 1; Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.106; W. pres. at shoulder 0.079; Th. at waist 0.044. Only the left half of the figure, from the shoulder to the topmost part of the thigh, is preserved. It is made of fairly coarse, slightly micaceous clay, red on the surface, but an even gray throughout the core, with widely scattered dark and light impurities. The plain surface was smoothed by hand, but retains streaks and rough or uneven spots.

It is formed of long, oval pellets of clay, pressed together and covered with the thick coating of clay which forms the surface. Two pellets, side by side, made up the chest, and four were used in the stomach. Legs, buttocks, arm and head were made of separate cores and attached before the final coating. The separate lumps of clay did not coalesce, accounting for the break down the middle of the torso, which leaves half the pellets and gives a clear cross section of the interior anatomy.

The preserved half presents a female with a protruding, almost conical buttock. The head is missing; the break at the base of the neck removed more of the surface from the back than from the front of the body, a possible indication of shoulder-length hair. The abnormally high breast is set far out on the shoulder and stands out straight from the body. It is a small, low lump, barely smoothed, with its top in the same plane as the top of the shoulder.

A break in the surface of the figure, starting at the end of the shoulder and running diagonally across the front of the body, indicates that the left arm was placed here, close under the breast, and was attached to the body along its whole length.

¹ John L. Caskey, "Neolithic Sherds from Thespiiai," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 289-290. I would thank Dr. Caskey for permission to publish these figurines and for his encouragement to study comparable pieces, throughout Greece, while I was a member of the Lerna excavation staff. My thanks also to Mrs. Grace Muscarella for her drawing and to Dr. Caskey for photographing the pieces and arranging the plate during my absence.

The scar in the surface widens at its lower end, near the center of the body, suggesting that there may have been a hand at this place.

The back is quite vertical, becoming slightly concave at the small of the back, then swelling out to form the left buttock. A deep groove represents the hollow which follows the spinal column, and it is along this central line that the figurine has split in two. Only the topmost part of the back of the thigh is preserved, sharply set off from the buttock.



FIG. 1. No. 1, Cross Section.

The front of the figure swells evenly from a rather narrow chest to a heavy, slightly sagging abdomen. The deep navel was punched by a pointed implement at an upward angle. A very slight groove marks the lower edge of the belly. The flat groin is divided from the thigh by an incised line which curves up and around the hip. The vulva is represented by a simple incised line.

The closest parallel is a figurine from Magoula Balomenou, No. 566 in the Chaironeia Museum.² It is of similar fabric, but with a more highly burnished plain

² Georges Sotiriades, "Fouilles préhistoriques en Phocide," *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XXV, 1912, p. 257, fig. 4, top center; A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 200, fig. 141, d.

red surface. Both arms are attached to the body, close under the breasts, and widen into crude hands near the center of the body. The large breasts are also widely set and at shoulder height. The lower abdomen and upper part of the leg are missing. Two other unpainted red figurines in the Chaironeia Museum, especially No. 580, in which these parts are preserved, are comparable to the one from Thespias.³

2 (Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.065; W. pres. at shoulders 0.087; W. at waist 0.049; Th. at thinnest part of waist 0.032. The biscuit is fairly fine, slightly micaceous, with particles of white matter throughout. A thin, buff surface covers a gray core, which was made up of pellets as in No. 1. This surface was highly burnished and then decorated with orange-red paint, which has cracked.

The head is missing, the break running down into the painted triangle on the back. Just enough is preserved, however, to indicate that either the neck or long hair started from the edges of this triangle, as several points along it begin to rise away from the body. The break is fairly deep, as if the neck had been set into a socket.

The left breast, lower and larger than that of the first figurine, is preserved, rounded out from the shoulder. It is roughly conical, standing straight out from the body, and is smoothed into the surface of the chest. The right breast and a large surrounding area of the surface are missing; this break continues around the shoulder, onto the back; all traces of the right arm are gone. The left arm is also missing from the shoulder.

The positions of the arms cannot be determined, but it is obvious that they did not support the breasts in the common position. A break in the surface of the left hip, however, may mark a place where the left hand or lower part of the arm was attached to the body. The surface on this side of the body is rough, perhaps because it was here concealed by the arm and could not be burnished. The right side of the body is smoothed, but the right side of the belly has an unburnished patch. Is it possible that the arm was somehow held in front of the body here? More likely, I believe, the arm was held out to the side or above the shoulder.⁴

The body is squatter than that of the first figurine, swelling rapidly from the thorax downward. The navel is a large hole punched downward with a squared, pointed implement. A groove runs along the base of the upper abdomen, separating it from a flatter band below. The hips widen from the waist. The back is flat across,

³ Christian Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* (2nd ed.), plate 2, bottom left figure.

⁴ This pose is not so common as others, but there are examples of it. A white-slipped figurine from Tsangli has a raised right arm, while the left hand rests on the waist (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, fig. 75, b). Although this piece is from Layer V at Tsangli, W. and T. find it more similar to the figurines of Layer III, in which pottery of class A3β predominates.

Another Thessalian figure, as yet unpublished, holds a similar pose but is dissimilar in most other respects.

with no central groove, but curved in its vertical plane. The smooth break under the body shows the sockets into which the legs were fitted.

The painted patterns on the figure seem to represent clothing, or at least straps. Two ladder-patterned stripes start from the back, probably just above the buttocks, and spread widely to pass over the shoulders; then they converge again across the breast and meet a horizontal stripe at the high waist. Only a few traces of this line are preserved on the fragment, but it seems to run completely around the front of the body, and in all probability completely encircled the figurine. It undoubtedly represented a belt or the top of a girdle held up by the straps.

Also starting from a point on the back, a wide, vertical stripe splits into two sections which encircle the neck and terminate in front in a circular pendant which hangs level with and between the breasts. Whether or not this circle was filled in solidly with paint cannot be determined, since the surface at the center is chipped.

3 (Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.058; W. 0.020; Th. 0.011. The leg, foot and part of the pelvic region are well preserved, but the right side of the foot is chipped. The clay is fairly fine, with very few impurities, but slightly micaceous. It is light brownish buff throughout. The surface was highly burnished with vertical strokes, except on the inner surface of the leg, which is only casually smoothed and may have been lightly attached to the left leg. It was built around a cigar-shaped core. The decoration is in orange-red paint.

A small portion of the groin is preserved. From here the leg descends, straight in front and back but swelling slightly on the outer side from the hip downward. The inner side of the leg, where it was against the left leg, is flat. At the bottom of the leg, the back and side are constricted just above the low, broad foot, where the front splays slightly to form the toes. The spaces between the toes are represented by four straight incisions. There are no indications of knees in front or back. The surface of the back of the leg shows where a large buttock, occupying more than a third of the height of the leg, was attached.

The painted patterns may represent clothing. Four vertical stripes, evenly spaced, run down the outer side of the leg. Near the bottom of these is a horizontal stripe which crosses the longest of the verticals. Below this a wide, horizontal band, reaching almost to the bottom of the foot, runs round the back and outer side.

This piece is similar to the leg of No. 567 in the Chaironeia Museum.⁵ The leg of the Chaironeia figurine is far more curved, but both have the flat groin, the large buttocks, and the similar flat feet, with protruding heels and incised toes. The painted red patterns are not the same.

⁵ Sotiriades, *loc. cit.*, bottom center. Also see Sotiriades, *Προϊστορικά ἀγγεία Χαιρωνείας καὶ Ἐλατείας*, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1908, pp. 63-96, plate a', no. 1. The best photograph of the figure is in Zervos, *op. cit.*, plate 2, far right.

4 (Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.041; W. pres. 0.052; W. of chest 0.030; Th. of chest 0.020. Only the chest, shoulders and part of the left arm are preserved. It is made of fairly fine, slightly micaceous clay with some white and a very few dark impurities. The biscuit is even light gray; the surface is pale red, well smoothed by hand.

The head is missing, leaving a large, wide break in the surface above the straight shoulders. Another break in the surface, across the chest, seems to indicate the position of breasts applied at shoulder level. Rough places in the surface below this area may indicate that the missing right arm ran diagonally down across the body beneath the breasts, or that the forearm returned horizontally across the thorax. The left arm was not attached to the front of the body. Almost none of the lower trunk is preserved. The back is very flat and straight, with a deep, wide groove running down its center.

5 (Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.047; L. from heel to toe 0.054; approx. W. 0.042. Almost all of the left foot, to above the ankle, is preserved. It is of fairly coarse, slightly micaceous clay with tiny white and dark particles. It is pale reddish brown in color, with an even gray interior. The surface was burnished, except for the bottom which was left merely smooth.

The almost cylindrical lower leg flares in front to make a foot in the form of an oval pedestal. In the top of this protrusion are three deep, evenly spaced, crudely incised lines, representing the spaces between the toes. The back of the foot is missing, and the shape of the leg is uncertain. The right side of the foot is rough, where the other foot has been broken away, but the left side is slightly concave. On top, in the break from the leg, is a smooth depression that could have been pressed with a thumb. This indicates either that the figure was hollow, with heavy feet to help it stand, or that this was a socket into which the leg fitted.

6 (Pl. 74). H. pres. 0.059; W. pres. 0.046; Th. 0.008. Too little of this hollow fragment remains to allow a satisfactory restoration. We may only speculate that the short, deep incision represents the vulva of a female figure, with the adjacent parts of the belly, groin, and right thigh. The clay of which it was made is fairly fine, slightly micaceous, containing some white and dark impurities. The pinkish buff outer surface has been burnished in accessible places; otherwise it has been smoothed with fingers. The gray inner surface is streaked and uneven. The V chevrons on the upper leg and just above it and the crude V at the base of the incision are both in lustrous red, crackling paint. The hollow form and presumably large size make this piece unique among these figurines.

Steatopygous female figurines are found throughout a broad geographical and chronological range in the Mediterranean area. As would be expected, however, those closest in style to the first three of our Thespiiai fragments are those from the Neo-

lithic settlement at neighboring Chaironeia. Many other published pieces have been represented only with poor photographs, which may be misleading. Actual comparison of the objects, however, has shown that nowhere else, not even in other Boeotian sites, are the similarities so strong.⁶

The dating of the figurines is difficult. The fabrics of the first three figurines, as well as that of the sixth, are typical of Wace and Thompson's First Period. Since Chaironeia, which supplies the closest parallels, was deserted at the end of the First Period,⁷ we have two strong indications of an early dating. Caskey's recent excavation at Eutresis, however, has revealed two plain figurines of the same style, which seem to belong to a later period. The pottery associated with these contains no examples of red-on-white Chaironeia ware or any other exclusively early Neolithic wares. Therefore, we may only conclude that we have from Thespiiai a group of steatopygous female figurines dating from the Neolithic Period and showing strong contacts between that settlement, Chaironeia and, possibly, Eutresis. A more precise date must await further research at these sites.

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⁶ See, however, two figurines found by John L. Caskey in a supplementary excavation at Eutresis in September 1958 (to be published in *Hesperia* shortly). Dr. Caskey kindly supplied me with information and photographs of these figurines, but I have not yet seen the original pieces. Somewhat farther afield, but of equal interest, are the figurines found by James Melaart in his excavations at Hacilar in Turkey. These not only display similar shapes, but are also in plain, burnished wares and wares with red paint on a light ground (James Melaart, "Excavations at Hacilar," *Anatolian Studies*, VIII, 1958, pp. 144-148, fig. 9, no. 2; fig. 10, nos. 1 and 5; pl. XXXII, a and b, showing photographs of the same objects).

⁷ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 244. See also note 4 on the dating of the Tsangli figurine.

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KINGS, EMPERORS, AND THEIR FAMILIES

Ἀντίγονος: [βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου] *in rasura*, King of Macedonia *a.* 244/3 *a.*, 175 (3 15-16) = *I.G.*, II², 775.

Augustus: Σεβασ[τοῦ] Καίσα[ρος], 76(2); Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, 80(8) = *I.G.*, II², 3224/5; 83 (13) = *I.G.*, II², 3230; Ἀυτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσα[ρος] θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σε[βασ]τοῦ, 77 (3); Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θε[οῦ υἱ]οῦ Σε[βαστοῦ], 78 (7) = *C.I.A.*, III, 451; [Ἀυτοκράτορος Κα]ίσαρος [θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ, 81 (10) = *I.G.*, II², 3227; Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος] θεοῦ υἱοῦ [Σεβασ]τοῦ, 81 (11) = *I.G.*, II², 3228; [Ἀυτοκρά]το[ρος Καίσα]ρος θε[οῦ υἱ]οῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ], 77 (4); [Ἀυτο]κράτορος Καί[σαρ]ος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, 82 (12) = *I.G.*, II², 3229A (= *I.G.*, II², 3281); [Ἀυτοκράτ]ορος [Καίσαρος] θεοῦ υἱοῦ [Σεβασ]τοῦ, 78 (6); [Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσα]ρι [θεοῦ υἱοῦ θεῶ]

Σεβασ]τοῦ, 77 (5); Ἀυτ[οκράτορι Καίσαρι] θεο[ῦ υἱοῦ θεῶι Σεβαστοῦ], 76(1); [Ἀυτ]οκράτο[ρα Καίσαρα θ]εοῦ υἱόν [Σεβαστόν], 67

Tiberius: Τ[ι]β[ε]ρ[ί]ου Καίσαρος, 81 (11) = *I.G.*, II², 3228; Τιβερίωι [Καίσαρι] θεῶι Σεβασ[στ]ῶι, 87

Nero: [Ν]έρω[νι Κλα]υδίων Κ[α]ίσα[ρ]ος, 82 (12) = *I.G.*, II², 3229.

Vespasian: Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, 82 (12) = *I.G.*, II², 3229A (= *I.G.*, II², 3281).

Titus: [Ἀυτοκρ]άτορι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Τίτωι, 82 (12) = *I.G.*, II², 3229 B (= *I.G.*, II², 3282).

Hadrian: Ἀ[δ]ριανοῦ Κτίστον, 83 (13) = *I.G.*, II², 3230; [Σωτήρι καὶ Κ]τίστη[ι Ἀυτοκράτ]ορι Ἀδριανῶι [Ὀλυμ]πίωι, 81 (11) = *I.G.*, II², 3228.

MEN AND WOMEN

Αγ[— — —], *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀυτοκράτης, 224 237 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 84; [Αγ — — —], father of Ἀυτοκράτ[ης], 224 234 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 81; [Αγ — — —], father of Ἀυτο[κράτης], 224 232 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 79.

*Αγνων Εὐ[θυ]κρί(του) Κυδαθην(αεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 553-554 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 27-28.

[*Α]γωνί[δ]ης [Πε]ισισ[τ]ράτο(ν) Κηφι(σιεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 249-250 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1559 53-54.

*Αδοῦς[ιος — — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 156 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 44.

*Αθηνάδης, *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of the proxenos [Πά]γκαλος, 221 17 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 42; *Αθηνά[δης], father of the proxenos [Πάν]καλος, 221 21 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 46.

*Αθήνιππος (Πειραιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Σαυρίας, 218-219 482-483 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 40-41.

*Αθηνόδωρος [Θ]εοδώρο(ν) Μελιτε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 507-508 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 65-66.

Αίσχέας Θεοπέιθον Κηφισιεύς, orator *a.* 165/4 *a.*, 185 (7 4-5) = *I.G.*, II², 950.

[*Α]λέξις, archon *a.* 173/2 *a.*, 181 (6 1) = XXVI 39.

*Αλκιβιάδης Ἡρα[κλεί]του Θορ[ίκιος], honored by the Asklepiastai *med. saec.* III *a.*, 178 (4 13) = *I.G.*, II², 1293.

*Αλκίμαχος (Παιανιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of *Ανδρων, 217 429-430.

[*Α]μόδαμος, on a grave stele at Hermione, 115 (9); but possibly [Ο]μόδαμος, *q.v.*

[*Αμν]μόνη, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1558 45 where

- the reading in 222 91 gives the name [— — —] ὦνη.
- Ἀν[...⁶...] (genitive) (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Θεόφιλος, 215 330-331 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 55-56.
- Ἀν[— — —] (Ξυπεταίων), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Ἰ]ατροκλῆς (or [Π]ατροκλῆς), 222 63 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 103; Ἀν[— — —] (Ξ.), father of [Ἰατρο]κλῆς (or [Πατρο]κλῆς), 222 61 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 101; Ἀν[— — —] (Ξ.), father of [Ἰατρο]οκλ[ῆς] (or [Πατρο]οκλ[ῆς]), 222 65.
- Ἀνδροκλῆς (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Αὐτοκλῆς, 220 557-558 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 31-32.
- Ἀνδροκ[λῆς Κλ]εινίου ἐκ Κεραμέων, priest of Asklepios *a.* 328/7 *a.*, 172 (2 19-20) = *I.G.*, II², 354; Ἀνδρο[κλῆς ἐκ Κεραμ]έων, 171 (2 2-3) = *I.G.*, II², 354; Ἀνδροκλῆς, 172 (2 12) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Ἀνδρόμαχο[ς], *saec.* II/III *p.*, father of Ἀφρ[ο-δᾶς], 288 (15).
- Ἀνδρων Ἀλκιμάχου [Π]αιανι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 429-430.
- Ἀντίβιος Προκλέους Φρεάρριος, priest of Artemis *a.* 249/8 *a.*, 278 (7).
- Ἀντιγένης Ἐπιγ<ἐ>νους ἐν Μελί(τηι) [ο]ικῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 14-15 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 39-40.
- Ἀν[τ]ίγων ἐμ Πα[— — — οἰκῶν], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 59-60 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 99-100.
- Ἀντικλῆς (Μελιτεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Ν]εοπτόλεμος, 224 216-217.
- Ἀντιμένης Πιστοκλ[έ]ου(ς) Κηφισι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 548-549 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 22-23; Ἀ. Πιστοκ[λέ]ου(ς) Κηφισι(εύς), 220 552-553 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 26-27.
- [Ἀντισθένης] (Κυθήριος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀντισ<θ>έν[ης], 225 328-329; [Ἀ.] (Κ.), father of Ἀντιφάν[ης], 225 329-330.
- Ἀντισ<θ>έν[ης] Ἀντισθέנו(ς) Κυθήρ(ριος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 328-329.
- Ἀντιφάνης, *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Θ]έρσιππος, 222 93 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 47; Ἀ., father of Θ., 222 95 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 49.
- Ἀντιφάν[ης] Ἀντισθένο(ς) Κυθήρ(ριος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 329-330.
- Ἀγώνιος: Μ. Ἀν[τώνιος — — —], 324 (4).
- Ἀπο[λλ...⁸...]εινίου [— — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 408-409 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 34-35. Cf. p. 228.
- [Ἀ]πολλόδω[ρος — — —], *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...⁸...], 215 322-323.
- Ἀ[ρ]ί[σ]ταρ[χος] (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...⁶...]δης, 217 398-399 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 25-26.
- Ἀρίστη [— — — οἰκ(οῦσα)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 233 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 80.
- Ἀριστίων, on a dedication to Eileithuia at Hermione, 110 (3).
- Ἀριστίων (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀριστοφῶν, 215 257-258 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 61-62; Ἀρι[σ]τίων (Ἀ.), father of Ἀ., 215 261-262 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 65-66.
- Ἀριστο[— — —], *ca. a.* 275 *a.*, father of Ἀριστόμαχος, 175 (3 29) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Ἀριστο[— — —] (Χολλείδης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [— — —]αρνης (?), 218 454-455 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 12-13; Cf. p. 229.
- Ἀριστοκλείδης Θ[έωνος (?)] Π[ε]ραιεύς, *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 2).
- Ἀριστοκλῆς, *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [...^{ca. 7-8}...]ν, 277 (6). Possibly the son was [Καλλιφῶ]ν [Αἰξωνεύς].
- Ἀριστόκριτος (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...]ίας, 224 211.
- Ἀριστομ[— — —] (Οἰνίδης), choregos *saec.* IV *a.*, 275 (4).
- Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο[— — —^{ca. 15} — — —], secretary *a.* 241/0 *a.*, 175 (3 29) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Ἀριστομένης ἐμ Μελ οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 217-218 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 36-37.
- Ἀριστονίκη ἐγ Κε(ριαδῶν) οἰ(κοῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 122 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 76.
- Ἀριστόνικος Ἀρι[στοτέλου]ς Μαραθώνιος, orator *ca. a.* 335 *a.*, 239 3-4.
- Ἀρι[στοτέλης] (Μαραθώνιος), *ca. a.* 370 *a.*, father of Ἀριστόνικος, 239 3-4.
- [Ἀριστοτέλης] Ζωφίλου Φυλά(σιος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1554 72 (cf. above, 226 347).
- [Ἀρ]ιστοφά[ν — — —], at Hermione, 113 (7).
- Ἀριστοφάνης (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...⁵...]κλῆς, 225 272 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 98.
- Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστίωνο(ς) Ἀφιδ(ναῖος), *ca. a.* 320

- α., 215 257-258 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 61-62; 'Α.
'Αρι[σ]τίων(ος) 'Αφιδν(αῖος), 215 261-262 =
I.G., II², 1559 65-66.
- 'Αρτεμεισία [. . .^{ca. 6}. . .] Μιλησία, 'Αφρ[οδῆ τοῦ]
'Ανδρομάχο[ν . . .^{ca. 6}. . .] γυνή, *saec.* II/III *p.*,
287-288 (15).
- 'Αρχ[- - - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 136 = *I.G.*,
II², 1556 52.
- 'Αρχ[- - - -] ον Φα[ληρ(εύς)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214
231-232 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 50-51.
- 'Αρχεδά[μ]ας 'Αρχεδήμου 'Αλαιε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
219 520-521 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 78-79.
- 'Αρχέδημος ('Αλαιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
'Αρχεδά[μ]ας, 219 520-521 correcting *I.G.*, II²,
1557 78-79.
- 'Αρχέπολις, *ca. a.* 200 *a.*, father of Α[ν]σίξερος, at
Hydra, 117 (14).
- [*Α]ρχων Ταχυνδήμου ἐκ Κοίλης, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221
18 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 43.
- [*Ασ]κληπιάδης Μάρκου Κολλυτεύς, *aet. Rom.*, 283
(11).
- [*Α]σκληπιάδης[ς . . .^{ca. 7}. . . Παλ]ληνέως, *ca. a.* 175-
185 *p.*, 284 (12 4).
- *Αττας ἐν Κ(εῖριαδῶν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223
112-113 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 66-67.
- Αὔρηλία Χρηματίνη, mother of Μ(ἄρκος) Αὔρ(ή-
λιος) Δικινγιανός at Hermione, 109 (1).
- Αὔρηλιος: Μ(ἄρκος) Αὔρ(ήλιος) Δικινγιανός Σωκρά-
τους, priest of Asklepios at Hermione, 109
(1).
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Φιλωνίδης[ς . . .^{ca. 8}. . .]ς, *ca. a.* 175-
185 *p.*, 284 (12 3).
- Αὐτοκλείδης (Σφήττιος), *ca. a.* 361 *a.*, father of
Εὐετίων, 172 (2 32) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Αὐτοκλῆς 'Ανδροκλέ[ου] (ς) Εὐωνυμε(ύς) *ca. a.* 320
a., 220 557-558 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 31-32.
- Αὐτοκράτης Αγ[- - - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 237
correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 84; Αὐτοκράτ[ης Αγ
- - - -], 224 233 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 81; Αὐτο-
[κράτης Αγ - - - -], 224 232 = *I.G.*, II²,
1558 79.
- 'Αφρ[οδᾶς], *saec.* II/III *p.*, son of 'Ανδρόμαχο[ς]
and husband of 'Αρτεμεισία [. . .^{ca. 6}. . .] Μιλησία,
287-288 (15).
- 'Αφροδισία, priestess of Eileithuia at Hermione,
110 (2).
- 'Αχυρίων(ν) [- - - - ο]ικ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
224 207.
- Βάθυλλος (Χολαργεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
Θεόφραστος, 220 567-569 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 41-
43.
- Βίων ('Αχαρνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Λύκις,
213 150 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 38.
- Βίων ἐμ Μελ οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 138 =
I.G., II², 1559 26.
- Γλυκέρα [- - - - οἰκ(οῦσα)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224
241 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 88.
- Γόργαθο(ς) Σω[σιστρ]άτου Κυδαθη(ναϊεύς), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 217 399-400 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557
26-27.
- Δ[- - - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 216 374 = *I.G.*, II²,
1559 76.
- Δαμάρατος: Δαμαράτω (gen.) at Hermione, 111
(4).
- Δεικράτεια Πρωτίων 'Αλαέως θυγάτηρ, *saec.* IV *a.*,
275 (3).
- Δέκ(κιος) Ίου[λιανός - - -], *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*,
284 (12 11) = XI 75 (38 12).
- Δεξὼ 'Εξαιτίδα γυνὴ δὲ Ίπποκλεῦς, on a grave
monument on Kasos, 119 (22).
- Δημ[. . .⁶. . .] Δήμωνο(ς) Φρεά[ρρι(ος)], *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 213 190-191 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 17-18.
- Δημέας ἐν [- - - - ο]ικ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 217-
218.
- Δημητρ[ία] 'Επικηφι[σι]ᾶ(ι) οἰκο(ῦσα), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 219 505-506 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 63-64
where the reading 'Επικηφι[σι]ᾶ is correct.
- Δημήτριος ('Ανακαϊεύς), *ca. a.* 170 *a.*, father of
Διονύσ[ω]ς, 189 (10 2) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Δημοκράτης, father of Νίκανδρος 'Αθηναῖος, at
Hydra, 118 (17).
- Δημοσθένης [. . .⁶. . .]λο(ν) Φυλά(σιος), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 213 154-155 = II², 1559 42-43.
- Δημόστρατος (Παλληνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
Δημόστρατος, 223 106-107 = *I.G.*, II², 1558
60-61.
- Δημόστρατος Δημοστράτου [Π]αλλ(ηνεύς), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 223 106-107 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 60-61.

- Δημόστρα[τος] (Φρεάρριος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 213 132-133 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1559 20-21.
- Δημοτίων Δ[ήμωνος] Φρεάρρι(ος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 189-190 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 16-17.
- Δημοφάν(ς) (Παιανιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Δη[μ]όφιλος, 219 487-488 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 45-46.
- Δη[μ]όφιλος Δημοφάν(ος) Παιανι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 487-488 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 45-46.
- [Δημ]όφιλος Δήμων[νος] Φρε[άρριος] (ς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 191-193 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 18-20.
- Δήμων (Φρεάρριος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Δημ[...], 213 190-191 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 17-18; Δήμων[ν] (Φ.), father of [Δημ]όφιλος, 213 191-193 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 18-20; Δ[ήμων] (Φ.), father of Δημοτίων, 213 189-190 = *I.G.*, II², 1555 16-17.
- Διογένης[...], 213 334-335 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 59-60.
- Διογένης [Διοκ]λείδου Κυδαθηναί(εύς), orator *a.* 137/6 *a.*, 189 (10 7) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- [Διόδοτος] (Ἐπικρίσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 214 207-208 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 26-27.
- [Διοκ]λείδης (Κυδαθηναί(εύς)), *ca. a.* 170 *a.*, father of Διογένης, 189 (10 7) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Διονύσιος, ἱστοτελὴς *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 102, 106 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 12, 16.
- Διονύσιος : Καρίνας Δι[ονύσιος] ^{ca. 5-6}, *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 5).
- Διονύσι[ος] Δημητρίου Ἀνακαιεύς, secretary *a.* 137/6 *a.*, 189 (10 2) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Διονύσιος ἐ[ν] Σ[κα]μβωνιδῶν ο[ἰ]κ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 247-248 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 51-52.
- Διονυσόδ[...], *ca. a.* 206 *a.*, father of [Φιλ]ήσιος, 181 (6 4) = XXVI 39 = *I.G.*, II², 996.
- [Διονυσόδωρος Φιλίππου Κεφαλῆθεν], secretary *a.* 164/3 *a.*, 273 (1).
- Δίος (Φλνεύς), *a.* 138/7 *a.*, son of Λεωνίδης and κλειδοῦχος κα[ὶ] πυρφόρος, 189 (10 23) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Δίων, *init. saec.* II *a.*, father of Δίων, 195 (11 1) = *I.G.*, II², 975.
- Δίων Δίωνο[ς] (ς - - -), *saec.* II *a.*, 195 (11 1) = *I.G.*, II², 975; cf. p. 188.
- Δορ[...], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 216 368 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 70.
- Εἰρηναῖος (Φλνεύς), *aet. Rom.* 283 (11).
- Ἐξαιτίδας, father of Δεξίω, on Kasos, 119 (22).
- Ἐπ[...], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 133, 135, 137 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 45, 51, 53.
- Ἐπιγένης Ἐρο[ιάδης], chairman of proedroi *a.* 328/7 *a.*, 172 (2 7-8) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Ἐπιγένης, *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀντιγένης ἐν Μελί(τη) [ο]ικῶ(ν), 221 14-15 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 39-40.
- Ἐπίγονος ἐμ Πε(ραιεῖ) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 501-502 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 59-60.
- Ἐπικέρδης Ὁῆσι οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 485 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 43.
- Ἐπικράτης (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Φιλοκράτης, 220 565-566 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 39-40.
- Ἐπίκτητος, at Hermione, father of Λούκιος and grandfather of Ἐπίκτητος, 110(2).
- Ἐπίκτητος Λουκίου, at Hermione, 110 (2).
- Ἐπιτύχανος: Ἐπιτυχνάνου, signature on a lamp, 336 (13).
- Ἐπιτύχανος Πιτυουσιώτης, at Hermione, *aet. Christ.*, father of Ἰωάννης, 115 (11).
- Ἐπιχαρίδης Λυσίππου Λαμπτ(ρεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 215-216 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 34-35.
- Ἐπιχαρίνος (Λευκονοεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Ἐ]πιχαρίνος, 224 213.
- [Ἐ]πιχαρίνος Ἐπιχαρίνου Λευκ(ονοεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 213.
- Ερ[...], (Παλληνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...], 222 55.
- Ἐργοχάρ[ης] (Πρασιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Θεοχάρης, 220 561-562 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 35-36.
- Ἐρμων (Παλληνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Μ]νήσιππος, *I.G.*, II², 1557 95 supplemented by 222 55.
- Ἐρμνος, father of Μάης Νικομηδεύς, 118 (19).
- Ἐστιαῖος ἐν Σκαμβ(ωνιδῶν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219-220 522-523 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 80-81.
- Εὐάγγελος Θεανγέλου Χολλε(ίδης), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 8 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 33.
- Εὐβουλος Κη[...], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 243 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 90.
- Εὐδημ[ος] (Γαργήτιος), *saec.* II *p.*, father of Εὐφημ[ος], 285 (13).
- Εὐδικος (Ξυπεταίων), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of

- [Ε]ὐθύμαχος, 220 524-525 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 82-83.
- [Εὐ]εργέτης, archon *a.* 164/3 *a.*, 273 (1).
- Εὐετίων Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήττιος, orator *a.* 328/7 *a.*, 172 (2 32) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Εὐθυκλῆς (Χολλείδης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Εὐ]θύφρων, 213 136-137 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 24-25.
- [Εὐθύκριτος], archon *a.* 328/7 *a.*, 171 (2 2) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Εὐ[θύ]κρι(τος) (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀγνων, 220 553-554 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 27-28.
- [Ε]ὐθύμαχος Εὐδίκου [Ξυνε]ταιών, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 524-525 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 82-83.
- [Εὐ]θύφρων Εὐθυκλέους Χολλε(ίδης), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 136-137 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 24-25.
- Εὐκλῆς ἐγ Κολ(λυτῶι) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 110 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 64.
- [Εὐ]κόλη, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 62 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 102.
- Εὐ[κράτ]ης (Ἐπικηφίσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [— — —]το[ς], 220 544-545 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 18-19.
- [Εὐ]κράτης Εὐξένου Παλλη(νεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1558 58 (cf. above, p. 223 104).
- Εὐκτήμων Καλλιμάχου Σινοπε[ύς], *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (5).
- [Εὐκτίμενος] (Εὐπυρίδης), *ca. a.* 277 *a.*, father of [Πολυκτήμων], 174 (3 2) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Εὐμ[...]ς ἐν Κο[λλ(υτῶι) οἰκ(ῶν)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 263 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 67.
- [Εὐ]μάρης: see [...]μάρης.
- Εὐμαχος (Ῥαμνούσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Φορμίων, 219 516-517 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 74-75.
- Εὐξενος (Παλληνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [...]κράτης (or [Εὐ]κράτης), 223 104 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 59.
- Εὐπείθη ἐν Σκ(αμβωνιδῶν) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 259-260 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 63-64.
- Εὐπόλεμος (Ἀγρυλῆθεν), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Εὐπόλεμος, 213 146-147 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 34-35.
- Εὐπόλεμος Εὐπολέμο(ν) Ἀγρυ(λῆθεν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 146-147 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 34-35.
- Εὐπόλεμος (Ποτάμιος), *ca. a.* 170 *a.*, 189 (10 5) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Εὐπορος: Εὐπόρου, signature on a Roman lamp, 336 (11).
- Εὐφημ[ος] Εὐδήμ[ου] Γαργήττ[ιος], *saec.* II *p.*, 285 (13).
- [Ε]ὐχάριστος Χάρητος Ἀφιδναῖος, chairman of proedroi *a.* 241/0 *a.*, 175 (3 32) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Ζώφιλος (Φυλάσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [— — —]ς (or [Ἀριστοτέλη]ς), *I.G.*, II², 1554 72 (cf. above, p. 226 347).
- Ἡγησίας (Ἐρχιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Νικόξενος, 223 105 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 59.
- Ἡδίστη ἐ Σκαμ(βωνιδῶν) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 341 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 67.
- Ἡρακλει(—), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Χρυσίον, 219 514-515 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 72-73.
- Ἡρακλείδης ἐμ Με(λίτη) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 489-490 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 47-48.
- Ἡράκλειτος, archon *a.* 137/6 *a.*, 189 (10 1) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Ἡρά[κλει]τος (Θορίκιος), *ante med. saec.* III *a.*, father of Ἀλκιβιάδης, 178 (4 13) = *I.G.*, II², 1293.
- [Ἡ]χῶ ἐμ Πα() [ο]ικ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 214.
- Θασίς, mother of Κλεώ, 323 (3).
- Θεα[ί]τητος (Χολαργεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Σπουδίας, 219 483-484 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 41-42.
- Θεάνγγελος (Χολλείδης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Εὐάνγγελος, 221 8 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 33.
- Θεαρίς, on a grave monument on Kasos, 119 (23).
- [Θεόδοτος], archon *a.* 95/4 *a.*, 200 (13 10) = *I.G.*, II², 1033.
- Θεοδώρα Χαριξένου, at Hermione, mother of Ἐπίκτητος, 110 (2).
- Θεόδωρος (Μελιτεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀθηνόδωρος, 219 507-508 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 65-66; [Θ]εόδωρος (Μ.), father of Θεόδωρος, 219 508-509 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 66-67.
- Θεόδωρος [Θ]εοδώρου Μελιτε[ύς], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 508-509 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 66-67.
- Θεόμ[νηστ(ος)] (Ὀλύθιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father

- of [Στρό]μβιχ(ος), 214 241-242 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 45-46.
- Θεοπέιθης (Κηφισιεύς), *ca. a.* 198 *a.*, father of Αισχέας, 185 (7 4-5) = *I.G.*, II², 950.
- Θεοφά[νης — — — ^{ca. 6} — —] Ἀχ[αρνεύς], priest of Asklepios *a.* 337/6 *a.*, 170 (1 18-19).
- Θεόφιλος Ἀν[. . . ⁶ . . .] Εὐωνυμε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 330-331 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 55-56.
- Θεόφραστος Βαθύλλου Χολαργεύς, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 567-569 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 41-43.
- Θεοχάρης Ἐργοχάρ[ον] Πρασιεύς, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 561-562 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 35-36.
- [Θ]έρσιππος Ἀντιφάνον [— — — —] *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 93 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 47; Θ. Ἀ. [.], 222 95 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 49.
- Θ[έων (?)] (Πειραιεύς), *ca. a.* 142-152 *p.*, father of Ἀριστοκλείδης, 284 (12 2).
- Θέων (Πλαταιεύς), father of Σίμη, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (5).
- Θράττα ἐμ Με(λίτη) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 493-494 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 51-52.
- Θρασυμήδης(ς) Κηδείδου(ν) Λευκονο(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 219-220 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 38-39.
- Θυμάδ[ης — — — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 57 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 97
- [Θυ]μάρης: see [. . .]μάρης
- [Ι]ατροκλῆς Ἀν[— — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπε[τ] (αἰών), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 63 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 103; [Ιατρο]κλῆς Ἀν[— — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπετ(αἰών), 222 61 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 101; [Ιατρ]οκλ[ῆς Ἀν — — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπετ[αι(ών)], 222 65. Alternatively, the name may be restored as [Π]ατροκλῆς, *q.v.*
- Ἰουλιανός: Δέκ(κιος) Ἰου[λιανός — — —], *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 11) = XI 75 (38 12).
- [Ι]ούλιος Τειμοκράτης Σικυνώνιος, 324 (4).
- Ἰπποκλῆς, husband of Δεξώ, on Kasos, 119 (22).
- Ἰταμή ἐμ Πει(ραιεῖ) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 497-498 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 55-56.
- Ἰωάννης ὁ τὴν μακαρίαν κὲ εὐλαβῇ μνήμην νῖδος Ἐπι-
τυνχάνου τοῦ τὴν εὐλαβ[ῇ] μνήμην Πιτυουσιάτου,
at Hermione, 115 (11).
- Κα[— — — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 336 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 61.
- Καλλιάρχης (Παιανιεύς), *ca. a.* 253 *a.*, father of Καλλίας, 215 253-254 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 57-58.
- Καλ[λί]ας, archon *a.* 94/3 *a.*, 200 (13 2) = *I.G.*, II², 1033.
- Καλλ[ί]ας (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Καλλιπιδίης, 214 245-246 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 49-50.
- [Κ]αλλίας Καλλικράτους Ἀφιδ(ναῖος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 270 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 96.
- Καλλίας Καλλιάρχου Παιανιεύς, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 253-254 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 57-58.
- [Κ]αλλίας<ς> ἐμ Πει(ραιεῖ) οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 112-113 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 22-23.
- Καλλικράτης (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Κ]αλλίας, 225 270 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 96.
- Καλλίμαχος (Μαραθώνιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [— — —]μαχος, 221 36 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 88; [Κ]αλλίμαχος (Μ.), father of [— — —]μαχος, 221 34 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 86; [Κα]λλί[μ]αχος (Μ.), father of [— — —]μαχος, 221 39.
- Καλλίμαχος (Σινωπεύς), *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Εὐκτήμων, 277 (5).
- Καλλιπιδίης Καλλ[ί]ου Ἀφιδ(ναῖος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 245-246 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 49-50.
- Καλλιπιδίη[ς] Τιμώνακτος Παιανιεύς, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 430-432.
- [Καλλιφῶ]ν Ἀριστοκλέους [Αἰξωνεύς], *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (commentary on 6).
- Καρίνας Δε[ονύσιος . . . ^{ca. 5-6} . . .], *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 5).
- Κη[— — — —], *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Εὐβουλος, 224 243 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 90.
- Κηδείδης (Λευκονοεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 214 219-220 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 38-39.
- Κηφίσιος Κηφισοδήμου Παλλη(νεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 110-111 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 20-21.
- Κηφισόδημος (Παλληνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Κηφίσιος, 212 110-111 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 20-21.
- [Κ]ίττος ἐμ Πει(ραιεῖ) οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 100 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 10.
- Κλέαρχ[ος] (Ἀγρυλῆθεν), *aet. Rom.*, father of Πυθείδης, 282 (10).
- [Κλ]εινίας (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca. a.* 361 *a.*, father of Ἀνδροκ[λῆς], 172 (2 19-20) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Κλεο[— — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 333.

- [Κ]λεόξενος (Οἰήθεν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 223 109 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 63. For the demotic, see above, p. 231.
- Κλεὼ Θασίδος, dedicant at the Isthmia, 323 (3).
- [Κό]νων ἐμ Με(λίτηι) οἰκ(ὼν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1559 85 (cf. above, p. 225 259).
- Κορδύπη ἐν Θορικ(ῶι) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 218 472-473 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 22-23.
- Κραναὸς Κτησιφ[ώντος Βησαιεύς], orator *a. 244/3 a.*, 174 (3 5) and 175 (3 33) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Κτησίας Κτήσωνος Θορίκι(ος), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 219 503-504 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 61-62.
- Κτησιφ[ῶν] (Βησαιεύς), *ca. a. 277 a.*, father of Κραναός, 174 (3 5) and 175 (3 33) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Κτήσων (Θορίκιος), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Κτησίας, 219 503-504 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 61-62.
- Κτησωνί[δ]ης Οἰήθ(εν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 223 109-110 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 63-64.
- [Κυδῆνωρ], archon *a. 244/3 a.*, 174 (3 1) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Λάμαχος (Ὀρήθεν), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Τυδεύς, 221 5 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 30.
- Λαμπρὶς ἐν Σκαμ(βωνιδῶν) οἰκοῦσ(α), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 215 255-256 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 59-60.
- Λαοδίκη, on a grave monument at Hydra, 117 (15).
- Λαοδίκη Ξανθίππου Λαοδίκισσα, on a grave monument at Hydra, 118 (16).
- Λεο[---], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 217 435.
- Λεπτ[.....]ς ἐκ τῶν ἐργ(αζομένων) ἐπὶ Κυν(ο-σάργει) οἰκ(ὼν), 222 98 (cf. p. 231) correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 51-52.
- Λέων: [---]αρχος ὁ καὶ Λέων Μεγαλοκλέους Θεσσαλός, 324 (4).
- Λεωνίδη[ς Νικοκράτου Φλυεύς], priest of Asklepios *a. 138/7 a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1019 13-14 (cf. above, p. 188); [Λ.] Νικοκ[ράτου] Φ., 189 (10 7-8) supplementing and correcting *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Λικιννιανός: Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Λικιννιανός Σωκράτους, priest of Asklepios at Hermione, 109 (1).
- Λούκιος Ἐπικτήτου, at Hermione, father of Ἐπίκτητος, 110 (2).
- Λύδη Ἀλωπεκῆ(σι) [οἰκοῦ(σα)], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 215 328 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 53.
- Λύκις Βίωνος [Ἀχαρν(εύς)], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 213 150 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 38.
- [Λ]υκίσκο[ς Διοδότου] Ἐπικη(φίσιος), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 214 207-208 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 26-27.
- Λυσ[---], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 216 372 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 74.
- Λυσανίας, *ca. a. 353 a.*, 218 450 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 8.
- Λυσιάδης, archon *a. 241/0 a.*, 175 (3 28) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Λυσιάδης Χίωνος Ἀλωπεκ(ῆθεν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 225 267 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 93.
- Λυσίδικος Λυσιστράτου Ἀχαρν(εύς), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 212 98-99 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 8-9.
- Λ[υ]σίεγνος, son of Ἀρχέπολις, *ca. a. 200 a.*, on a grave monument at Hydra, 117 (4).
- Λύσιππος (Λαμπτρεύς), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Ἐπιχαρίδης, 214 215-216 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 34-35.
- Λυσίστρατος (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Λυσίδικος, 212 98-99 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 8-9.
- Λυσιχάρη[ς ---], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 224 152 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 105.
- Μᾶης Ἐρύμνου Νικομηδεύς, on a grave monument at Hydra, 118 (19).
- Μαλθάκη ἐγ Κ<ει>ρ(ιαδῶν) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 223 114-116 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 68-70.
- Μάνης ἐν Κολ[λ(υτῶι)] οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 214 209-210 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 28-29.
- Μανία, on a grave monument at Hydra, 118 (18).
- Μᾶρκος (Κολλυτεύς), *aet. Rom.*, father of [Ἀ]-σκληπιάδης, 283 (11).
- Μεγαλοκλής (Θεσσαλός), father of [---]αρχος ὁ καὶ Λέων, 324 (4).
- Με[---^{ca. 16}---], priest of Asklepios *a. 140/39 a.* (?), 186 (8 9).
- Μειδ[---], *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of [---]δωρος, 217 406 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 33 (cf. above, p. 228).
- Μενέδημος ἐμ Με(λίτηι) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 219 491-492 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 49-50; Μ. ἐμ

- Μελί(τη) ο[ι]κῶν, 219 495-496 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 53-54.
- Μεν[— —], *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Τιμόθεος, 222 59 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 99.
- Μένιος ἐν [— — οἰκ(ῶν)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 215 332 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 57.
- Μενίππη, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 187.
- Μενίτης Μένωνος Κυδαθ(ηναίως), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 112, 114, 117, 119, 121 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 66, 68, 71, 73, 75.
- Μένων (Κυδαθηναίως), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Μενίτης, 223 112, 114, 117, 119, 121 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 66, 68, 71, 73, 75.
- Μεσὼ [Ἄλω] πεκῆσιν οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 99-100 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 53-54.
- Μισγόλας Ναυκράτους Κολλυ(τεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 339-340 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 65-66; M. [N. K.], 226 335.
- Μνάσων ἐν Με[λί(τη)] οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 15-16 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 40-41.
- Μνησιθέα{ν} ἐμ Πει(ραιῇ) οἶκο(ῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 104 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 14.
- [M] νήσιππος Ἐρμ[ωνο]ς Π[α]λλ[ηνε(ύς)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, *I.G.*, II², 1557 95 supplemented by 222 55.
- Μοσχ[— — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 244 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 91.
- Μοσχίων ἐμ Πειρ(αιῇ) ο[ικ]ῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 148-149 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 36-37.
- Μόσχος ἐγ Κει(ριαδῶν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 120 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 74. The name (Μόσ-χον) was taken by Koehler as feminine (*I.G.*, II 5, 772b B 31 and Index on p. 319).
- Μῶμος ἐν Κυδαθ(ηναίωι) οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 9-10 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 34-35.
- Ναυκλῆς Ναυκράτους Κολλυ(τεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 340 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 66; Ναυκλ[ῆς N. Κολλυ(τεύς)], 226 336.
- Ναυκράτης (Κολλυτεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Μισγόλας, 226 339-340 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 65-66; [N.] (K.), father of M., 226 335; N. (K.), father of Ναυκλῆς, 226 340 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 66; [N.] (K.), father of Ναυκλ[ῆς], 226 336.
- Ναυφ[— — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 51.
- Νεικίας, at the Isthmia, 324 (56); Νικίας, 325 (5 16).
- [N] εοπτόλεμος Ἀντικλέους Μελι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 216-217.
- Νικανδρος Δημοκράτου Ἀθηναίος, on a grave monument at Hydra, 118 (17).
- Νικαρίστη [— — — οἰκ(οῦσα)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 238 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 85.
- [Ni] κήρατος (Μελιτεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Νικήρατος], 225 253 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 79; N. (M.), father of [Νικ]ήρατος, 225 257 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 83; N. (M.), father of N., 225 260, 264 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 86, 90.
- Νικήρατος Νικηράτου Μελι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 260, 264 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 86, 90; [N. Ni] κηράτου Μελι(εύς), 225 253 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 79; [Νικ]ήρατος N. Μελι(τεύς), 225 257 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 83.
- Νικήρατος (Φλυεύς), *ca. a.* 206 *a.*, father of [— ^{ca. 5} — —]ς, 181 (6 5) = XXVI 39 = *I.G.*, II², 996.
- Νικήτης (Περγασῆθεν), *ca. a.* 198 *a.*, father of Πρωταγόρας, 185 (7 6) = *I.G.*, II², 950.
- Νικίας: see Νεικίας.
- Νικίας ἐμ [Π]ει(ραιῇ) οἰκ(ῶ)ν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 563-564 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 37-38.
- Νικόδικος [ὁ καὶ] Χαρίτων Ἀζηγιεύ[ς], *saec.* II/III *p.*, 287 (14). Perhaps Νικόδικος Χαρίτων[ος] Ἀζηγιεύ[ς].
- Νικοκ[ράτης] (Φλυεύς), *ca. a.* 171 *a.*, father of [Λεωνίδης], 189 (10 7-8) = *I.G.*, II², 974; [N.] (Φ.), father of Λεωνίδη[ς], *I.G.*, II², 1019 13-14 (cf. above, p. 188).
- Νικόξενος Ἠγησίου Ἐρχι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 105 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 59.
- Νικόστρατ[ος — — —] Ἀχαρ(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 332-333.
- Ξάνθιππος, father of Λαοδίκη Λαοδίκισσα, at Hydra, 118 (16).
- Οἰνιάδης Οἰνοκλέο(ς) Ἀμαξαν(τεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 211-212 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 30-31.
- Οἰνοκλῆ(ς) (Ἀμαξαντεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Οἰνιάδης, 214 211-212 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 30-31.

- Ὀλυμπιάς ἐν Κυδα (θηναίωι) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 219 518-519 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 76-77.
- Ὀλυμπ[ιόδωρος] (Ἀγρυλῆθεν), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of [— — —]ς, 221 94-95 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 4-5.
- [Ὀ]μόδαμος, on a grave stele at Hermione, 115 (9); but possibly [Ἀ]μόδαμος, *q.v.*
- Ὀνησίμη Ἀλωπ(εκῆσιν) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 214 221-222 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 40-41.
- Ὀνήσιμος Ἀ[λωπε(κῆσιν ?) οἰκ]ῶ(ν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 213 194-195 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1555 21-22.
- Πα[...?...]ολο(ν) Ίφιστι[άδ(ης)], *ca. a. 320 a.*, 217 404-406 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 31-33 (cf. above, p. 228).
- Πάμφιλος [ἐ Λ]ακι(αδῶν) οἰκῶν, *ca. a. 320 a.*, 220 559-560 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 33-34.
- [Π]άμφιλος (Φυλάσιος), *ca. a. 353 a.*, 226 346 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 71.
- [Πά]νκαλος Ἀθηνάδου, proxenos *ca. a. 320 a.*, 221 17 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 42; [Πάνκαλο]ς Ἀθηνά[δου], 221 21 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 46.
- Παντα[λέων] (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca. a. 361 a.*, father of Προκλείδης, 172 (2 8-9) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- [Παρ]μενίων (Ἀραφῆνιος), *ca. a. 171 a.*, father of [Φίλων], 187 (9) = *I.G.*, II², 1019; [Π.] (Ἀ.), father of [Φίλω]ν, *I.G.*, II², 1019 40 (cf. above, p. 187).
- [Π]ατροκλῆς Ἀν[— — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπε[τ](αιών), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 222 63 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 103; [Πατρο]κλῆς Ἀν[— — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπετ(αιών), 222 61 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 101; [Πατρ]οκλ[ῆς Ἀν — — ^{ca. 6} — —]ς Ξυπετ[αι(ών)], 222 65. Alternatively, the name may be restored [Ἰ]ατροκλῆς, *q.v.*
- [Πε]ισίς[τ]ρατος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of [Ἀ]γνωνί[δ]ης, 215 249-250 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1559 53-54.
- Πέλοψ, archon *a. 165/4 a.*, 185 (7 1) = *I.G.*, II², 950.
- Πιστοκλῆς (Κηφισιεύς), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Ἀντιμένης, 220 548-549 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 22-23; Πιστοκ[λ]ῆς (Κ.), father of Ἀ., 220 552-553 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 26-27.
- Πιστοκλῆς ἐμ Με[λ(ίτη) οἰ]κ(ῶν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 214 243-244 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 47-48.
- Πλαγγὼν ἐγ Κει(ριαδῶν) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 223 118 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 72.
- Πλαγγὼν ἐν [Κ]υδα (θηναίωι) οἰκοῦς(α), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 220 555-556 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 29-30.
- Πολύευκτος, *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of [. . .]ς, 212 115 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 24.
- Πολύευκτος, archon *a. 249/8 a.*, 278 (7).
- [Πολυκτήμων Εὐκτιμένου Εὐπυρίδης], secretary *a. 244/3 a.*, 174 (3 2-3) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- Πολύρητος, *ca. a. 353 a.*, 218 458 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 16.
- Πολύστρατ{ατ}(ος) (Ἐπικηφίσιος), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of Πολύστρατος, 221 11-12 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 36-37.
- Πολύστρατος Πολυστράτ{ατ}(ου) Ἐπικηφίσιος, *ca. a. 320 a.*, 221 11-12 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 36-37.
- Πολύτιμος ἐν Κολλυ(τῶι) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 215 251-252 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 55-56.
- Πολυχαρμίδης (— — λ — —), *ca. a. 353 a.*, father of [. . .]μόστρατος, 223 101-102 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 55-56.
- Τί· Πομπήιο[ς Φλαβιανὸς Πρ]εῖμος Γαργήτιος, *ca. a. 175-185 p.*, 284 (12 6-7); Πομ(πήιος) Φλαβιανὸς (Γαργήτιος), councillor of Aigeis *a. 182/3 p.*, 285 correcting IV 48 (11 14) = *S.E.G.*, XIV 92.
- Ποσειδών[ιος ἐ]ν Κολλυ(τῶι) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 214 225-226 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 44-45.
- Πρεῖμος: Τί· Πομπήιο[ς Φλαβιανὸς Πρ]εῖμος Γαργήτιος, *q.v.*
- Πριάνθη ἐμ Με(λίτη) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a. 320 a.*, 225 266 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1559 92.
- Προκλείδης Παντα[λέοντος ἐκ Κερα]μέων, orator *a. 328/7 a.*, 172 (2 8-9) = *I.G.*, II², 354.
- Προκλῆς (Φρεάρριος), *ca. a. 282 a.*, father of Ἀντίβιος, 278 (7).
- Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν, priest of Asklepios *a. 165/4 a.*, 185 (7 6) = *I.G.*, II², 950; Π.Π., 186 (7 27-28) = *I.G.*, II², 950.
- Πρωτίας Ἀλαεύς, *saec. IV a.*, father of Δεικράτεια, 275 (3).
- Πυθείδης Κλεάρχ[ου] Ἀγρυλῆθεν, *aet. Rom.*, 282 (10).
- Πυθόδηλος (Ἀγνούσιος), *ca. a. 361 a.*, father of Πυθόδηλος, 171 (2 4) = *I.G.*, II², 354.

- Πυθόδηλος Πυθοδήλου [Ἀγνούσιος], secretary *a.* 328/7 *a.*, 171 (2 4-5) = *I.G.*, II², 354..
- Ῥοδία ἐν Θορικῶ(ι) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 218 468-469 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 18-19.
- Σαραπίων (Παμβωτάδης), *ca. a.* 223-203 *a.*, father of [— — —]_s, 180 (5 9) = *I.G.*, II² 820.
- Σάτυρος Ἀγνοῦν(τι) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 108 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 18.
- Σαυρίας Ἀθηνίππου Πειραι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 218-219 482-483 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 40-41.
- Σέργιος: Σερέιου (= Σεργίου), *aet. Christ.*, at Hermione, 116 (12).
- Σιμα[— — —] (feminine), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 229 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 48.
- Σίμαλον [— — — οἰκ(οῦσα)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 235 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 82.
- Σίμη Θέωνος Πλαταιική, *saec.* IV *a.*, 277 (5).
- Σίμος ἐμ Π(ειραιεῖ) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 96 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 50.
- Σμικρίας (Σφήττιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Τιμόστρατος, 226 343 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 68.
- Σπυδίας Θεα[ι]τήτο(ν) Χολαρ(γεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 483-484 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 41-42.
- Στρ[— — —] ἐμ Π[ειρ(αιεῖ) οἰκ(ῶν)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 216 370-371 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 72-73.
- Στρατο[— — —] Ἀγρυλ(ήσιν) οἰκ., *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 330—226 331.
- Στρατονίκη ἐμ Με(λίτην) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 262 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 88.
- [Στρό]μβιχ(ος) Θεομ[νήστ(ον) Ὀλ]ύνθι(ος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 241-242 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 45-46.
- Σωκράτης, father of Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀῦρ(ήλιος) Δικιν-μιανός at Hermione, 109 (1).
- Σωσίας ἐν Ἡφαιστια(δῶν) οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 12-13 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 37-38.
- Σωσιδῆμος (Ξυπεταίων), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Φε]ίδιππος, 225 258 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 84; Σ. (Ξ.), father of [Φ.], 225 254 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 80; Σ. (Ξ.), father of Φ., 225 261, 265 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 87, 91.
- Σώ[ίσστρ]ατος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Γόργαθο(ς), 217 399-400 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 26-27.
- Σωστράτη ἐ[ν Κεραμ]έω(ν) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 550-551 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 24-25.
- Σωστράτη ἐμ Μ(ελίτην) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 268 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 94.
- [Σ]ωτη[ρ]ίδης [ἐν] Διομεί(οις) οἰκῶν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 546-547 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 20-21.
- [Σ]ωτηρίων, on a dedication to Ἥρα Τελεία at Hermione, 112 (6).
- Ταχίστη ἐγ Κυ[δαθ(ηναίωι) οἰκ(οῦσα)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 55-56 supplementing *I.G.*, II², 1557 95-96.
- Ταχίδημος (ἐκ Κοίλης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of [Ἀρ]χων, 221 18 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 43.
- Τειμ — — —: see Τιμ — — —.
- Τειμόδικος, in a text from Karpathos, 120 (= XXVII 124 (4 4)).
- Τειμοκράτης: [Ἰ]ούλιος Τειμοκράτης Σικυνώνιος, 324 (4).
- Τίμαρχος, archon *a.* 138/7 *a.*, 189 (10 9) = *I.G.*, II², 974.
- Τιμόθεος Μεν[— — —], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 59 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 99.
- Τιμοκλείδης (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Χαίριππος, 219 499-500 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 57-58.
- Τιμόστρατος Σμικρίου Σφήτ(τιος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 343 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 68.
- Τιμόναξ (Παιανεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Καλ-λιππίδη[ς], 217 430-432.
- Τυδεὺς Λαμάχον Ὀῦθεν, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 5 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 30.
- Τυρῆν ἐν Κυδαθη(ναίωι) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 433-434.
- Ὑγιάιν[ων]χο(ν) Ἀγκ[υλ(ήθεν)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 214 227-228 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 46-47.
- Φαν[ίας] (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Φυλαξίας, 224 240 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 87.
- Φειδέστρατος [ἐγ] Κ<υ>δαθ(ηναίωι) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 102-103 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 56-57.
- [Φε]ίδιππος Σωσιδήμου Ξυπ(εταίων), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 254 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 80; [Φε]ίδιππος Σ. Ξ., 225 258 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 84; Φ. Σ. Ξυπε- (ταίων), 225 261 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 87; Φ. Σ. Ξυπετ(αίων), 225 265 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 91.

- Φείδων (Παιανιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Χαίρε-
φίλος, 219 512-513 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 70-71.
- Φερεκλείδης(ς) Φερεκλέου(ς) Περιθοί(δης), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 218 466-467 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 16-17;
Φ. Φ. Περιθο(ίδης), 218 470-471 = *I.G.*, II²,
1556 20-21; Φερε[κλ]είδης(ς) Φερε[κλέ]ον(ς)
[Περιθ]οί(δης), 218 474-475 = *I.G.*, II², 1556
24-25.
- Φερεκλή(ς) (Περιθοίδης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
Φερεκλείδης(ς), 218 466-467 = *I.G.*, II², 1556
16-17; Φ. (Π.), father of Φ., 218 470-471 =
I.G., II², 1556 20-21; Φερε[κλή(ς)] (Π.),
father of Φερε[κλ]είδης(ς), 218 474-475 = *I.G.*,
II², 1556 24-25.
- [Φιλ]ήσιος Διονυσόδ[. . . ον - - ^{ca. 5} - -], chairman
of proedroi *a.* 173/2 *a.*, 181 (6 4) = XXVI
39 = *I.G.*, II², 996.
- Φίλι[- ^{ca. 4} -] ('Αλωπεκῆσιν οἰκῶν ?), *ca. a.* 353
a., 214 223-224 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 42-43.
- [Φ]ίλιππος (Κεφαλῆθεν), *ca. a.* 180 *a.*, father of
a sister of Dionysodoros, 274 (2); [Φ.]
(Κ.), *ca. a.* 197 *a.*, father of [Διονυσόδωρος],
273 (1).
- Φίλιστη ἐμ Μελ(ίτη) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
214 213-214 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 32-33.
- Φιλοκράτης Ἐπικράτο(υς) Ἐλευσί(νιος), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 220 565-566 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 39-40.
- Φιλονίκη [ἐν] Λευκο(νόη) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320
a., 213 152-153 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 40-41.
- Φί<λ>όστρατ[ος - - -], *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 222 53.
- Φίλων Φίλι[. . . Ἀλ]ωπε(κῆσιν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.*
320 *a.*, 214 223-224 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 42-43.
- [Φίλων Παρ]μένίωνος Ἀραφῆν[ιος], orator *a.* 138/7
a., 187 (9) = *I.G.*, II², 1019; Φίλω[ν Π. Ἀ.],
I.G., II², 1019 40 (cf. above, p. 187).
- Φίλων ἐν Θ[ο]ρικῶ(ι) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 218
464-465 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 14-15.
- Φίλων ἐ[ν] Κολλυ(τῶ) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219
510-511 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 68-69.
- Φίλων (Πα - - -), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
[. . . ^s . . .], 217 404-405 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 31-32.
But cf. above, p. 228, where (Ἰφιστιάδης) is
suggested as the demotic.
- Φιλωνίδης: Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Φιλωνίδης[ς . . . ^{ca. 8} . . .]ς,
ca. a. 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 3).
- Φλαβιανός: Τί· Πομπήιο[ς Φλαβιανός Πρ]είμος
Γαργήτιος, *ca. a.* 175-185 *p.*, 284 (12 6-7);
Πομ(πήιος) Φλαβιανός (Γαργήτιος), councillor
of Aigeis *a.* 182/3 *p.*, 285 correcting IV 48
(11 14) = *S.E.G.*, XIV 92.
- Φλάουιος: Τί· Φλάουιος [. . . ^{ca. 12} . . . Κ]λωπί-
δης, ἐξηγητής of the Pythian Apollo, *ca. a.* 175-
185 *p.*, 284 (12 8).
- Φορμίων Εὐμάχο(ν) Ῥαμν[ού(σιος)], *ca. a.* 320
a., 219 516-517 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 74-75.
- Φυλαξίας Φαν[ίον Ἀναγυράσιος], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224
240 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 87.
- Χαιρέδημος ('Αλαιεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
Χαίριππος, 213 140-141 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 28-29;
X. ('Α.), father of [Χαίριππ]ος, 224 209 (cf.
above, p. 231).
- [Χαιρ]εφάνης ἐν Πειρε(εῖ) οἰκ(ῶν), *I.G.*, II², 1557
89 (cf. above, 221 37).
- Χαιρέφίλος Φεῖδωνο(ς) Παια(νιεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
219 512-513 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 70-71.
- Χαίριππος Χαιρεδήμον Ἀλαιο(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
213 140-141 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 28-29; [Χαίριπ-
π]ος X. Ἀλαιο(ύς), 224 209 (cf. above, p.
231); X. Ἀ., 213 142-143 = *I.G.*, II², 1559
30-31.
- Χαίριππος Τιμοκλείδων Ἀχαρνε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
219 499-500 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 57-58.
- Χάρης ('Αφιδναῖος), *ca. a.* 275 *a.*, father of [Ε]ὐ-
χάριστος, 175 (3 32) = *I.G.*, II², 775.
- [Χα]ρίας Χαρωνίδων Εὐωνυμε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*,
218 462-463 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 12-13.
- Χαρίξενος, at Hermione, father of Θεοδόρα, 110
(2).
- Χαρίτων: Νικόδικος [ὁ καὶ] Χαρίτων Ἀζηγιεύ[ς],
saec. II/III *p.*, 287 (14). Perhaps Χαρίτων
(Ἀζηγιεύς), father of Νικόδικος.
- Χαρωνίδης (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of
[Χ]αρίας, 218 462-463 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 12-13.
- Χίων ('Αλωπεκῆθεν), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Λυσιά-
δης, 225 267 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 93.
- Χρηματίνη: Ἀὐρηλία Χρηματίνη, mother of M(ἄρ-
κος) Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Δικινγιανός at Hermione, 109
(1).
- Χρυσίον παιδί(ον) Ἡρακλεί(-) ἐν Ξυπ(έτη)
οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 219 514-515 = *I.G.*,
II², 1557 72-73.

- *Ωκιμον ἐν Ἡφαι(στιαδῶν) [οἰ]κ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 107-108 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 61-62.
- *Ωφελίων ἐν Κολλυ(τῶν) οἰκῶ(ν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 144-145 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 32-33.
- [.]ιτύρας ἐμ Π(ειραιεῖ) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 212.
- [..]κράτης Εὐξέινον Παλλη(νεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 104 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 58, where the name is restored [Εὐ]κράτης.
- [..]μάρης Ἀλωπεκῆ(σιν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 97 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 51. This could be, probably, either [Εὐ]μάρης or [Θυ]μάρης.
- [..]μόστρατος Πολυχαρμίδου [-]λ(-), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 223 101-102 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 55-56.
- [..]νων ἐμ Με(λίτη) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 259 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 85, where the name is taken as [Κό]νων.
- [..]ρτινίων ἐμ Π(ειραιεῖ) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 94 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 48.
- [..]στος ἐγ Κολλυ(τῶν) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 271 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 97.
- [...]ία ἐν Πειρα(ιεῖ) οἰκ(οῦσα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 19 = *I.G.*, II², 1556 44.
- [...]ίας Ἀριστοκρίτου Ἀφιδν(αῖος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 211.
- [...]μαῖος Σφηττοῖ [οἰκ(ῶν)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 344-345 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 69-70.
- [...]σιππος Ερ[...]ς Π[α]λλ[η]νε(ύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 55.
- [. . .]ις Πολυνέκτο(ν) [- - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 114 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 24.
- [. . .]κλῆς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀχαρ(νεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 272 = *I.G.*, 1559 98.
- [. . .]ρς ἐν Κυδα(θηναίω) οἰκ(ῶν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 213 134-135 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 22-23.
- [. . .]ς ἰσοτελής, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 99 = *I.G.*, II², 1558 53.
- [. . .]δης Ἀ[ρ]ι[σ]τάρ[χου] Μυρρ(ινούσιος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 398-399 correcting *I.G.*, II² 1557 25-26.
- [. . .]λος (Φυλάσιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Δημοσθένης, 213 154-155 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 42-43.
- [. . .]νη [ἐν] Κολλυ(τῶν) οἰκοῦ(σα), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 427-428.
- [. . .]ς Φίλωνος Πα[- - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 404-405 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 31-32. But cf. above, p. 228, where Πα[- - -] is taken as part of a name and (Ἰφιστιάδης) is suggested as the demotic.
- [. . .]χος (Ἀγκυλῆθεν), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ὑγιαίν[ων], 214 227-228 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 46-47.
- [. . .]πος (Ἐρ - -), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Διογένη[ς], 215 334-335 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 59-60.
- [- - -]αρχος ὁ καὶ Λέων Μεγαλοκλέους Θεσσαλός, 324 (4).
- [- - -]δημος (Κυθήριος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 217 390-391 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 17-18; [- - -]δημος (Κ.), 216 386-387 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 13-14; [- - -]δημος (Κ.), 216 382-383 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 9-10.
- [- - -]δωρος Μειδ[- - -], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 217 406-407 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 33-34.
- [- - -]εινίας (- - -), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀπο[λλ - - -], 217 408-409 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1557 34-35. Cf. above, p. 228.
- [- - -]ιλος, dedicant to Athena at Mantinea, 159.
- [- - -]κου Θερίκιος, ephobic taxiarch *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 121 7.
- [- - -]κρ)άτους Θερίκιος, ephobic lochagos *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 121 12.
- [- - -]κύδης (Τ - - -), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 209 32 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 7.
- [- - -]μαχος Καλλιμάχον [Μαραθῶ(νιος)], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 221 36 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 88; [- - -]μαχος Κ)αλλιμάχον Μαραθῶ(νιος), 221 34 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 86; [- - -]μαχος Καλλι[μ]άχον Μαραθ(ώνιος), 221 39.
- [- - -]ολ.ς (Ἰφιστιάδης), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Πα[- - -], 217 404-405 = *I.G.*, II², 1557 31-32 (cf. above, p. 228).
- [- - -]όλεμος (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, 224 207.
- [- - -]ος Χαιρεδήμου Ἀλαι(εύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 224 209. The name was probably [Χαίριππ]ος (cf. above, p. 231).
- [- - -]ον Εὐων(υμεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 250.
- [- - -]ον Λευ(κογεύς), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 225 274.

- [-^{ca.}12-]ο(υ) Παλ[ληνέυς], *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 216 362-363 = *I.G.*, II², 1559 64-65.
 [- - - -]ου Προσπάλλτω[ς], ephebic lochagos *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 121 9.
 [- - - -]ος Χολαργεύς, ephebic lochagos *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 121 11.
 [- - - -]ο[υ]ς Χολαργεύς, ephebic lochagos *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 122 14.
 [- - -]ς Ὀλυμπ[ιοδώρου] Ἀ[γρ](υλῆθεν), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 212 94-95 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1554 4-5.
 [- - -]ς Θορίκιος, ephebic lochagos *a.* 334/3—307/6 *a.*, 122 16.
 [- - -]ς Σαραπίωνος Παμ[βωτάδης], priest of Asklepios *ca. a.* 190—170 *a.*, 180 (5 9) = *I.G.*, II², 820.
 [- - -]ς (Φαληρεύς), *ca. a.* 353 *a.*, father of Ἀρχ[- - -], 214 232 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 51.
 [-^{ca.}5-]ς Νικηράτου Φλυεύ[ς], orator *a.* 173/2 *a.*, 181 (6 5) = XXVI 39 = *I.G.*, II² 996.
 [- - -]ς Ζωφίλου Φυλά(σιος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 226 347 = *I.G.*, II², 1554 72, where the name is given as [Ἀριστοτέλη]ς.
 [- - -]το[ς] Εὐ[κράτ]ους Ἐπικη(φίσιος), *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 220 544-545 correcting *I.G.*, II², 1558 18-19.
 [- - -]ώνη, *ca. a.* 320 *a.*, 222 91, where the reading in *I.G.*, II², 1558 45 gives the name [Ἀμν]μώνη.

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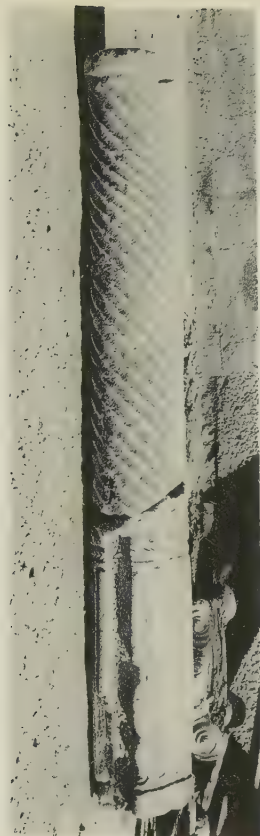
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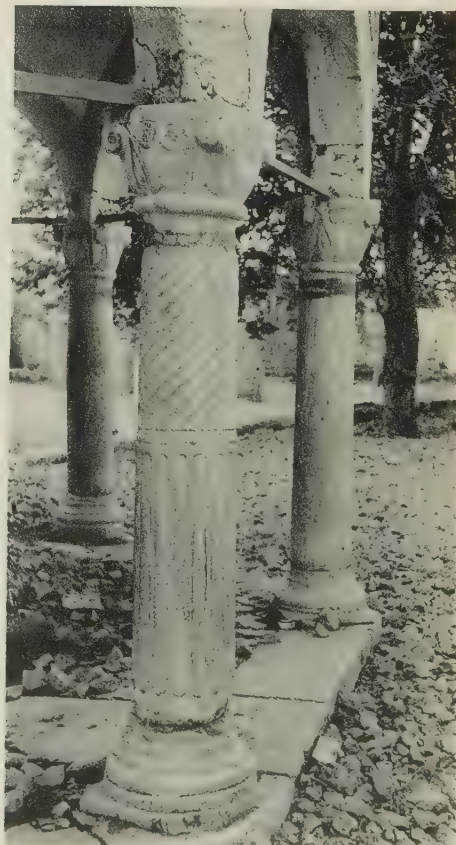
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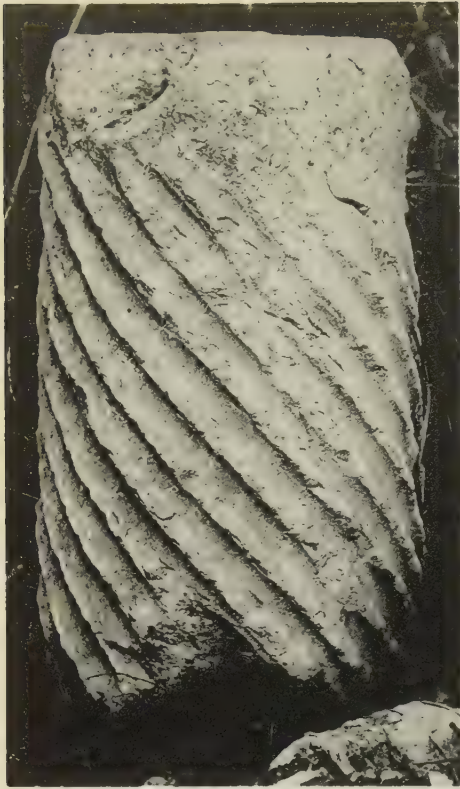
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e. Mavromati-Ithome



f. Patras



a. Athens C 1-2



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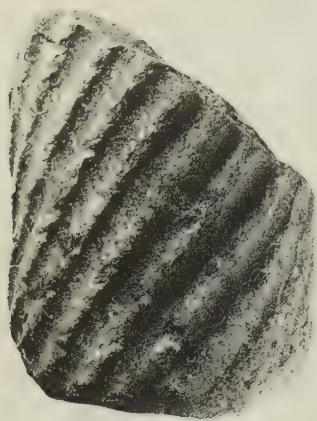
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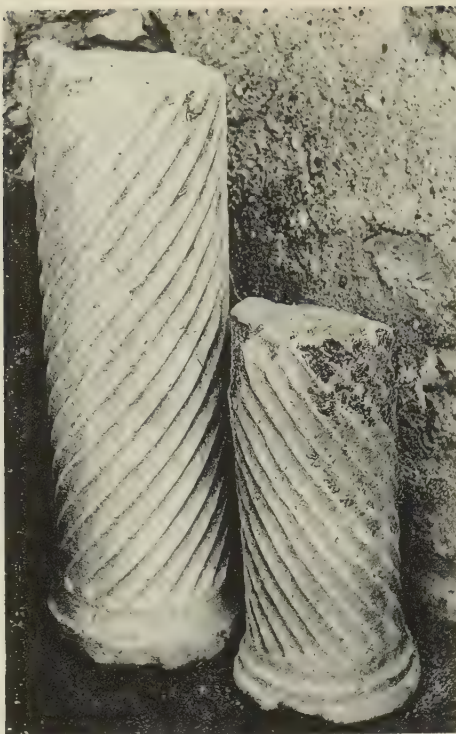
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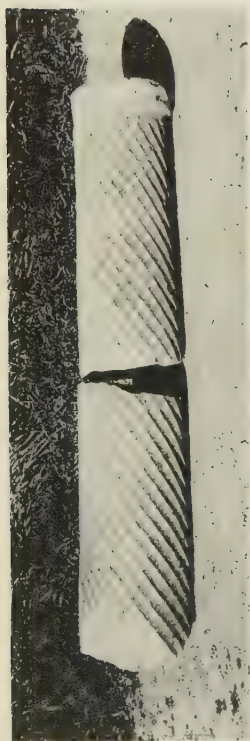
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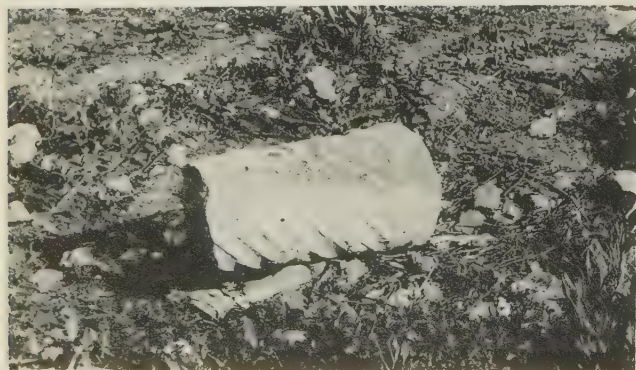
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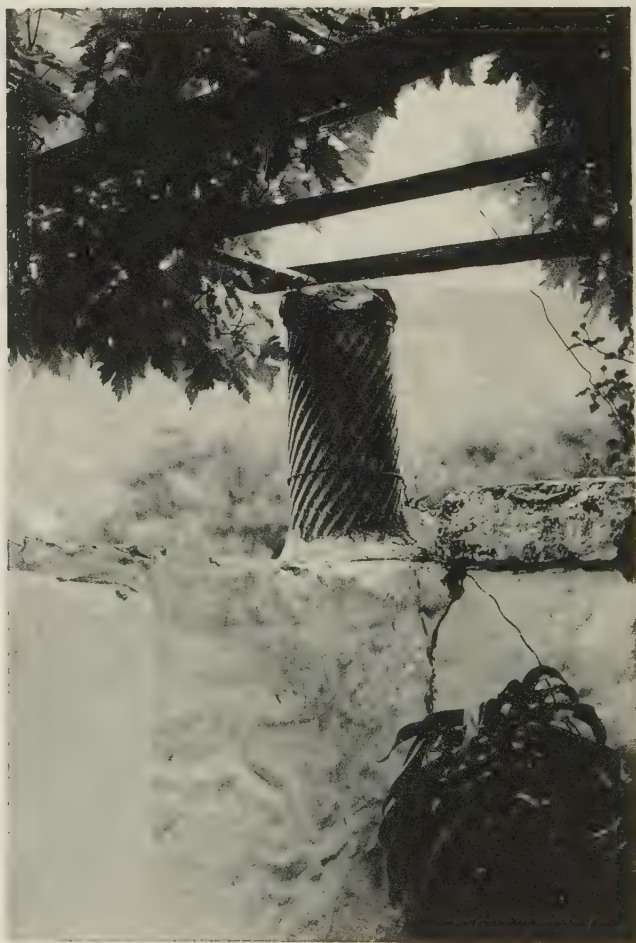
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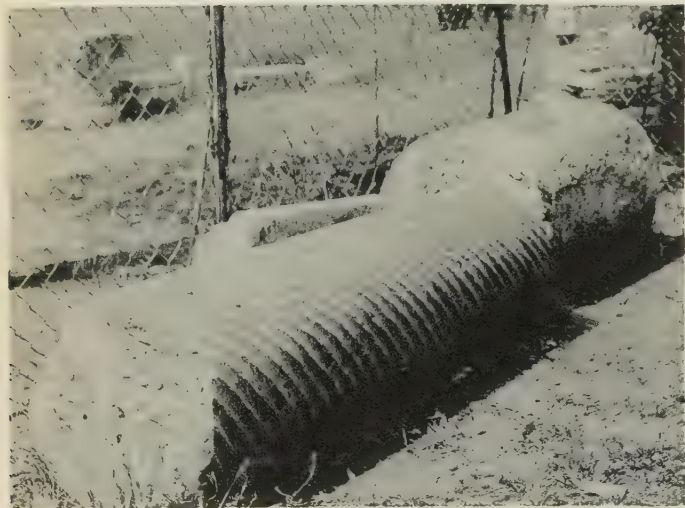
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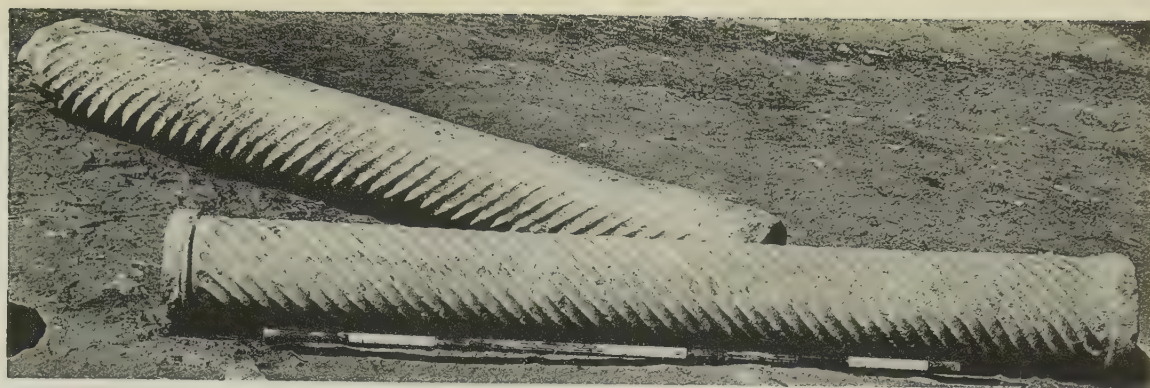
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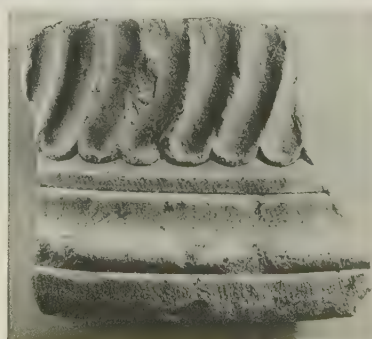
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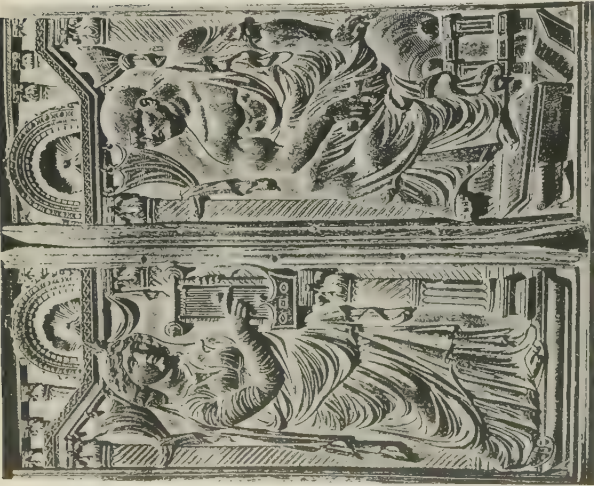
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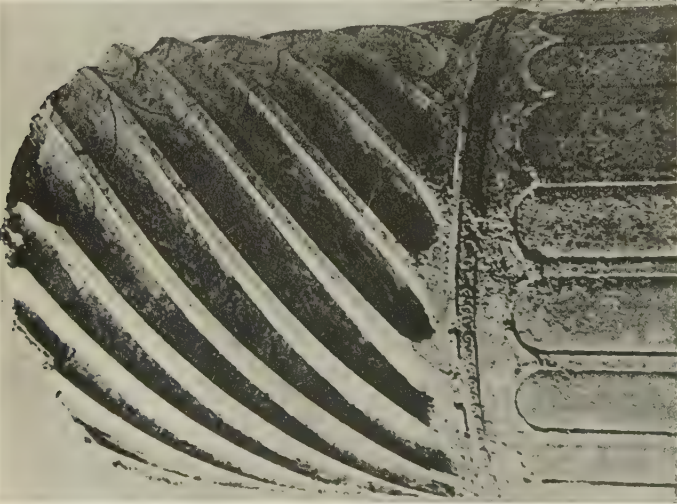
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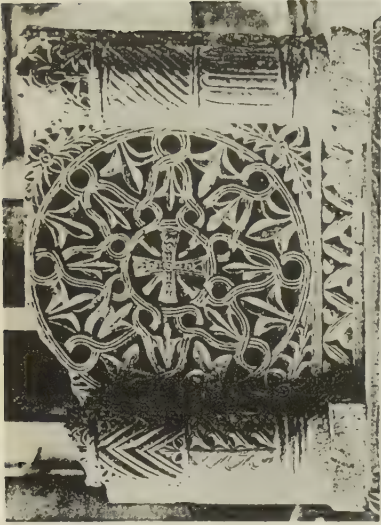
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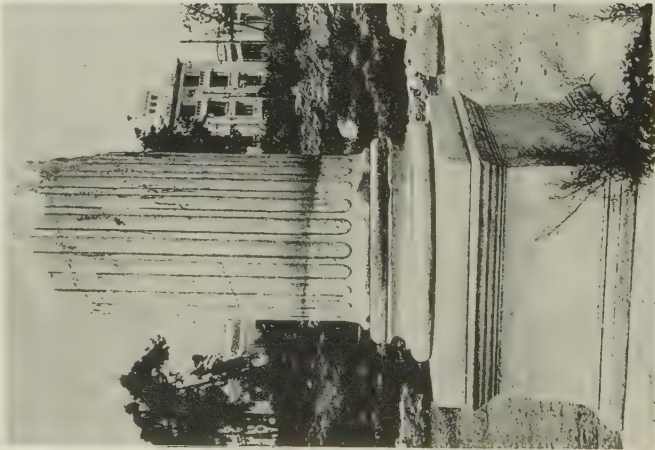
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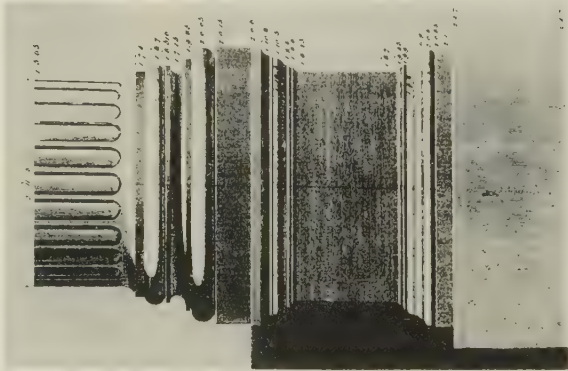
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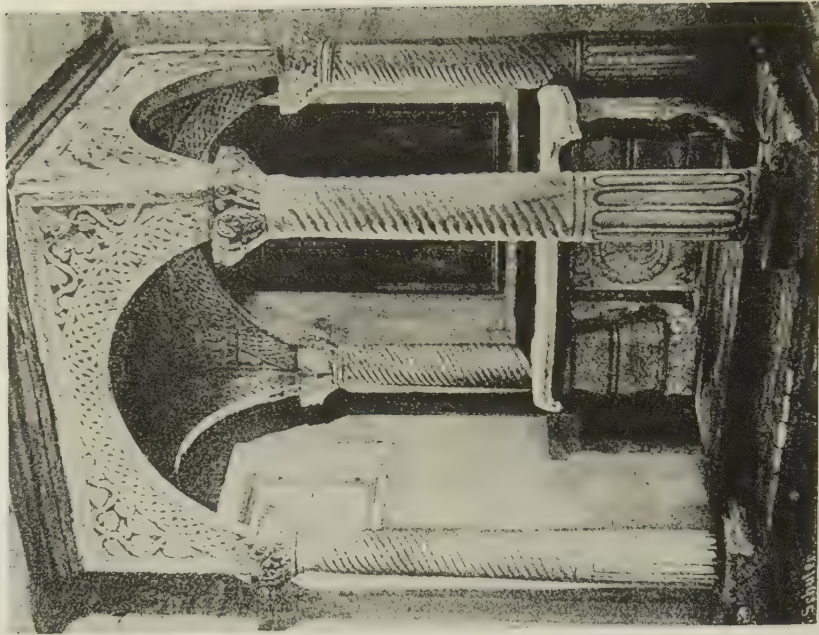
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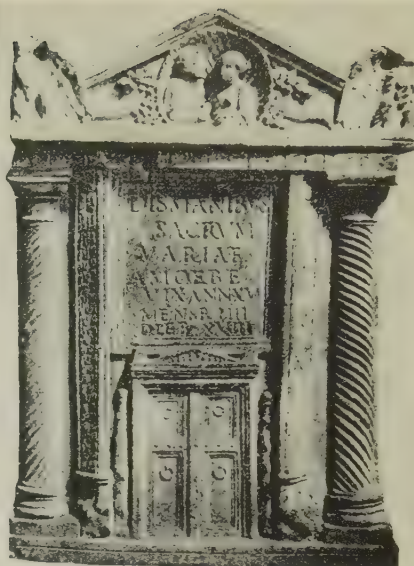
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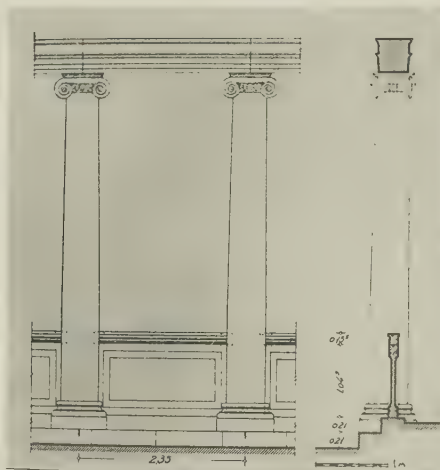
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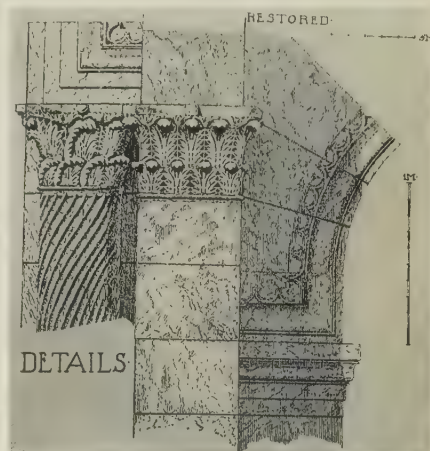
c. Façade of Roman Cippus



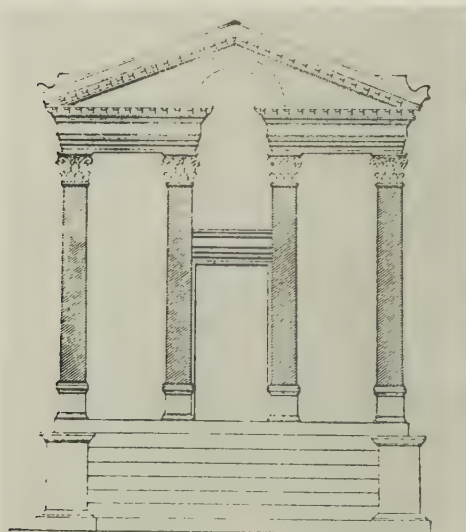
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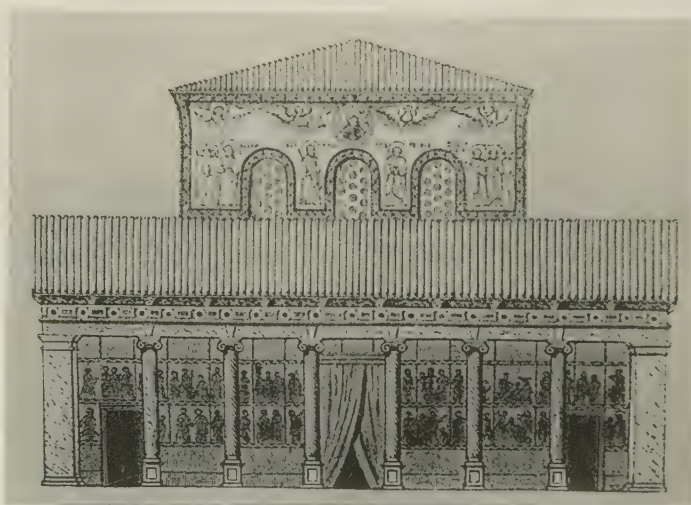
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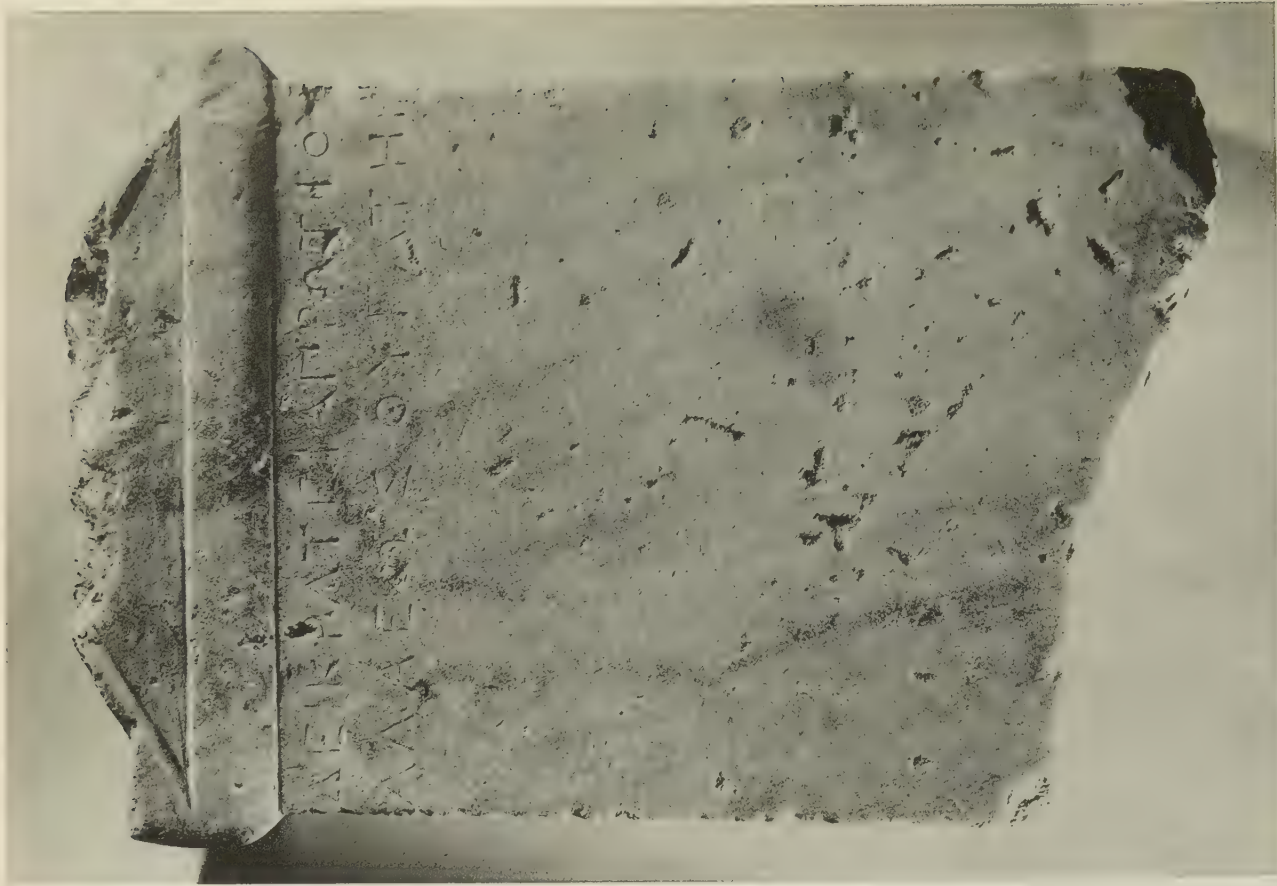
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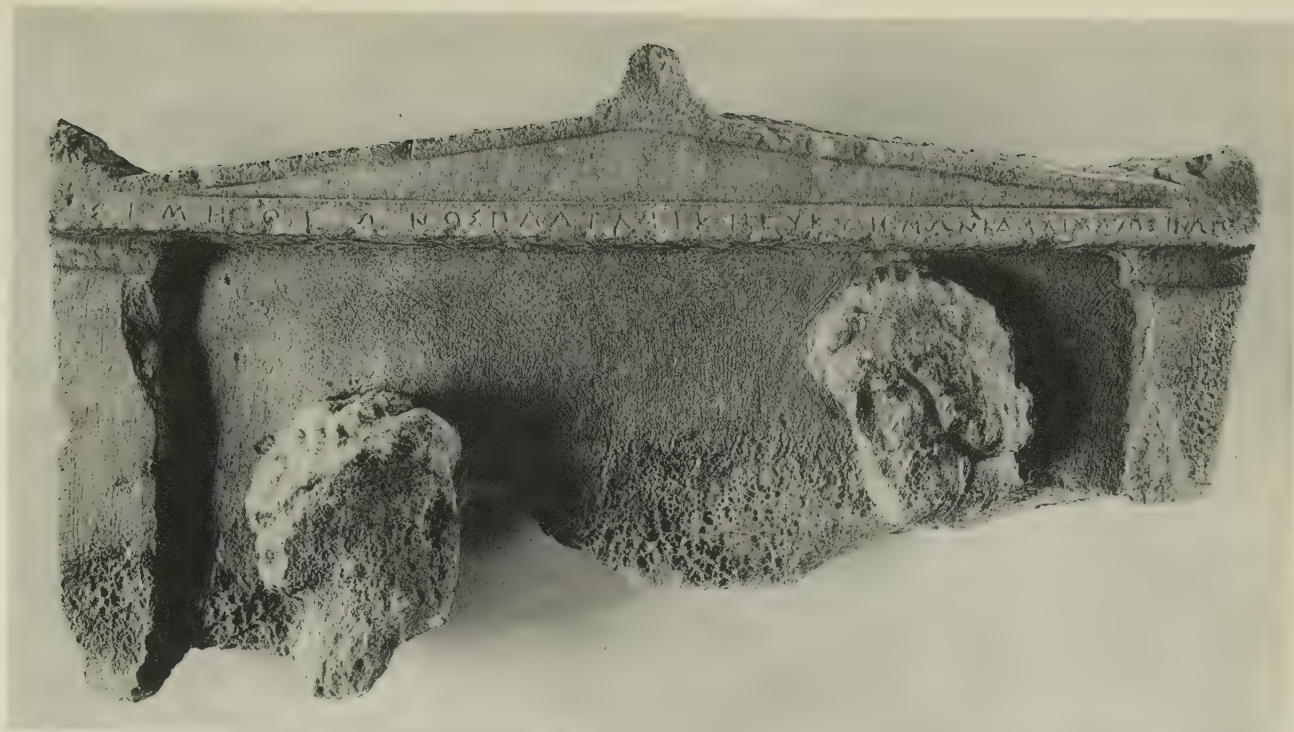
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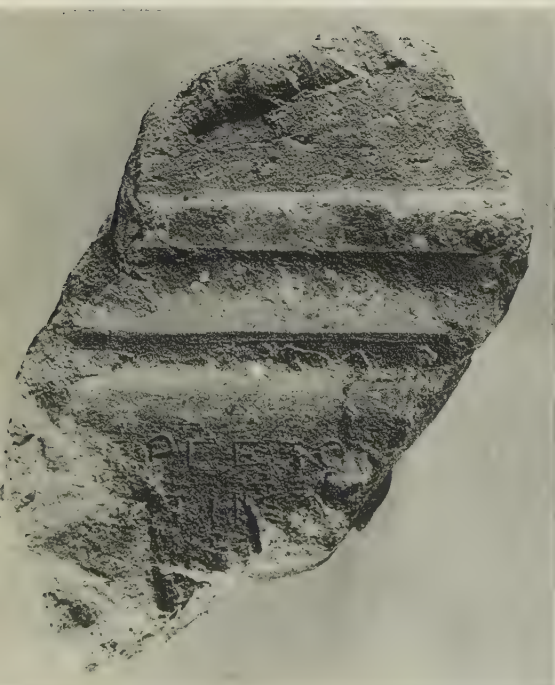
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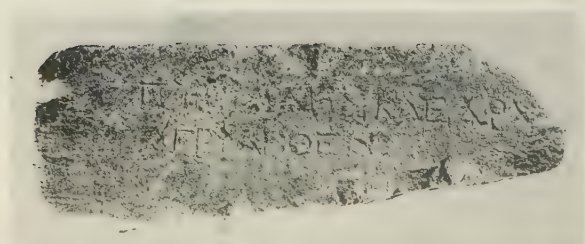
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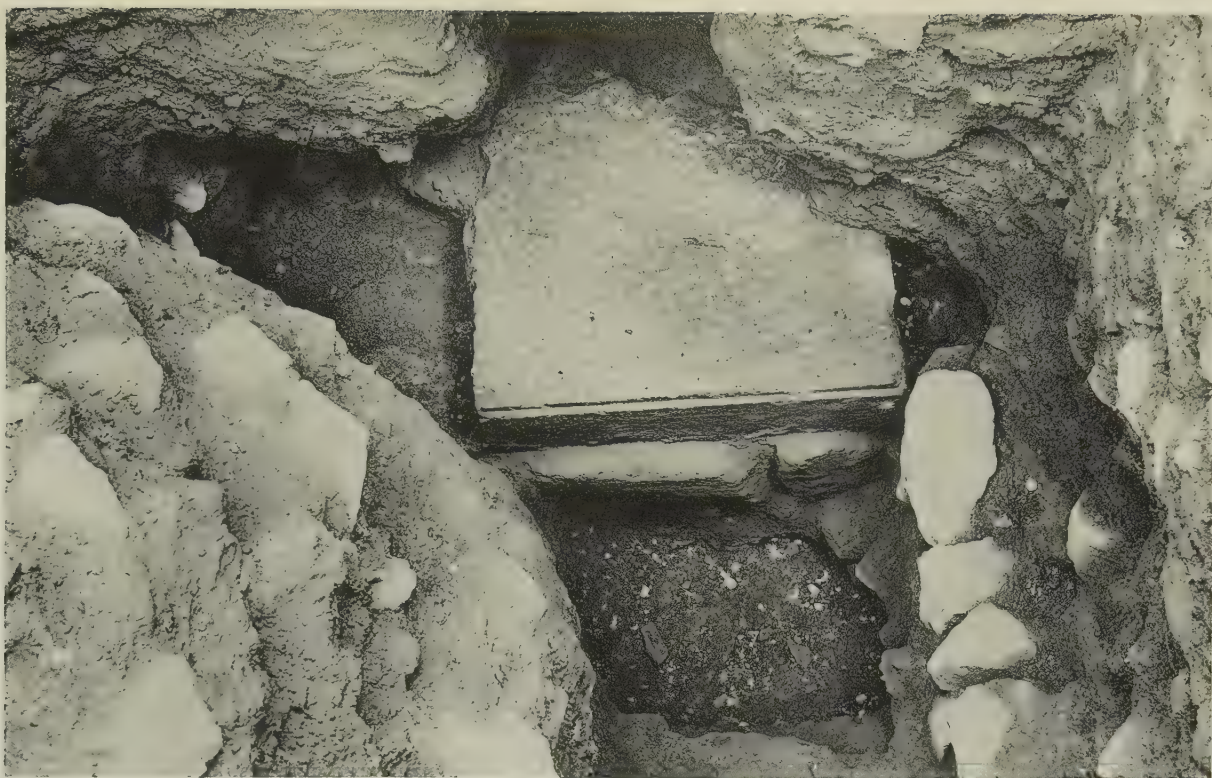
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No. 13



a. Wall of Building on North Side of Panathenaic Way as Found at No. 7 Hadrian Street, from South.



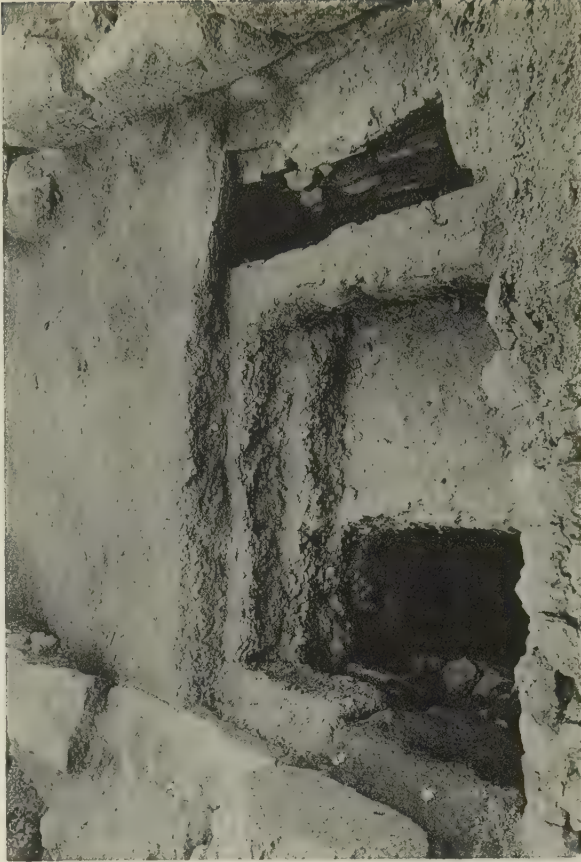
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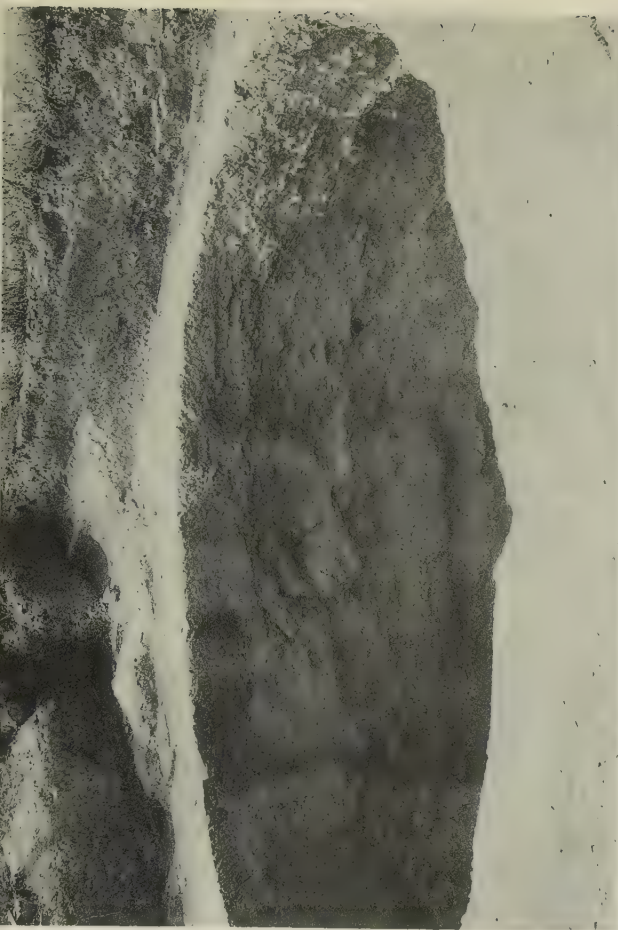
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b. Ancient Road at No. 11 Hastings Street, from East. At Left, the Trial Cut. Upper Right, the Byzantine Pithos.



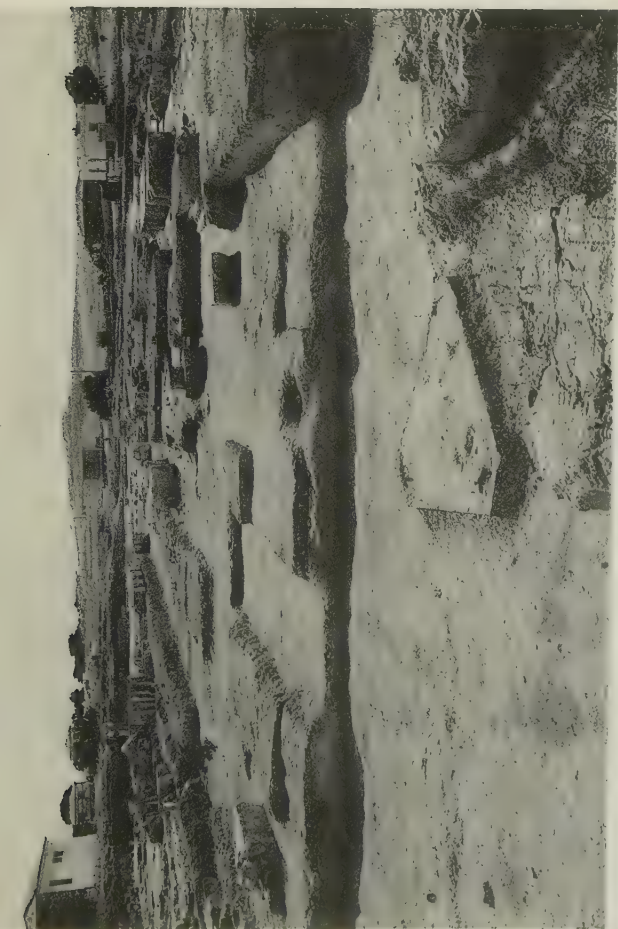
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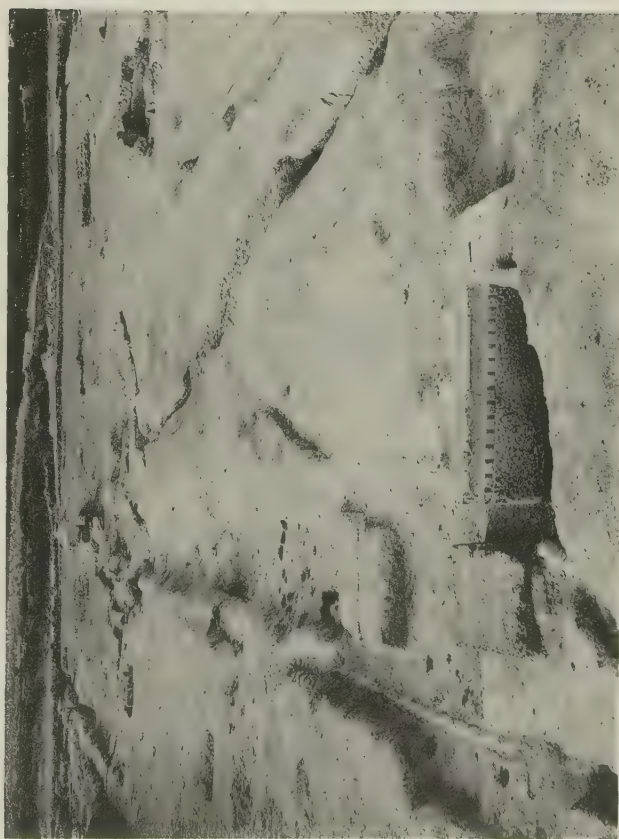
b. Circular Pit from above



d. Foundation of Early Stadium underneath Palaimonion Temenos Wall



a. Circular Base and Marks of Tripod



c. Southwest Corner of Precinct, from South; Cornice Block from South Stoa

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMA, FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958



a. East Temenos Dump, from South



b. South Side of Precinct, from West



a. Southeast End of Greek Reservoir



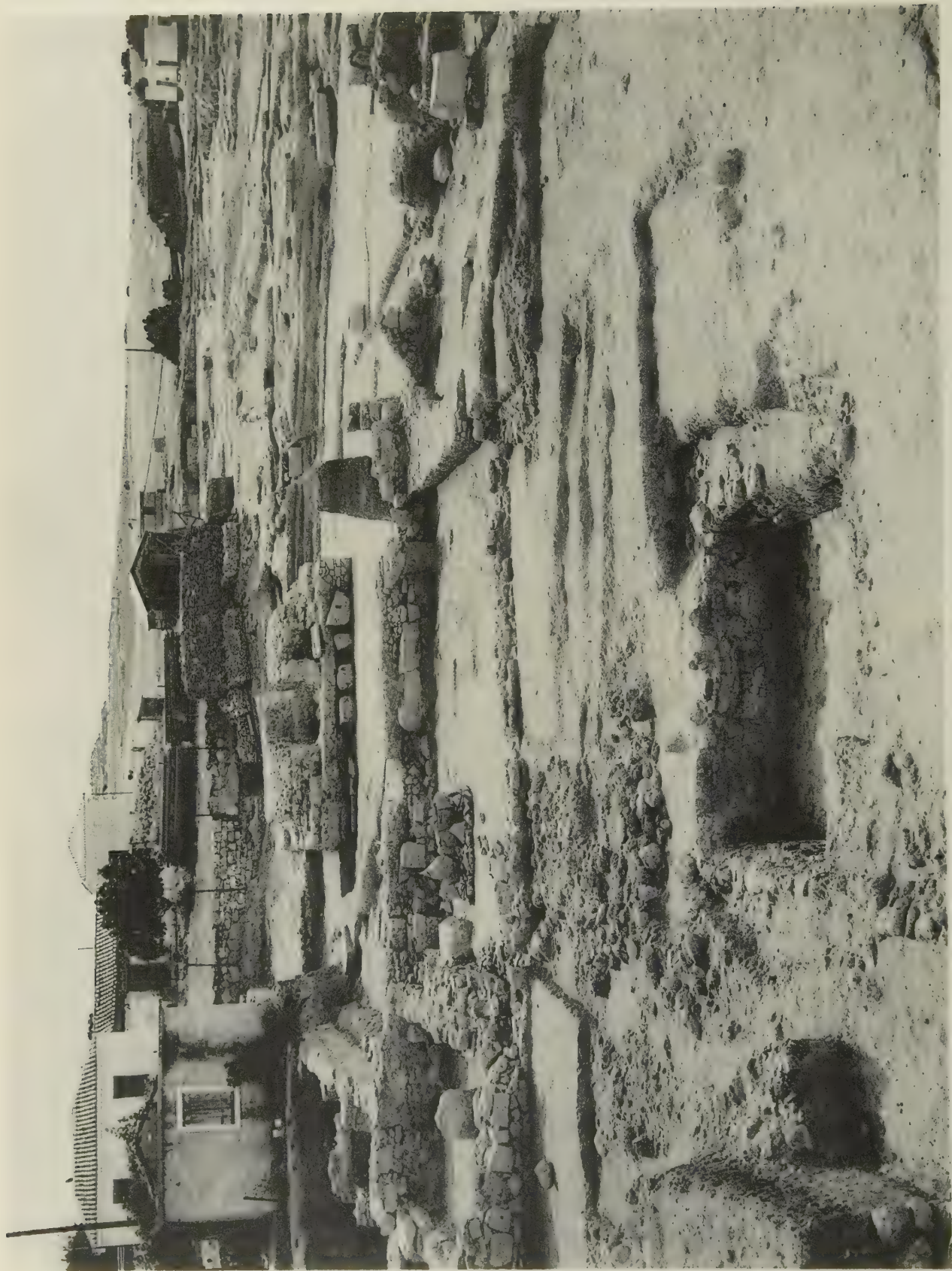
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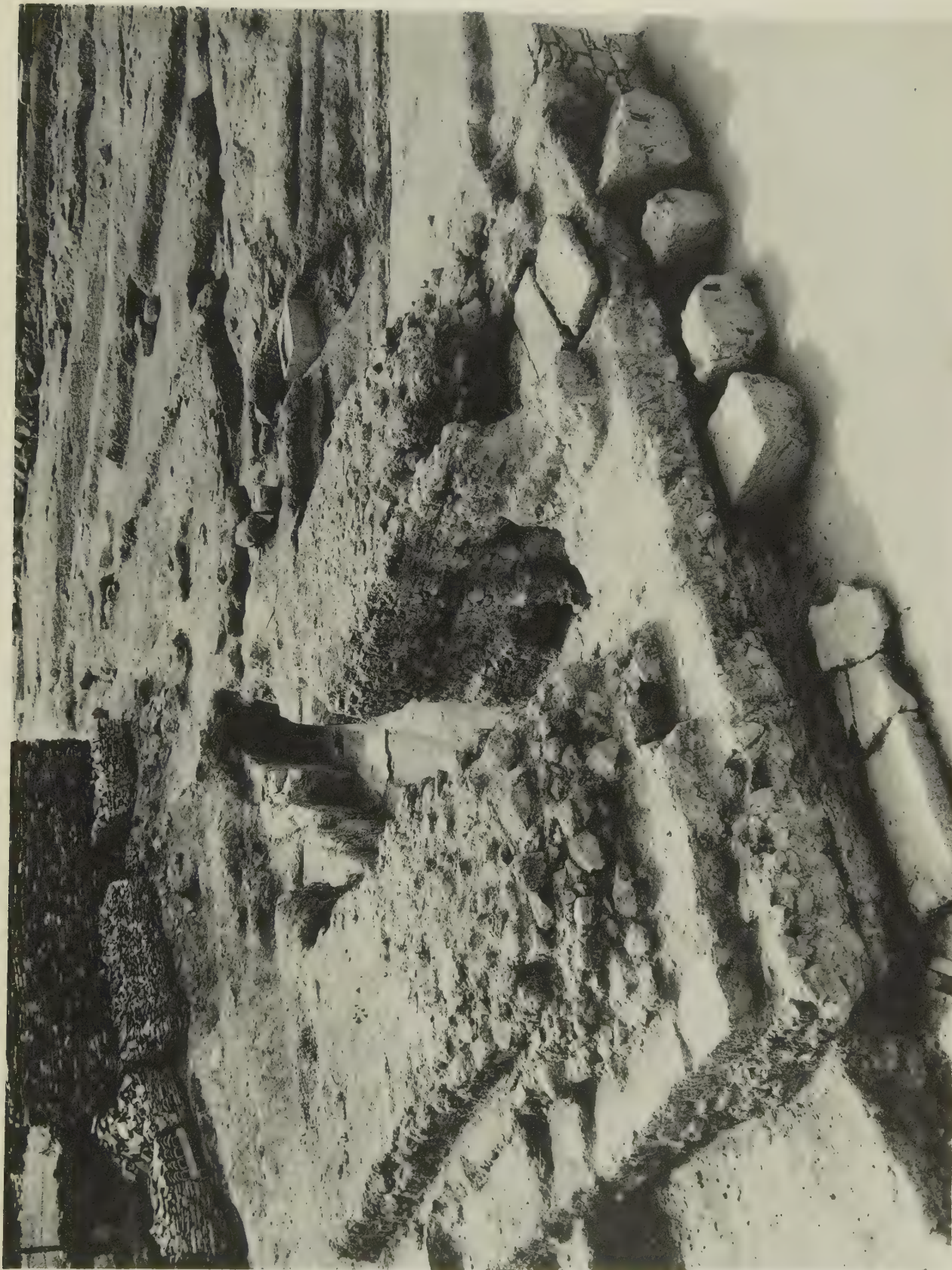
c. Semicircular Foundation in the Palaimonion



d. Lamps as Found, East of Palaimon Temple



Palaimonion Area from East; Sacrificial Pit C



Temple of Palaimon from Southeast

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHμία, FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958



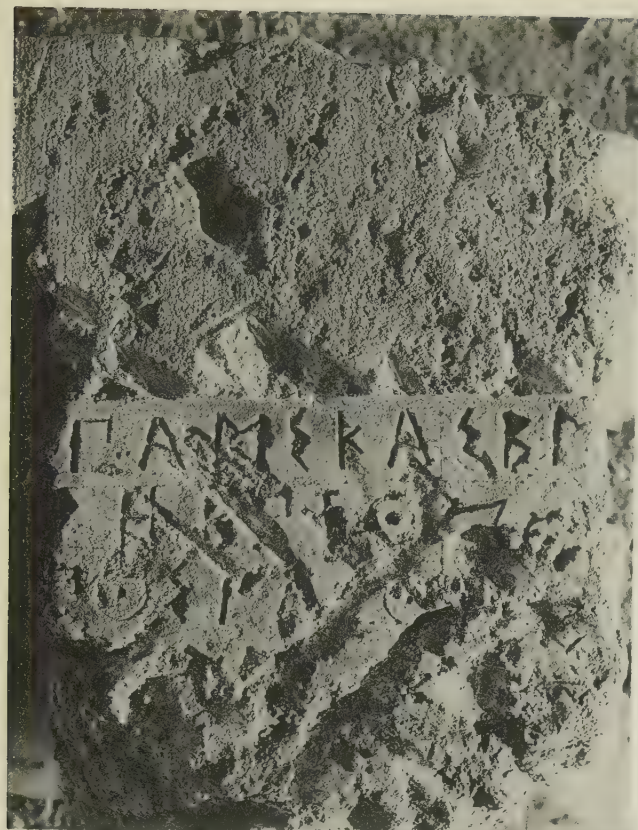
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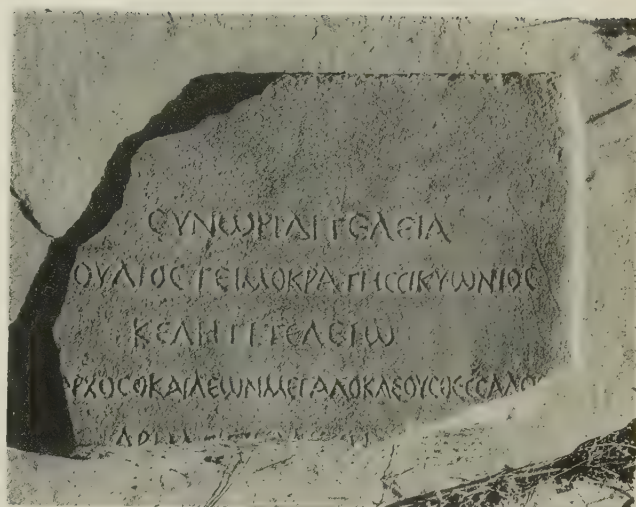
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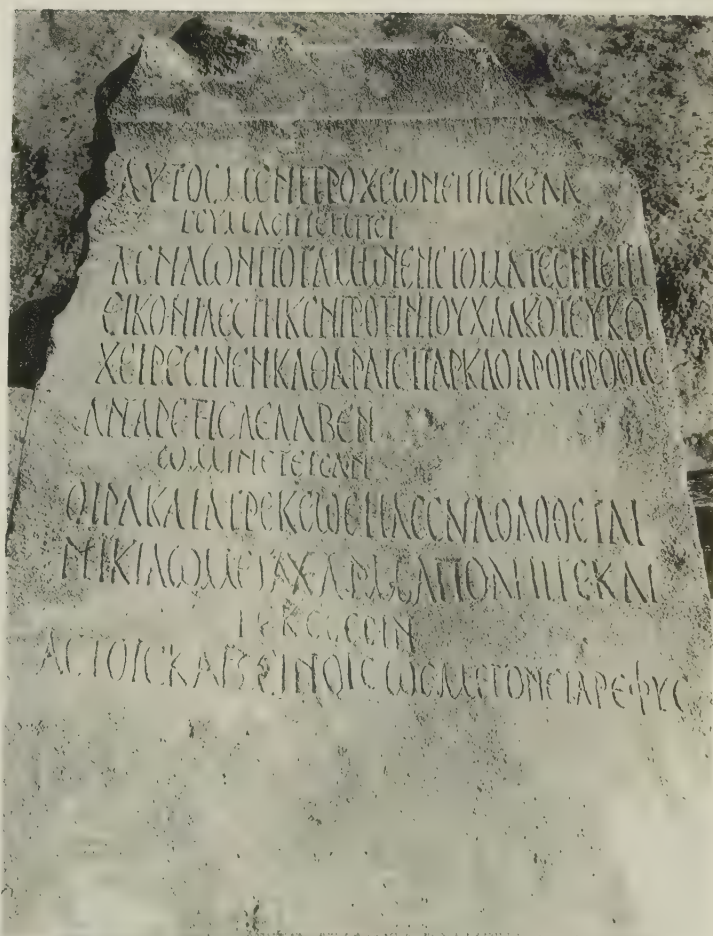
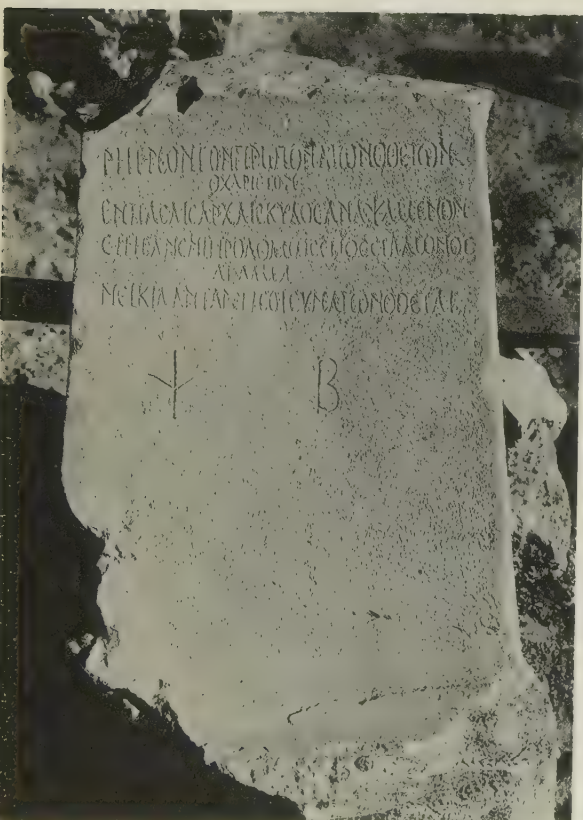
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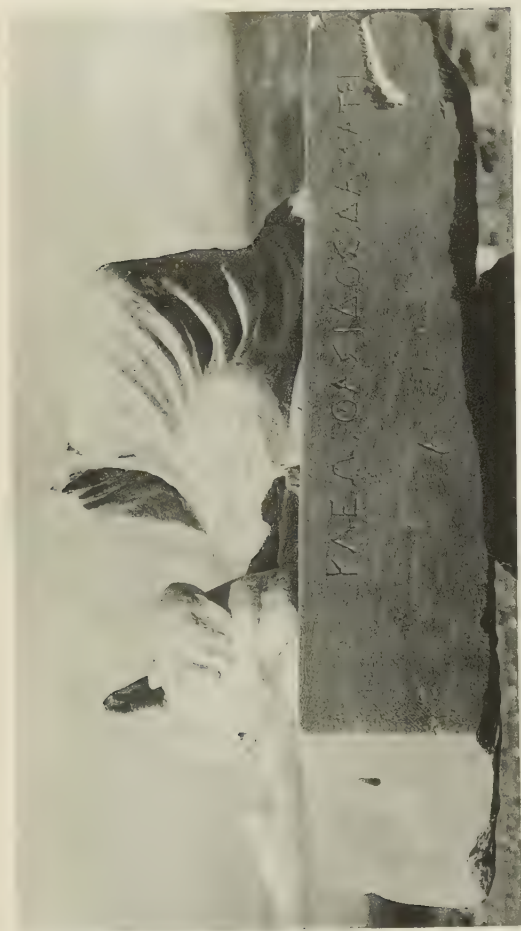
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b. Inscription 4, Victor List



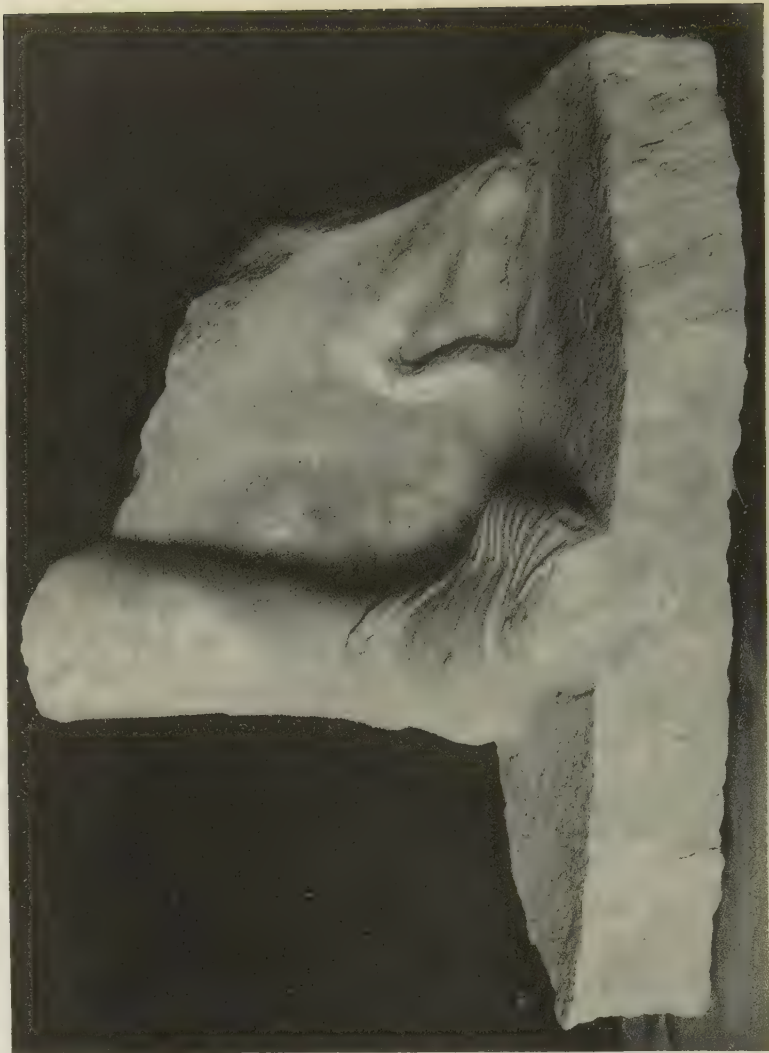
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b. Statue of Girl and Inscribed Base 3



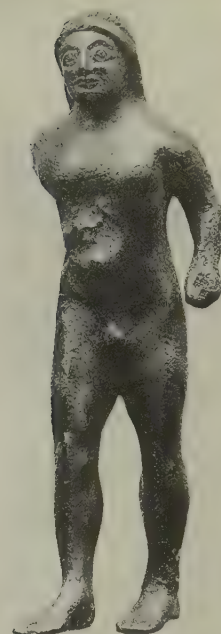
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c. Left Foot and Base



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b. and c. Archaic Bronze Figurine, Back and Front



d. Early Archaic Bronze Figurine



e. Bronze Figurine of Poseidon



a. and b. Two Bronze Figures of Medusa



c. and d. Protome of Sphinx and Goat



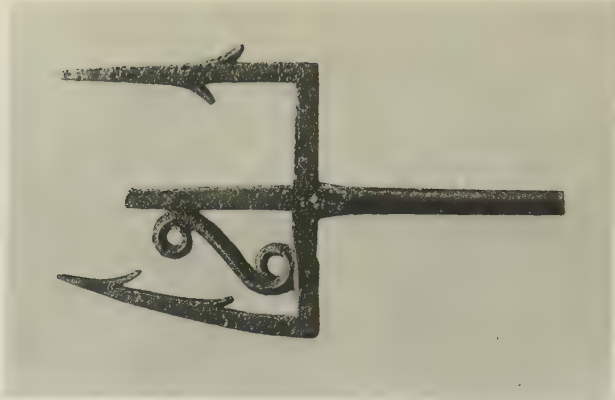
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f. Bronze Bull



g. Bronze Bull before Cleaning



h. Bronze Trident



a. Two Horses' Heads



b. Gold Objects from Archaic Temple Deposit



c. Lead Halter



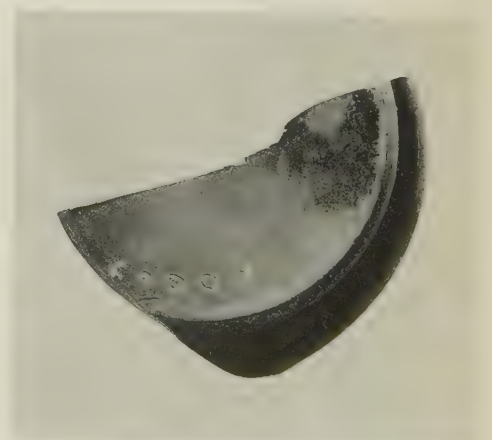
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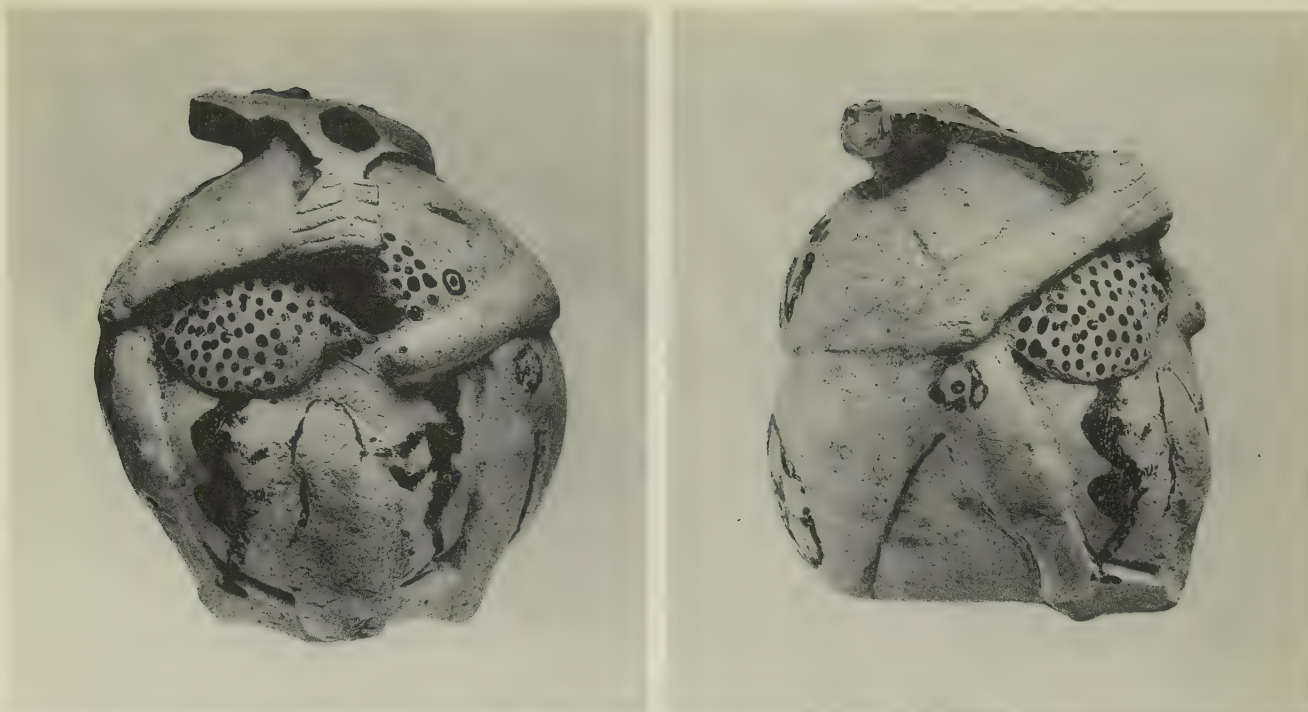
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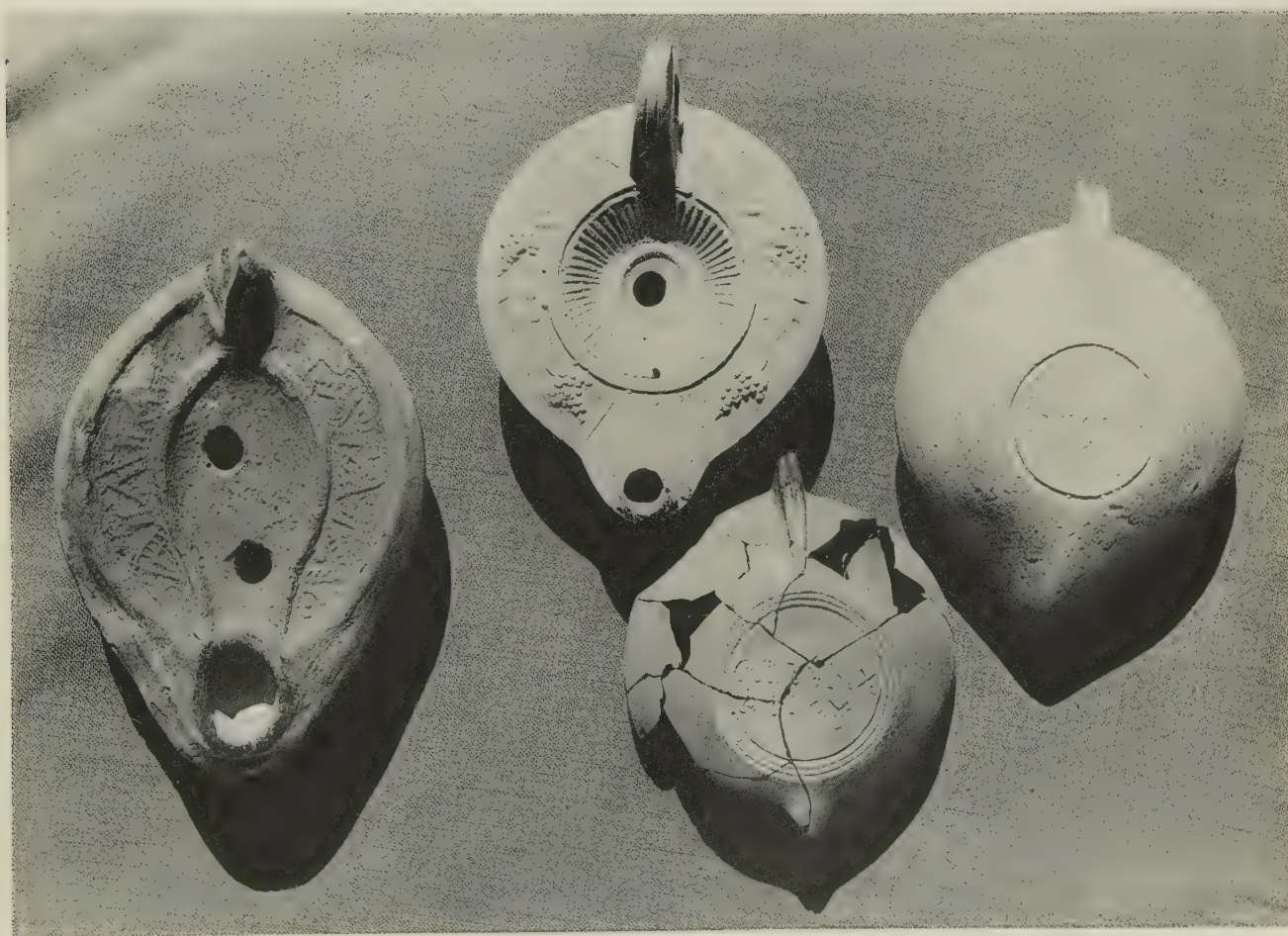
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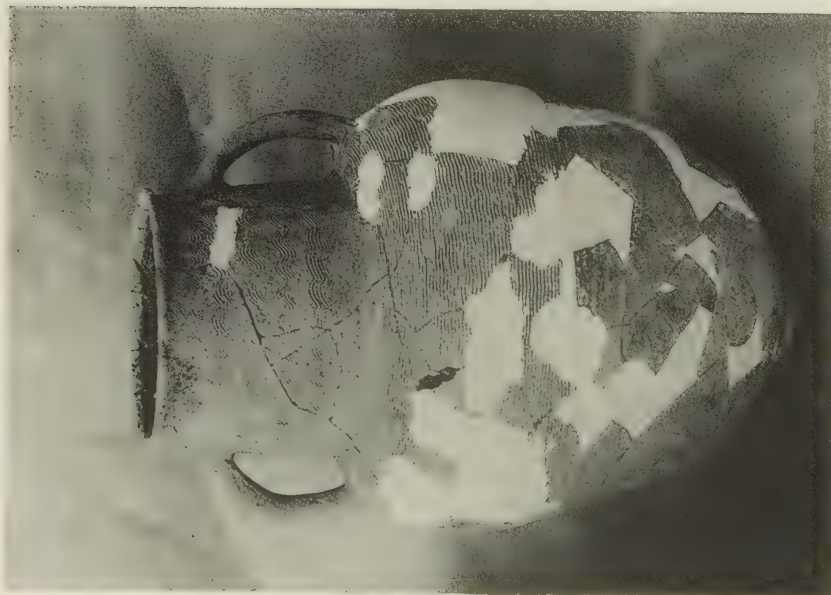
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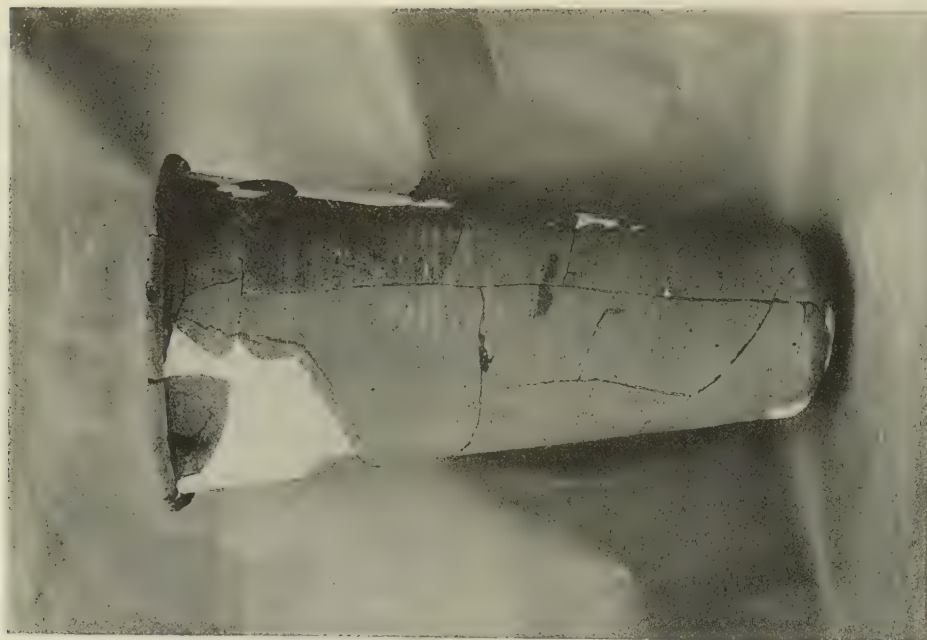
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b. Amphora from Tower 7 of Fortress



c. Tall Open Vessel from Tower 7 of Fortress



a. Inscribed *Halos*



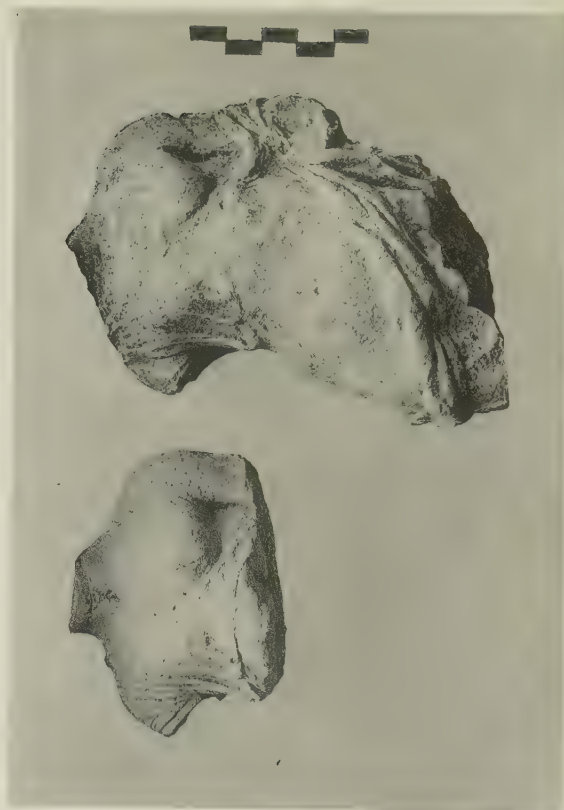
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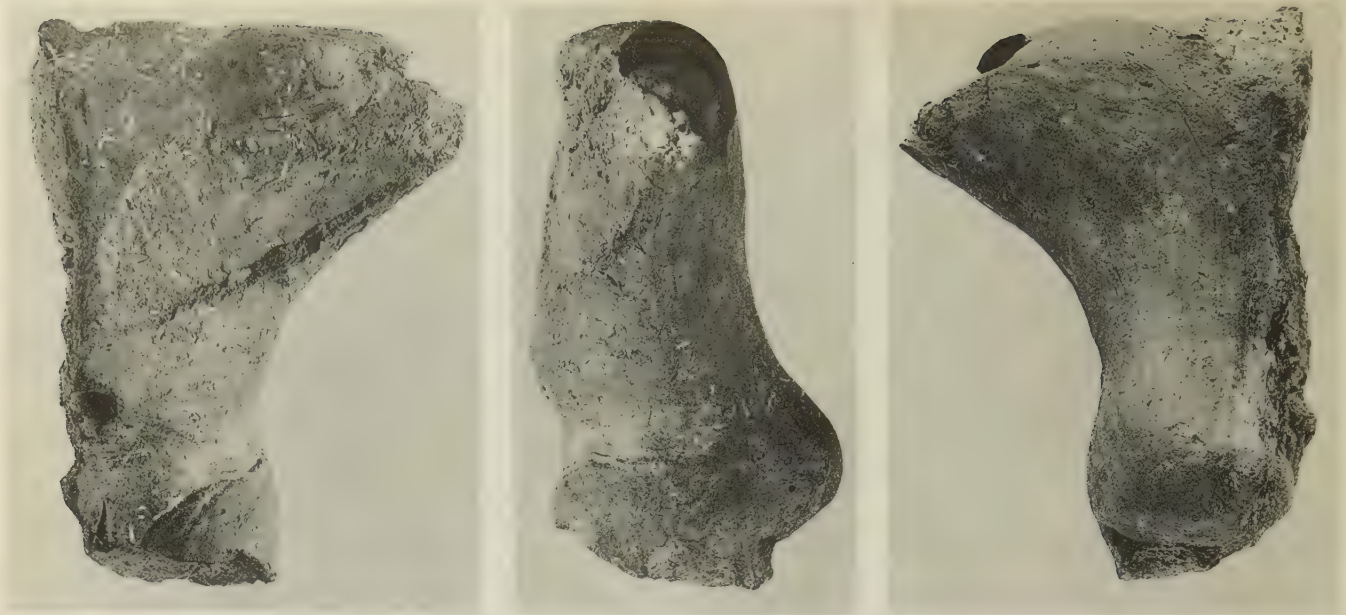
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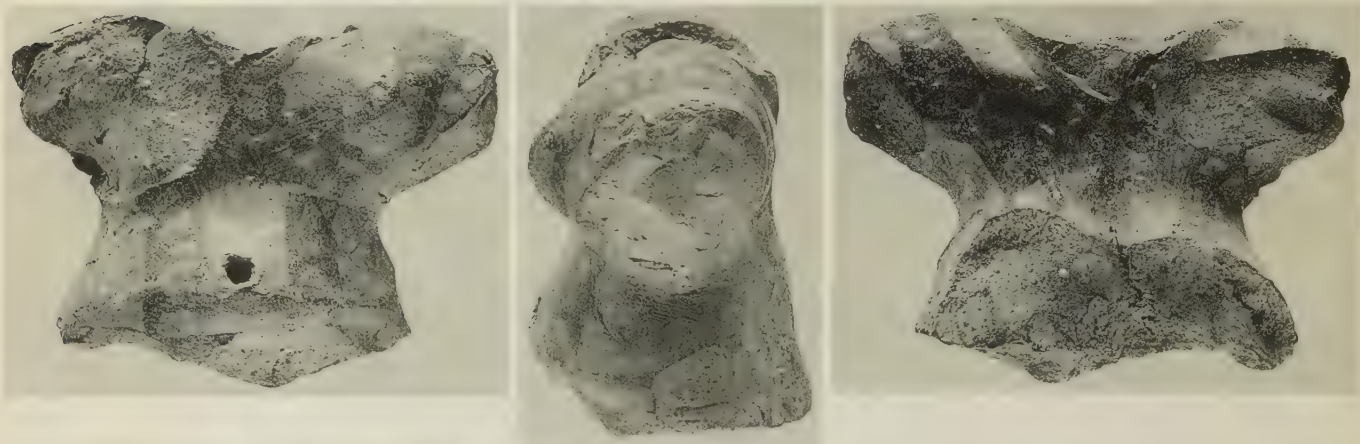
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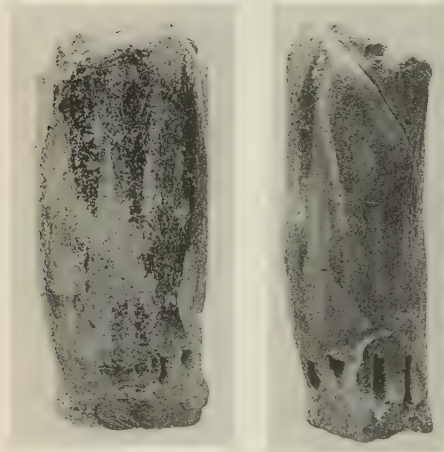
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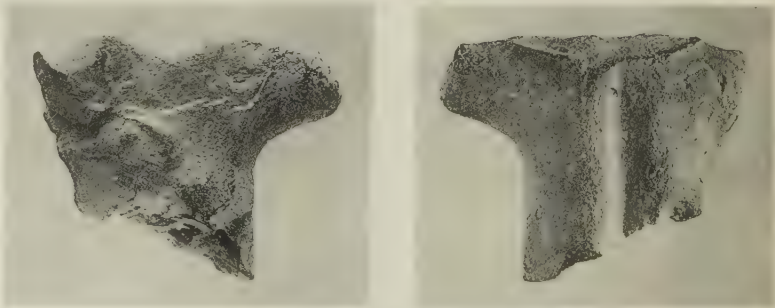
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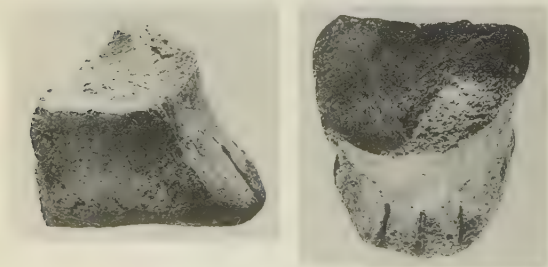
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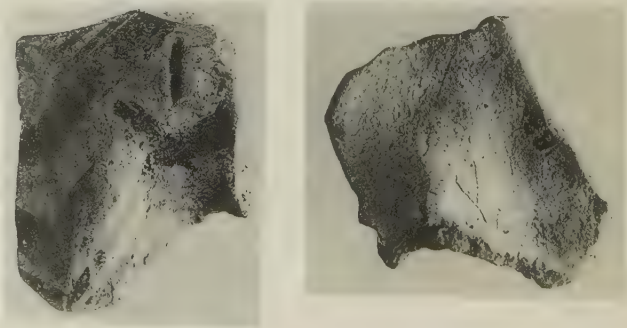
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No. 4. Front and Back



No. 5. Side and Front



No. 6. Front and Back

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1959

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40 pictures tell the story of the reconstruction of the Stoa, from details of the original building and the state of preservation before work began through scenes of marble cutters at work to the finished building which is shown in detail.

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THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME III

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

By R. E. WYCHERLEY

Here are presented all the ancient written references, both literary and epigraphical, to the agora (including its environs) and its monuments. The Introduction summarizes chronologically the authors cited, evaluating the contributions of each. The texts are given in the original Greek or Latin, followed by a translation and a commentary. They are grouped in parts: the Stoas, Shrines, Public Buildings and Offices, Market, Honorary Statues, Miscellaneous including Boundaries, Trees, Kerameikos, Panathenaic Street, Old Agora. Within each part the monuments are arranged alphabetically and under each monument the texts are listed alphabetically by author with inscriptions at the end. Many texts not given numbers in this order are included in the archaeological and topographical commentaries. Each section on a monument opens with a brief synopsis of the evidence contained in the texts which follow. The Index of Authors gives dates and editions as well as passages and inscriptions cited and is followed by an Index of Subjects. The plates show plans of the agora and its environs and of the route of Pausanias.

This collection of texts concerning a site of prime artistic, philosophical and political importance will fill a need long felt by students of all phases of the ancient Greek world. Its range in time (from the earliest written references in the 5th century B.C. through the Byzantine writers and lexica of as late as the 15th century), its completeness (many obscure texts are here available and epigraphical material found in the Excavations of the Athenian Agora up through the summer of 1957 are included), and its judiciously selected archaeological commentary make this volume invaluable not only as handy reference to the texts but equally for an understanding of the significance of those texts, which must be studied in connection with the results of the excavation of the area to give the true picture of its place and meaning in the history of civilization.

Published December, 1957. x + 259 pp., 4 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$10.00.

ORDERS SHOULD BE PLACED WITH THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS c/o THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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THE ATHENIAN AGORA

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VOLUME V

POTTERY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD—CHRONOLOGY

By HENRY S. ROBINSON

This first of two volumes dealing with the pottery of the Roman period found in the Athenian Agora presents the evidence for chronology yielded by eight closed deposits comprising some 850 pieces. These major groups have been selected from the mass of pottery of Roman times recovered both from habitation levels and deposits such as wells, cisterns, graves. It has been possible from these deposits, several of them stratified, to establish both a relative and an absolute chronology of the wares in use in Athens from the 1st century before Christ through the 7th century after Christ. For each group a general description of the location, character and chronology of the deposit is followed by a catalogue of the contents which includes, beside the pottery, objects other than pottery, chiefly lamps, but also terracotta figurines and other small finds. The pottery in each group is classified broadly under the headings Pergamene Ware, Samian Ware, Western Sigillata Wares, Other Fine Early Roman Fabrics, Miscellaneous Glazed and Non-glazed Wares, Coarse Household Wares, Cooking Wares, Large Storage Vessels, and then by shape under each heading. The brief general introduction contains a detailed glossary which does much to characterize the wares that follow.

Even before the second half of this study in which the local and imported wares will be analysed and a typological catalogue of coarse household and storage vessels given, the current volume will prove invaluable for the study of Roman pottery throughout the eastern Mediterranean, for it offers the most extensive chronological evidence yet available, thoroughly and carefully presented.

Published March, 1959. xiv + 149 pp., 76 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

VOLUME IV

GREEK LAMPS AND THEIR SURVIVALS

By RICHARD HUBBARD HOWLAND

In this publication of the terracotta lamps found in the Athenian Agora dating from the 7th century to 86 B.C. a new series of types is established. Early Roman lamps which are survivals of Hellenistic forms are included in the fifty-eight types and sub-divisions. These types are based on a study of many hundreds of lamps found in the excavations, only a selection of which are here catalogued. After an Introduction summarizing conclusions on lamp-makers, lamp types and inscriptions, the material is arranged by type. For each type the characteristics are described in detail and notable foreign connections are indicated; a brief catalogue of examples follows. Signed bases are given special attention. An Index of the dated deposits from which the lamps came and which yielded so much evidence for the chronology, a concordance listing the types of many lamps not catalogued, and a concordance of Broneer and Agora types are added. The plates include photographs of most of the catalogued items and full-sized profiles of many, plus drawings of all graffiti and signatures.

The unusually precise evidence for chronology offered by the Agora lamps makes this volume of outstanding value to the field archaeologist. The new detailed typology will be of great service to all to whom lamps of Athenian manufacture are of concern whether directly or indirectly. Epigraphers will appreciate the prosopography in the numerous signatures. In the broad historical picture, moreover, these lamps veritably shed welcome light on trade relations between Athens and other Mediterranean centers, on the financial situation in Athens in certain periods, as well as on the artistic interests and tastes of the populace.

Published June, 1958. ix + 252 pp., 56 pls., chart. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

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